

Reuther Voices Alarm at Defense Plant Witch Hunt

By Myra Tanner

In Walter Reuther's Annual Report to the 16th CIO convention, held in Los Angeles Dec. 6-10, he expressed the alarm of union officials over growth of the witch hunt in defense plants. "During the past year," Reuther revealed, "the Defense Department proposed to require every defense worker with access to any classified information to fill out a questionnaire naming under penalties of perjury every person he had ever associated with, no matter how many years back, who, at any time in his entire life had ever belonged to any of the 240 or more organizations on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations."

CIO officials made the "strongest possible representations" to the Defense Department against this "unfair, unfeasible and un-American" proposal, but all they could get was a limitation of the compulsory stool-pigeoning period of the past five years.

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HUMPHREY-BUTLER ACT

This Act, the most dangerous anti-labor legislation yet passed by Congress, barely got mentioned in Reuther's report. Without naming the Act, in a section called "Internal Security," Reuther notes that the "new law has two principal provisions: (1) It makes the Communist Party illegal, and (2) It denies Communist-dominated unions the right to act as bargaining agents and, in effect, makes them illegal."

Actually Reuther must know that the Communist Control Act created a new category of organizations to be persecuted by the witch-hunt: the "Communist infiltrated" union. Merely the presence of a "communist" can be construed by the Internal Security Board as "Communist infiltration." Under the present law this is sufficient to deprive a union of its bargaining rights.

Reuther played down this "repressive anti-labor legislation" because according to his own report it "was voted for by numerous Democratic liberals as an answer to a prolonged and vicious smear by the GOP that the Democrats are 'soft' on communism." Reuther is in a political alliance with these same Democrats.

Reuther concludes with the observation that "this operation... holds grave dangers as a potential vehicle of anti-unionism."

Still Reuther neither spells out the danger fully nor presents a program for defending the unions. It is not just the "militant union men" who could be victimized with this procedure, but the union itself. If a "defense" worker submitted such a list to his boss in compliance with Defense

Department demands, the list could then be used as evidence of "communist infiltration" and collective bargaining rights of the union suspended under the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1945.

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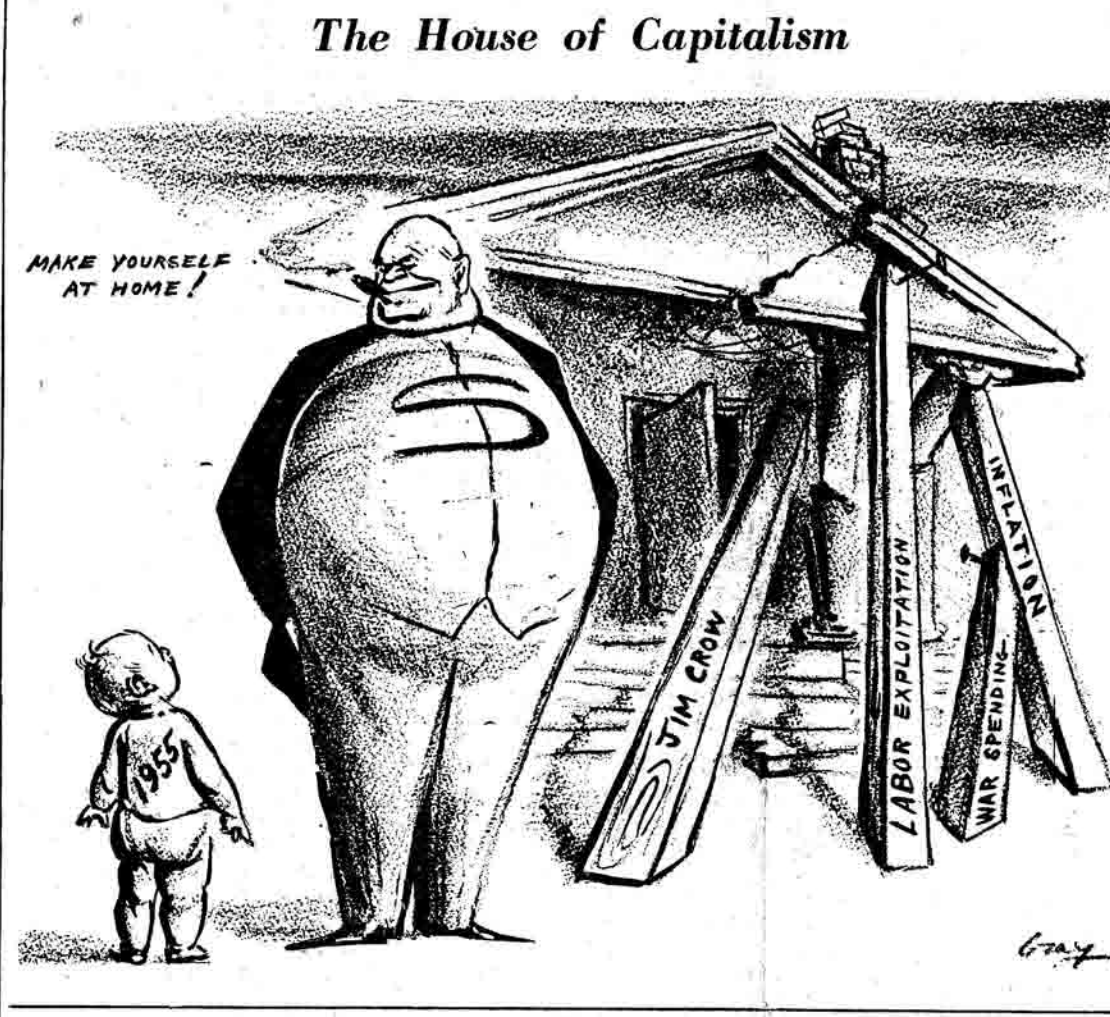
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Hammaraskjold Trip Brings China Closer to Entry in UN



Pass Racist Amendment To Junk Miss. Schools

By George Lavan

Another wall was added to the legal fortress the Deep South is erecting around its segregated school system. This was the amendment on Dec. 21 of the Mississippi Constitution to authorize the Legislature to turn the public schools over to private owners if school integration threatens. The amendment was passed by what appeared to be a little better than a 2 to 1 margin.

As soon as the election was over, Democratic Governor Hugh White called a special session of the Legislature for Jan. 11, 1955. It will pass legislation for the construction of more Jim Crow schools in order to continue the segregated school system and to demonstrate to the U.S. Supreme Court, which has yet to give a decision on soft or hard implementation of its May 17 decree, that Mississippi will not accept integration.

Similar amendments authorizing the junking of the public school system have been passed in Georgia and South Carolina. Louisiana has passed a somewhat different amendment. This is a "police power" amendment. It authorizes the prevention of

school integration on the grounds that a state's "police power" entitles it to prevent riots. This may move toward interracial schooling in Louisiana would be prevented in the name of preserving the peace.

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Will Use A-Bombs In Europe, NATO Council Threatens

The Paris meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Dec. 17-19 decided to give formal approval to the use of atomic and "other new weapons" in case of war with the Soviet bloc. This was the most important decision in the two-day parley of the military alliance organized by Wall Street as part of its long-range plan to open up the Soviet bloc to capitalist exploitation. The phrase "other new weapons" probably refers to the use of germs and viruses that could prove more deadly than the H-bomb.

Upon returning to the U.S., Dulles gave as the excuse for approving such weapons that they are only "tactical" and that they are rapidly becoming "conventional." If that is true then the leveling of the world's great cities is "tactical" and mass murder has become "conventional." Such are the uses of semantics in the era of the death agony of capitalism.

The NATO Council agreed not to use atomic weapons in Asia. How long this agreement is to hold was not indicated. Meanwhile highly mobile air and sea striking power is to be used where the Western imperialists believe they might prove effective in putting down colonial rebellions. This means a repetition of the Korean type warfare where entire villages were blown up and their inhabitants incinerated with jellied gasoline and similar products of capitalist civilization.

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Chou's Victory Marks Rising Weight of China As Big World Power

By Joseph Hansen

The decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations Dec. 10 to send Secretary General Dag Hammaraskjold to Peking to negotiate for the release of 11 imprisoned American airmen and two civilians poses once again the question of recognizing the Mao government. Whether the Chinese charge that the prisoners were "spies" is true or false, the fact remains that the Mao regime, in trying and convicting them, acted as a sovereign government, and the UN in delegating Hammaraskjold to represent it at Peking recognized this reality in fact. The UN action constituted a diplomatic victory of first-rate importance for China.

Premier Chou En-Lai's acceptance Dec. 17 of the proposal of the head of the United Nations to come to Peking thus opens a new stage in China's formal standing as a world power, a stage clearly pointing toward its admission to the UN. For it would seem handier in negotiations — if only for practical reasons — to have a delegation from China at UN headquarters in New York rather than having to send a UN delegation to Peking.

The capitalists press, of course, is placing big emphasis on the problem of getting the airmen released. They insist on the fact that 11 of the men shot down over Chinese territory during the Korean conflict were in uniform and consequently couldn't be "spies." They would do better to explain why Truman sent U.S. forces into Korea without even consulting Congress. Interested only in making out the best possible case, they tend to present the UN action as simply one of a series of efforts to get the prisoners out of China, an effort about on par with holding 35 Chinese students in this country as hostages.

The larger implications, however, have been noted here and there. William R. Frye of the Christian Science Monitor (Dec. 18) declared that whether the mission succeeds or fails, "its impact inevitably will be felt on the whole course of events in Asia."

Thomas J. Hamilton of the N. Y. Times (Dec. 19) reported that "some Western delegates" to the UN believe that if the mission fails, "the prestige of the United Nations will inevitably suffer, particularly in the United States." But if it succeeds, "the movement for the admission to the United Nations of the Peiping representative, which the United States is determined to keep on opposing, will be greatly strengthened."

It would thus seem that instead of the new Chinese government being hailed before the bar of opinion of the United Nations, as the press claimed when that body issued its first noisy declarations over the sentencing of the airmen, it is the United Nation being hailed before the Chinese government. This ironic consequence of the long refusal of the UN to admit the government chosen in revolutionary action by the most populous nation on earth is sufficient commentary on how much real prestige the UN has today.

According to the Monitor, Moscow is putting pressure on Peking to give Hammaraskjold something to bring back to New York. "Of late, Soviet diplomats have not tried to conceal their impatience with Peking's tactics — tactics which repeatedly have put Moscow's men in embarrassing positions here (at the UN)."

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"Get Us a Better Contract," Ranks Tell Heads of ILA

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Dec. 21.—Rank and file longshoremen put their fists on the negotiating table in the currently resumed bargaining sessions of their union and the shippers.

The leaders of the longshoremen's union were visited by rank-and-file dockers and informed that the membership wanted to shut the piers down immediately in order to force the necessary concession from the shippers. The union negotiating team, headed by ILA president Captain William Bradley, had to promise to set a deadline for strike action in order to prevent an immediate walk-out.

This intervention by the rank and file followed their rejection last week of a contract that was negotiated after months of bargaining. The rejection of the proposed contract stunned union leaders, and surprised the waterfront bosses. It was the acceptance by the union leadership of a two-year no-strike clause that caused rejection of the pact by the ranks.

The new contract contains a 17-cent hourly wage and welfare increase, some provision of more regularized employment and provision for a union shop. It does not include any paid holidays nor does it legitimize the practices and customs prevailing on the piers. These are extremely important conditions of work that have been established over many years by job action of the working longshoremen. The loss of the strike weapon would jeopardize these conditions.

RELY ON THEIR POWER

In their own way the longshoremen have arrived at the truth that only the exercise of their strength through strike action determines the conditions under which they will earn their livelihood. What appears to be cynicism among these men is actually realistic understanding of how their fate is determined. Prolonged bargaining sessions between leaders and bosses may appear to settle conditions of

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Mazey Explains Why He Joined the "Elders"

By Murry Weiss

In the short debate at the CIO Convention on whether or not to build a Labor Party, Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, made some revealing comments. He was replying to the proposal of Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, who thought that the present political policy of the CIO should be scrapped in favor of a Labor Party orientation.

"I believe the best possible conditions for making progress in the political arena," said Mazey, "would be for labor to have its own party, in association with farmers. I think most of you know that I have been an advocate of independent political action and that I strongly believe in that kind of a movement, and I have been critical of my elders in labor, CIO and elsewhere, who

for years have said now is not the time to launch out in the buildings of a political movement of our own, and I find myself in the embarrassing position of having to repeat what I used to condemn in others."

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MAZEY

1954 In Review -- What's Ahead for 1955

Washington, Moscow Indicate Deal Dividing World in Power Spheres

By Joseph Hansen

The outstanding development in foreign affairs during 1954 was the further easing of world tensions. A decision to take the "immediacy" out of the threat of another world war and to seek a temporary deal with the Soviet Union was indicated by Eisenhower even before he took office. During 1953 this course was marked by Washington's agreement to a cease-fire in Korea. In 1954, the highlight was the ending of hostilities in Indochina. The fact that the Eisenhower administration was considering a definite "non-aggression pact" with Moscow was revealed by the State Department as early as

October 1953. As 1954 ended, Wall Street's government was clearly proceeding in foreign affairs as if it had reached a fairly definite understanding with the Kremlin for the time being about the world balance of power.

This course, with all its propaganda about "seeking peace," does not at all signify that American Big Business has given up its preparations for World War III, which were begun before World War II had even come to a close. As a matter of fact, the State Department took another long step in this direction during 1954 in reaching general agreement among the Allied powers to complement the rearmament of Japan with the rearmament of Germany.

STALEMATE

What the turn in foreign policy initiated by Eisenhower does mean is further postponement of the outbreak of World War III and the opening of an interim period, which from a military viewpoint can be characterized as a stalemate.

While the real relationship will be one fundamentally of antagonism, Moscow will cooperate with Washington in putting down or betraying or heading off colonial movements for national independence or working class movements seeking to displace capitalism in favor of socialism. These two types of movements tend to coalesce in backward countries. Both of them challenge the reactionary rule and privileged position of the capitalist class and the Stalinist bureaucracy. But since

only socialism can bring enduring peace to our strife-ridden and war-torn planet, cooperation between the Kremlin and the Western powers against revolutionary movements means a new war in the long run unless the people intervene.

In 1954 a dramatic example of how the understanding between the Kremlin and the U.S. State Department operates at the expense of oppressed and poverty-stricken countries was provided by Guatemala. There the Communist Party was in position for a number of years to decisively intervene as a political force. Instead of leading the people toward freedom from the oppressive rule of United Fruit, the Guatemalan Stalinists, carrying out Moscow's line, made possible the successful realization of a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat openly engineered by the State Department.

The fact that American Big Business felt compelled to change its course in foreign affairs — even though temporarily — after the years of rattling the atom bomb, lining up the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe and Japan for war and finally plunging into the civil war in Korea, testifies to the profundity of the revolutionary movements in the Far East, the deep yearning of the European workers for socialism, and the anti-war sentiments of the American people. These forces, incoherent though they may be today and cursed with perfidious leaders of the Stalinist, Social Democratic and nationalist stripe, are elemental and profound. Their ultimate victory is inevitable.

NEW PROBLEMS

Recognition of the balance of power by Moscow and Washington, whether it is made formal or not, poses a new series of problems for the vanguard of the working class in the period immediately before us.

For instance, there is bound to be a wide tendency, carefully nurtured by the Stalinists and the capitalist propagandists, that the cessation of hostilities opens up a chance for enduring peace under the benign guidance of the Wall Street wolves and the Kremlin oligarchy and their labor lieutenants. To fall for that propaganda could prove fatal.

For the peoples of the Soviet bloc, the lifting of the economic blockade by the imperialist powers in the coming period could mean a series of new difficult problems fraught with danger. The "joke" of Mikoyan, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade, after a recent visit to Finland is indicative: "I came to Finland a Communist. After what I have seen, I must be careful. Otherwise I shall return to Moscow a capitalist."

In White Sulphur Springs and Rupert, W. Va., Milford, Del., Sheridan, Ark., and Clarkton, Mo., however, racists forced the abandonment of attempted integration.

The Deep South made no attempts to comply with the Supreme Court's decision. Instead most of these states have made legal preparation for evading or defying the decision. Even more ominous was the mushrooming of anti-Negro vigilante organizations in the South such as the Citizens Committees in Mississippi and Alabama, the Moonlighters in Texas, the Citizens Protective Association in Missouri, Bryant Bowles' National Association for the Advancement of White People as well as a resurgence of the old Ku Klux Klan.



MALENKOV



EISENHOWER

School Segregation Ruling And the Fight Since Then

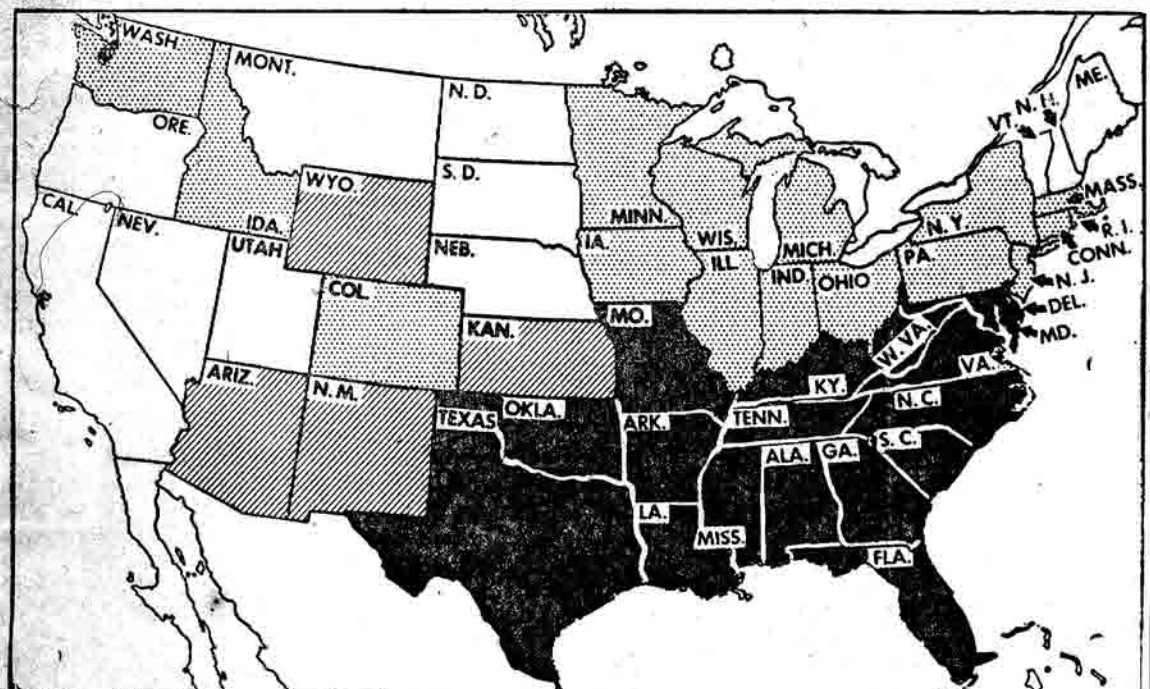
By George Lavan

The outstanding feature of the Negro struggle in 1954 was the fight against school segregation. On May 17 the U. S. Supreme Court declared that school segregation violated the 14th Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional. For the preceding 58 years the U. S. Supreme Court had been ruling that "separate but equal" school segregation did not violate the 14th Amendment and was therefore constitutional.

The Supreme Court's decision to abandon the "separate but equal" formula for sanctioning Jim Crow was a great legal victory for the Negro people. How was it won? Logical and persuasive as were the arguments presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People lawyers, still stronger unspoken arguments backed them up.

These arguments may be briefly summed up as follows: (1) The steady pressure of the Negro people and their organizations in the past two decades against Jim Crow. (2) The fact that the Negro people no longer struggle alone but are firmly allied with the powerful labor movement. (3) The changed attitudes of broad layers of the white population in the U.S. as a result of joint action with Negroes in strikes and in unions plus the effect of education and agitation against Jim Crow on the white population in general. (4) The clinching argument, however, was the strength of distant allies of the American Negro people — the revolutionary, colored masses of Asia.

It was the cold-war attempt to neutralize anti-U. S. feeling



This map shows the school segregation picture at time of Supreme Court decision, May 17, 1954. States shown in black had laws making segregation compulsory; states that are lined had laws permitting segregation, while those that are dotted had laws forbidding it. Since then there has been a beginning of desegregation in the four states that had permitted it. Of the states with compulsory segregation laws, partial integration has taken place in Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and Missouri. In Arkansas, two communities integrated as an economy move but only 20 Negro children were involved.

No Merry Xmas for Them



With Christmas just around the corner, Mrs. William Doerr wonders what is in store for the eight children gathered about her in their Pittsburgh home. Her husband is one of the millions of unemployed and the family furniture was supposed to be sold at a constable's sale to meet back rent.

PREDICT '55 PROSPERITY AND MORE UNEMPLOYED

By Tom Conlan

The season of economic forecasts for 1955 is upon us. Capitalist economists must, as they do, trot forward, each with a forecast. These are talented people. Each can see

farther into two feet of armor-plate than his colleague. Thus equipped they are happily able to forecast the future in the present deadlocked world and domestic economic situation. 1955 shall be prosperous, they forecast in virtual unanimity. They leave out a tittle — Prosperity for Whom?

Take the chief hired man — pardon! — chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, one named Emerson Schmidt. He offers not one but two forecasts. One a happy minimum; the second a happier maximum (N. Y. Times, Dec. 19). A minimum of prosperity, in his eyes, will result from a rise of \$4 billion next year in the gross national product, as against 1954. That's something to hail, he assures.

By labor, perhaps? Hardly. For the workers, 1954 was marked by the continuation of the Eisenhower depression well into September, with the business upturn coming only in the final quarter of the year. It was not a cheerful experience. According to another expert (see, N.Y. Herald-Tribune, Dec. 19) the working class lost, up to April 1954, in wages at a rate of \$8 billion a year, their total pay declining "from a rate of \$208 billion a year in July 1953 to \$200 billion in April 1954." Since April 1954, the same expert reports, the wage-loss has run at a rate of \$6 billion (wages having "levelled off" at around \$202 billion).

In the light of these rather conservative figures what does Schmidt's "minimum" of prosperity mean for the workers? Assuming workers are permitted to pocket the full \$4 billion "minimum" increase (and what a pipe dream that is!) they will still be shy by at least \$2 billion of the share of the national income they received up to July 1953. The "minimum" thus turns out to be a smaller share of the national income for the workers, while the capitalist class cuts an even bigger slice for itself. How happy about this can labor get?

Here we come to the Schmidt — U.S. Chamber of Commerce's prosperity envisions "a maximum increase of \$9 billion" in 1955. Not in wages, of course, but again in the "gross national product." Of this the workers will get not the lion's but the lamb's share. But what will happen if this maximum is realized in life? Why, that will "equal 1953's unmatched record of prosperity," assures Schmidt breathlessly. Clearly, he isn't talking here about "unmatched prosperity," for labor. Because the Eisenhower depression started in July 1953. For labor this is no happy prospect, either. It means a return to levels of production, which spelled misery for five million jobless. But that's the best Schmidt sees.

As if to add to the joys of this 1955 prosperity, Schmidt announced, as have virtually all other forecasters, more unemployment in 1955 than in 1954. A "slight rise," he said. And this — not in a slump, but during an upturn! Schmidt is understandably reticent about it. But other experts speak openly about past unemployment, for example, "among young people, and to a lesser extent among old people and women," and of more of the same ahead. Neither the young nor the aged are slighted; neither males nor females.

One is bound to ask: Are these people sane? The truth is that

throughout the postwar years, as an Oriental wit put it, the capitalists have been scared out of their seven senses. Small wonder, their postwar boom required by 1947-48, injections of huge arms spending plus inflationary measures. And all of this ended in the Truman depression of 1949-50. Then they plunged into the Korean war.

That didn't help long, either. In the wake of the Korean inflationary binge, spiked with the blood of the Korean and U.S. youth, came the Eisenhower depression of 1953-54. One inflationary measure on top of another finally pulled the economy back to the "heights" now so inviting to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the rest of the capitalists, but hardly to the working class as a whole.

Failure to Build Own Party Puts Unions on Defensive

By Shirley Clark

The year 1954 opened a new chapter in the post-war history of the labor movement. The deepening of the recession that began in 1953 put the economic squeeze on the

living standards of the workers. Five million men and women were unable to find jobs. Millions were working reduced hours, and their paychecks were cut.

The old days of an expanding economy when union contracts were negotiated with relative ease, were gone. In the changed economic situation the unions faced new problems of mergers, runaway shops, automation and increased mechanization. These problems of the whole economy could not be resolved solely on the level of local negotiations.

In addition to the economic squeeze the union movement faced a growing anti-labor drive on the legislative front. The unanimous passage of the Communist Control Act of 1954 by Congress marked the official extension of the witch-hunt to the labor movement. Passed in an atmosphere of Senatorial red-hunting hysteria, the Act, destroyed in one stroke the legal protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

In this new situation the labor movement found itself on the defensive, often with the question of the survival of the union sharply posed. The Studebaker workers were persuaded to take pay cuts as a result of a company "hardship" plea. Members of the UAW-CIO in Kohler, Wisconsin, are still fighting for the very existence of their union.

The defensive nature of labor's



MEANY

McCarthyite Movement Checked; Trend Shown Toward Democrats

By Daniel Roberts

All the reactionary trends operating in the U.S. during the last several years came to a climax during 1954. Then in the second half of the year, because of the slowing down of the war drive, the curb placed on McCarthy and the revival of the Labor Democratic coalition as a result of the November election, the reactionary trends were moderated. Powerful trends in the opposite direction began to operate.

In the beginning of 1954, the main centers of Big Business welcomed Sen. Joseph McCarthy as the most effective propagandist in the "anti-communist" drive and as the witch-hunter in chief. The ruling capitalist circles wanted his services in order to step up the red-hunt as part of the drive to intimidate and silence the population in preparation for World War III.

WENT TOO FAR

However, McCarthy did not confine himself to red-baiting the Democratic Party, as the main sections of Big Business wanted him to do. He used the opportunity to build his independent fascist faction. And he witch-hunted the favored instrument of Big Business, the Eisenhower Administration, itself.

By March, McCarthy had become a detriment to the ruling capitalist circles. Writing in the Militant on March 22 just before the Army-McCarthy hearings, Joseph Hansen said: "The calculated attempt to McCarthyize the army forced a section of the capitalist class primarily the Eastern section, to ask itself: Is it prepared to strengthen today's fascism that much today? Is it ready to turn to fascist rule now or in the immediate future? . . . The answer it gave was: 'No, not yet' . . . It was necessary to put a check rein on him. Not to smash him but to curb him."

In the Army-McCarthy hearings the main sections of Big Business evidently still hesitated to act decisively for fear of endangering the witch-hunt. However, when last August, Wall Street decided to slow down the war drive and seek a "modus

vivendi" with the Soviet bloc and China, it determined to place a hard check on the fascist Senator. The Eisenhower Administration now feared that McCarthy's reckless charges of "pro-Communism" would hamper the State Department in its diplomatic moves.

The six ultra-conservative Senators who made up the Watkins Committee recommended that McCarthy be censured. And the Republican high command kept McCarthy out of the election campaign. Emboldened by the defeat of the outright McCarthyites at the polls, the ruling capitalist circles proceeded to have the Senate censure McCarthy.

However, of even greater importance for the creation of a new political climate in the U.S. than the tactical shifts of Big Business was the working class vote in the 1954 elections. The workers rejected the naked rule of Big Business exercised by the Republican Party. They disregarded the smear of "pro-Communism" applied to the reform measures and promises of the New Deal and showed that they were again pushing for social reforms.

A big majority of the workers determined to vote unitedly at the polls — to vote as a class — in support of the Democratic Party candidates endorsed by the unions. Their vote resulted in the revival of the Labor-Democratic Party coalition, when the Democrats captured control of the 84th Congress.

PERSPECTIVE FOR 1956

Of course, this coalition is an instrument of Big Business rule though it masks its true nature by a greater use of demagogy than does the Republican Party. The Democratic Party under Truman launched the cold-war, the witch-hunt and enforced the Taft-Hartley law against the unions. The Democratic Party controlled 84th Congress will not provide any significant improvements in the field of labor legislation or civil rights. And it will not end the witch-hunt.

But the workers' experience with the Democratic Party in the next few years will probably be



TRUMAN won in 1948 on promise to repeal Taft-Hartley. Can Democrats do it again in 1956?

decisive. They will in all likelihood give the Democratic Party credit until after the presidential election of 1956 to make good on their expectations. But then the workers will want results.

When the working people discover through their own experiences that the Democratic Party is as solidly tied to the interests of Big Business as is the Republican Party, they will use their present political unity to launch an independent political party of the working class.

This break from the Democratic Party will bring about a genuine reversal in the political scene in the U.S. It will place Big Business reaction on the defensive and launch the working people on the road to winning peace, freedom, security and equality through a struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government.

American Fascists



Sen. McCarthy, fascist demagogue from Wisconsin, shown with his counsel Roy Cohn (left) during the McCarthy-Army probe last summer. For weeks McCarthy was main political attraction on nation's TV and radio sets. Later, leading capitalist circles decided to check his movement by having Senate majority "censure" the would-be American Hitler.

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Monday, December 27, 1954

Velde Group Hits Avowed Fascists

On Dec. 17 the House Un-American Activities Committee listed two organizations on the "lunatic fringe" of the American fascist movement as subversive. The Velde group took action against the avowedly fascist National Renaissance Party with headquarters in the Yorkville district of New York and asked the Justice Department to prosecute the group under the Smith Act. The "party" advocates "the abolition of parliamentary government" and calls for deportation of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Jews and Asians.

The Un-American Activities Committee also listed the magazine Common Sense an anti-Jewish, anti-Negro smear magazine.

As the Dec. 18 N. Y. Times says "Issuance of the report . . . marked the first time since World War II that the committee had turned its attention from the Communist menace to the possible danger of subversion from the extreme right." Why did the committee "turn its attention" in that direction at this time?

Undoubtedly the main reason is the attempt to placate the labor, Negro and Jewish organizations who are becoming increasingly alarmed at the anti-democratic character of the committee's "red-hunting activities."

Also, by these token attacks on fascist grouplets the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee seeks to strengthen its hand to carry out further attacks against democratic liberties. There is nothing new in this device. It was explained by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee in a resolution on "The Capitalist Witch Hunt" Feb. 1950:

"Even when under pressure, government officials pretend to move against mobsters and Ku Kluxers," says the resolution, "they only make theatrical gestures to appease outraged public opinion without actually punishing the real criminals. For every slight tap the capitalist agencies offer the right, they deliver a hundred harsh blows against the left. . .

"Under conditions of a capitalist regime, Trotsky once wrote, 'all curtailment of political rights and freedoms, no matter against whom they may be originally directed, in the end inevitably fall with all their weight on the working class — especially on its most advanced elements.' "Class-conscious workers should not fall into the trap of demanding infringement of anyone's civil rights, including those of the fascists. At the same time they should recognize the real situation and make it plain to others. The civil rights of the fascists is not being threatened; the authorities are in league with them. They are in no danger of persecution or need of defense. They are not the victims but the sponsors and beneficiaries of the current repressions."

The validity of the SWP resolution is underscored by the fact that the House Committee is silent about the main body of American fascists — the McCarthyites. In fact Velde and other McCarthyites ran the House Un-American Activities Committee that issued the report against the fascist grouplets.

Eisenhower and "Right to Work" Laws

Both the CIO and AFL have launched full-scale campaigns against the "right to work" laws enforced in 17 states. These laws ban union-shop contracts. They are used by employers in conjunction with the Taft-Hartley act to maintain low wages and hellish working conditions by preserving the open shop. Both CIO and AFL rightly call them the "right to scab" laws.

Speaking before the CIO convention on Dec. 7, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell denounced these measures, but President Eisenhower promptly denied that Mitchell was speaking for the administration. In his press conference on Dec. 15, Eisenhower straddled the issue and declared that he was not prepared to take a stand.

The question is: Why didn't Eisenhower back his Secretary of Labor? Why didn't he speak out against these laws? From a partisan Republican point of view it was to his advantage to support Mitchell since eleven of the seventeen states having "right to work" laws are in the South where the Democrats rule supreme.

The National Committee of the Democratic Party at its recent meeting said nothing about these laws out of deference to the Southerners. Why didn't Eisenhower try to steal the Democrats' thunder by announcing that he would introduce amendments to Taft-Hartley that would nullify "right to work" laws.

One reason is that Big Business wants to keep the South a non-union preserve for all employers. The growing trend of runaway plants to open shop areas illustrates this. The strength of the entire union movement throughout the country is impaired by this migration.

But there is an important political reason

"Made in Germany"

In an instructive series of articles running currently in the liberal Nation magazine, J. Alvarez del Vayo describes the industrial resurgence of Germany and its reappearance on the world market as an energetic competitor to the other capitalist powers.

Germany "is penetrating into the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Latin America" with "extraordinary vigor," del Vayo declares. In Pakistan, India and Thailand, for instance, the German industrialists "are concentrating on such basic projects as hydroelectric and irrigation dams, steel plants, bridges, roads, and the supplying of heavy and light machinery."

In South America, they are "seeking to capitalize on the widespread anti-United States feeling which has grown out of this country's 'dumping' tactics and general reluctance to buy Latin American goods."

Discussions are underway on how German goods can be pushed into France's African possessions and also those of Belgium.

In Europe, German trade has made spectacular gains in France, Italy, Spain and even England. Not even the United States market has proved immune to the flood of German products.

As an example of what the Germans offer, del Vayo cites automobiles. "The Volkswagen sells in Finland for \$400; what American or European small-car manufacturer can beat that price?"

A Havana distributor for the Packard Motor Car Company "since 1913 gave up the franchise in order to handle the small German Volkswagen." He is reported to have explained,

"I can see nothing but a Volkswagen in the Cuban motorists future."

What has enabled the German cartels to make this impressive industrial comeback? The answer is that they were protected at the end of World War II and nursed back to lusty health by Wall Street. The aim of course was to provide a profitable field for investment of American dollars and to build up imperialist Germany as a powerful ally in the projected war against the Soviet bloc. Under this policy the Allied occupation forces, among whom Washington's voice was decisive, saved the Nazis from the wrath of the German people, barred German labor from moving toward government power and kept wages down in order to keep profits high.

The German capitalists enjoyed another advantage. Freed from the burden of supporting an enormous military machine, they were able to keep costs down and to plow a high percentage of their profits back into plant expansion. Thus the German industrial machine reappears, stream-lined and ultra modern. The time is rapidly nearing when it can be converted into a powerful base for the rearmament demanded by Wall Street.

As competition stiffens among the capitalist powers can there be any doubt that the German imperialists will once again cast hungry looks at the vast potential market and field of exploitation offered by the Soviet bloc? In this they will see eye to eye with their Wall Street patrons and benefactors who have been methodically preparing to crush every force in the world that appears to offer a threat to the system that puts profits above all other considerations.

"Thrill-Killers" of the "Silent" Generation

By Joyce Cowley

The trial of the "thrill-kill" gang came to a close this week. Two of the boys will go to jail for life. One was freed for lack of evidence and will be tried later on a manslaughter charge in connection with another fatal beating. The fourth, fifteen years old, turned state's evidence and will be tried separately. It's probable that he, too, will be released for lack of evidence.

The startling case of the four Brooklyn boys who killed for the fun of it shocked many people into an awareness of the profound crisis of young people today. Max Lerner in the New York Post sums up this reaction when he asks: "Are they like all our young? . . . The four Brooklyn boys involved in the gang adventures seem like perfectly ordinary middle-class boys. And they seem to come from good homes, and to have been given parental love and solicitude. . . . Is there a disease rampant and epidemic in America today among the young generation — perhaps even beyond the bounds of America — which infects all of its members to an extent while it affects some of them catastrophically?"

The trial itself was a legal absurdity which certainly did not

throw any light on this fundamental question. Ironically, no one during the trial said anything about emotional disturbances or character disorders. It was strictly a matter of who was on the pier, at what time, and did anyone see them there.

AVOID MAIN ISSUE

Both the prosecuting and the defense attorneys carefully avoided the subject of the emotional condition of the defendants — the prosecutor because it might provide an escape for these boys, the defense lawyers because they knew it is very difficult to prove legal insanity. The boys have been in jail since August and there was plenty of time for a thorough psychiatric study. But no psychiatric report was offered in the course of the trial. The lawyers were entirely preoccupied with motions and objections and exceptions.

The defense characterized the gang as "mischievous boys" and in a curious display of bad taste summed up the case with a little poem:

"Four little bad boys off on a spree; One turned state's evidence and then there were three. Three little bad boys, what did one do? The judge said "No proof," and then there were two. Two little bad boys in court they must sit, And pray to their jury: please, please acquit."

While I believe in understanding and leniency for juvenile defendants, it seems like the understatement of the year to describe two fatal beatings as "mischievous." Legally, this was considered a safer course for the defense than an honest psychiatric report on the mental and emotional state of the boys.

WHAT NOW?

The trial is over and the future of the four boys has been decided. The two who have been sentenced to life imprisonment obviously have little perspective of any kind ahead. What about the two who will be released?

There has been no effort made to understand their emotional problems, no steps taken to see that their behavior will be less dangerous to others and themselves. A fifteen year old boy was subjected to the ordeal of testifying against his companions in order to save his own skin. It's not likely an experience of this kind will help him to a more

satisfactory "adjustment" to society.

The empty, legalistic handling of one of the most sensational crime cases of this generation does not seem like a routine or accidental matter to me. I think that the judges and lawyers and officials are terrified by these monsters that the conflicts and chaos of our society have produced, and don't want to acknowledge the true horror of this case. Its easier to close their eyes, go through some kind of legal mumbling and gymnastics, and act as if nothing unusual had happened. It's just a routine murder.

The real problem is more accurately and desperately stated by Max Lerner when he says: "Let their rebellion be against parents, against morals, against society even, but not against humanity itself."

"SILENT GENERATION"

About three years ago Time Magazine published a special issue on youth which they called "The Silent Generation." Today's young people, they said, were completely conformist, conservative and invariably upheld the status quo. At that time I asked what Time Magazine was complaining about, since it was part of the apparatus which pushed young people into this conformist pattern. Why weren't they satisfied? Or were they uneasy? Did they feel that the kids had been just a little too quiet and wonder where they would break out next?

I did not anticipate the terrible answer to that question — the beaten and tortured body tossed off a Brooklyn pier by four ordinary boys, four good boys from good Brooklyn homes.

The "silence" of a conformist generation is changing into a menacing destructiveness and violence. Authorities who defend the social institutions of capitalism are afraid to look at this phenomenon or admit its existence, since it inevitably means the doom of the whole system that they support.

It is the responsibility of those of us who want to change people and change society to understand what is happening to youth and how their compulsion to meaningless brutality and self-destruction can be turned into constructive channels. We must show young people how we can create a better society and a happier life, where possibilities for growth and fulfillment will be unlimited and there will be no need to turn to a morbid escape in sadism and violence."

Detroit Strikers Are Reinstated

According to a Dec. 20 AP dispatch, 25 of 27 Detroit Square D workers, fired in last summer's strike, were reinstated by arbitrator, Gabriel Alexander, former General Motors labor disputes umpire.

Two strikers were denied reinstatement, one for "serious misconduct" against strikebreakers, the other, a woman, because she allegedly "made a telephone threat to a nonstriking worker." In depriving these workers of their jobs, Alexander apparently assumed the role of prosecutor, judge and jury.

The Square D strike became a national focal point of labor struggle last summer when the employers resorted to police violence and scab-herding.

The intervention of the UAW-CIO saved the strike from being broken. But the refusal of the Reutherite bureaucracy to give all-out aid to the Square D worker's union, the independent United Electrical Workers, resulted in an unfavorable settlement.

How Rough and Tough Must Red-Catchers Be?

By Patricia Stall

When is a witch hunter safe from being witch-hunted? How much must one do to prove that he's the roughest, toughest Red-Catcher of them all?

Take the case of Dr. David D. Henry, former president of Detroit's Wayne University while he was being considered for the presidency of the University of Illinois, members of the board of that university and various politicians in Illinois were thrown into a quandary when they received anonymous letters charging that Henry was an unfit candidate for the post because when he was president of Wayne he "coddled Communists on the campus."

The Illinois officials set about investigating Henry, whereupon he withdrew his candidacy. "This," he charged, "has degenerated into a process of public review, repudiating professional ethics." But following a series of apologies and meetings, Dr. Henry agreed to become president of the University of Illinois after all.

FINE SENTIMENT The Board of Education, Henry's former associates at Wayne and Detroit newspapers were quite indignant about this "vicious attack on the character of a man . . . in such an Un-American manner as to be frightening." In an editorial the Detroit Free Press declared:

"If this sort of thing is allowed to continue, if whispered evidence, anonymous charges and secret witnesses are accepted at face value, then neither your own reputation nor any other man's is secure in the United States." Three cheers to that statement! But why isn't such a fine sentiment put to work when newspapers report "facts" about labor disputes? Why did every paper in Detroit hurl the accusation "Red-inspired strike" at the Square D workers when the slightest investigation would have proven the simple fact that the Square D workers were fighting to keep their union, not trying to take over the country for Moscow?

The Board of Education is calling in the police, the U.S. Postal Inspection and anyone at all who can help them track down the poison-pen writers who "sought to destroy the good name of Dr. David D. Henry." Fine. But why didn't they worry about the good names of all the teachers they dismissed on the grounds that they were "subversives" or that they "coddled Communist ideas?"

REAL CRIMINALS The Detroit newspapers, the members of the Board of Education and the leading administrators of Wayne University are the real criminals in this case. Their use of red-baiting, their swaying before the wave of McCarthyism and witch-hunting, their refusal to reveal the real facts, their stifling of free and open discussion helped create the atmosphere in which anonymous accusers flourish.

"Dr. Henry, we are told, 'built Wayne from a small 'city college' with only about 6,000 students and a handful of makeshift buildings, into a school with 17,500 students and modern buildings." But those who are familiar with the university can testify: every new building that was erected meant some democratic right was demolished. The state legislature gave more and more money for bigger and better facilities but there were strings attached — strings which Dr. Henry accepted and used to strangle political activity and free inquiry on the campus.

The atmosphere in the university has changed so that today teachers are afraid to openly discuss social and economic solutions objectively — too many instructors have been fired for daring to teach the truth as they saw it. Students are forbidden to learn about the real world situation and the Socialist answers to world problems. One of the most promising developments for the intellectual life of the campus in many years, the formation of a Socialist Club, is under severe attack by university authorities.

All this, Dr. Henry helped bring about while president of Wayne. Symbolically, one of his

last acts before leaving the university was to suspend a student who refused to testify before a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing.

When Dr. Henry became the target of anonymous accusations of "red coddling" he experienced the same fate as the Democratic liberals who initiated the whole witch hunt under Truman — and then became the object of McCarthy's red smear themselves. Dr. Henry's self-defense had the same character as the self-defense of the Democratic liberals. It is not directed against the witch hunt, but merely against the "excess" of witch hunting "one of the boys" — a first class witch hunter himself.

... ILA Contract

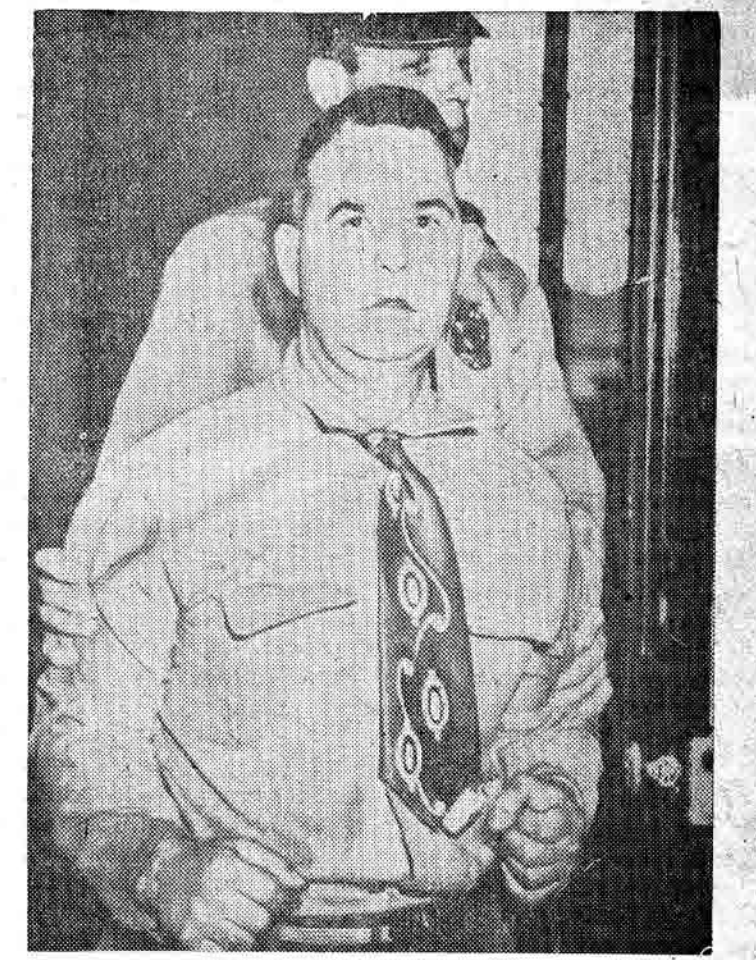
(Continued from page 1)

work. But the dockers see these in their true light as legal reflections of their own day-to-day pressure and struggle. The union leadership occupies the position of arbiters between the ranks of the working longshoremen and the shipping bosses. The latter have made their principal demand the inclusion of a two-year no-strike clause. The union leaders are seeking enough concessions to enable them to sell some kind of no-strike clause to the membership. Meanwhile looming over the negotiating table and looking over their shoulders is the rank and file longshoreman with the powerful strike weapon in his hands.

Regardless of what formula the union leadership comes up with it is clear they are going to have a hard time policing and "disciplining" the ranks.

A core of battle-hardened militants on the New York docks have introduced a new factor there. They are shaping their union and their conditions of work more to the liking of the union ranks. The day has come when the New York longshoreman can hold up his head with the dignity and independence that comes from consciousness of strength.

Witch Hunt Victim



Paul Ault, 43, Bethlehem Steel worker at Williamsport, Pa., is ejected by guard from Senate investigations subcommittee hearing in Washington. When an undercover FBI agent alleged he was a Communist Party member, Ault shouted: "You're trying to take the food out of my children's mouths. You're trying to take my job away from me. No decent workingman will ever talk to you again, you lying stoolpigeon. . . ." Sen. Potter (R-Mich.), who presided at hearing, demanded that Ault be fired and Bethlehem Steel obliged.

World Events

IN CYPRUS BRITISH SOLDIERS FIRED on crowds demonstrating against the United Nations General Assembly's decision on Dec. 16 that shelved Greek demand that the island be granted the right of self-determination. The Christian Science Monitor reported that both right and left-wing organizations called for 24-hour protest strikes. Anti-British and anti-American demonstrations were held throughout Cyprus. Students in Nicosia (Cyprus capital) battled steel-helmeted police, stoned British Army officers, tore down the Union Jack, and damaged British government buildings.

In other actions the student demonstrators "freed" Greek school girls who had been locked in by their teachers.

PLANS FOR A FOREIGN LEGION within the new German army, made up of East European fascist groups that fought on Hitler's side in World War II, were revealed by Albion Ross in a Dec. 16 dispatch to the N.Y. Times. These groups believe "they have powerful allies in the United States who, they assert, feel that Communism is and was more the real enemy than fascism." The chief Sudeten German organ, Volksbote, carried a front page open letter to Sen. McCarthy asking him to come over and clean up the American household in Germany. It is now running a weekly series on "Our Friends in America," aimed at right-wing Congressmen. "However," says Ross, "the breach between the Eisenhower administration and the man whom these people regard as their friend has called a halt for the moment to the further development" of the planned legion.

IN ALGERIA, an Army of Liberation, fighting for the country's independence from French imperialist rule, is operating in the Aures mountains. Although French troops have been re-enforced with units from Indochina, military operations are expected "to be long and arduous" according to a dispatch from Michael Clark in the Dec. 19 N.Y. Times. The Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties — principal Algerian Nationalist organization — recently split. "The rank and file," says Clark, "appears to have remained rather solidly behind M. Messali" (Messali Hadj), who remains faithful to a revolutionary program of immediate independence.

A PURGE OF TOP BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY leaders was revealed in a Dec. 14 Associated Press dispatch. Edgar Lalmand, Secretary General and party boss for the last 11 years, was replaced by a three-man "National Secretariat." Jean Trefve, second in command, and Jean Borremans also were deposed from high party posts. Following Stalinist custom, Lalmand accused the party leadership of political errors and "enthusiastically criticized himself"

for such faults as "authoritarian methods of direction, including personal direction." The three ousted leaders were removed from the Politburo, but remain on the 25-man Central Committee. They were replaced by three little known figures — Rene Beelen, Ernest Burnelle and Gerard van Moerkerke.

EXPLOSIONS ROCKED TUNISIA in seven widely separated points and were aimed at the homes of Tunisians belonging to the neo-Destour party. The neo-Destour leaders recently concluded a deal with French imperialism which would grant Tunisia concessions some time in the future if the Tunisians would surrender their arms now.

DIVORCE IN ARGENTINA has been legalized for the first time in that country by action of the Peronista Parliament against bitter opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. This follows an increased drive by the government to eliminate official Roman Catholic Church control of religious education in the public schools and the passage of a law removing the stigma of "illegitimate" from children born out of wedlock.

POLICE HUNGER-STRIKERS have been seeking higher pay all over India. New Delhi authorities have refused any increases in wages which now amount to \$16 to \$20 per month plus food allowances. Indian Army troops were called out to break the strikes.

MARSHALL TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA, now in New Delhi, India, on a state visit to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, spoke to a combined session of the two houses of the Indian Parliament on Dec. 21. Tito said he was "convinced the Soviet Union's new friendly gestures toward his country had not come about because the Russians had seen that their charges against Yugoslavia were false." These gestures, he said, were made by the USSR as "a consequence of the change in the field of domestic and foreign policy," according to the Dec. 22 N. Y. Times. Marshall Tito said he believed that he and Nehru were of like mind on the importance of "coexistence."

CHICAGO Celebrate New Year's Eve at Socialist Workers Hall 777 West Adams Dec. 31 9 P. M. on Dancing Food - Entertainment Featuring the FOOLHARMONIC "5" Donation \$1 Free for Unemployed

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

New Orleans Story

Another glimpse has been afforded the public of the brutality which is the standard operating procedure in police stations in the U.S. This time the revelations are about the New Orleans police. A Special Citizens Investigating Committee completed its probe and wrote a gruesome report. It was issued to the three daily newspapers in New Orleans which printed excerpts. However, city authorities have refused copies of the 1,900 page report to the Negro press. Thus we have to be content with the following excerpts from New Orleans papers reprinted by the Dec. 18 Pittsburgh Courier:

"It was alleged that members of the detective bureau consider brutality a standard procedure, especially, but not exclusively, in the handling of Negroes.

"Customary forms of brutality practiced by many members of the New Orleans police department allegedly included the use of fists on traffic violators who argue with them; forcing Negroes to put wads of paper in the toilet and then in their mouths; threatening to murder prisoners in an effort to force confessions; the raping of women prisoners." One of the excerpts printed by the New Orleans papers was that a white woman prisoner had been raped by 15 police officers.

The Negro press is interested in getting hold of the full report because at present several young Negro men, are in the New Orleans death house.

Possible further light on New Orleans police methods was furnished by the dramatic case of 26-year old Alton Poret who awaits death on a rape conviction. This young Negro's case was totally unknown until Dec. 2 when the following advertisement appeared in the want ad section of the Los Angeles News: "DEATH SENTENCE. Young colored boy, ex-L. A. resident. I am sentenced to die in the electric chair for a crime I did not commit. My time

to go to the electric chair is near. I have no funds to fight for my life. Without funds I am doomed. I swear I am not guilty. Won't someone please help me? Any help you may give to save my life will always be remembered. Alton Clifton Poret, Parrish Prison, New Orleans, La."

A businessman was moved by the ad and wired Poret that he could help with legal aid if a true detailed account of the case warranted it. Before he received an answer from New Orleans, however, he received a warning from the Los Angeles Ku Kluxers in the form of a fiery cross on his front lawn.

Poret wrote that he had been in prison in Tennessee on a gambling charge and that upon his release was turned over to the New Orleans police and charged with having raped a white woman two years previously. He said the first time he saw the woman involved was when she took the witness stand at his trial: "No one ever picked me out of any kind of a line-up or identified me in any way." The woman testified that she had identified him by the "light of the moon," but Poret adds the weather reports show that the night of the crime was one of the foggiest on record in New Orleans.

Poret added that this woman had apparently relented recently. She had called the police and district attorney about her identification of Poret but had been told the case was out of their hands now. Thereupon she called Poret's mother and revealed that she had made the identification from photographs shown her by the police but had been "coached" in doing so.

Nonetheless Poret is in the shadow of the electric chair. Several other young Negro men in the same prison who claim confessions were tortured out of them by the New Orleans police also are awaiting execution.

No Problems, He Says!

By Roy Gale

In the Sunday, Dec. 19, N. Y. Times, the tiny republic of El Salvador was described by Paul P. Kennedy as the only Central American Country "without any immediate problems."

A Central American Country without any problems would be very unique. As a seaman I visited Central America many times and could never find any country there without any serious problems, at least as far as the workers were concerned. I would be willing to bet that the workers in El Salvador would give Kennedy an argument about their problems. When workers go around in rags, live in houses with dirt floors and don't have enough to eat they have problems.

The grinding poverty and the ruling-class fear of revolt is manifested by the system of internal passports needed by anyone traveling inside the country. One week end, when our ship was loading coffee at La Union, one of the principal ports, four of my shipmates and I decided to visit the capital city, San Salvador. We found that we would have to get permission from the police to make the trip. At first we thought this was because we were foreigners, but in conversations with the driver who took us to the capital, we found that these passes were required from everyone who wished to travel from one section to another.

Questions about the barbed wire fences around La Union were also answered by the driver: the authorities use this method to keep the workers separated and stymie any move toward organization for better working conditions.

Kennedy, in his dispatch to the N. Y. Times, describes El Salvador as a country of relatively

high prices. I can testify to his accuracy on this point. When I was ashore there I found that fruit cost about the same as in the U.S. Beer, that staple commodity of all seamen in foreign ports, cost us 40 cents American for a small bottle. When Kennedy states that high prices are a common complaint of labor there I can well believe it. Wages are equivalent to \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day in the coffee-picking season and 40 to 60 cents a day in the off season.

El Salvador's economy is so closely tied to coffee that any fluctuations in the world market price are quickly registered in prosperity or depression. The 1954 crop is expected to bring about \$100,000,000 as against the \$80,000,000 last year. This is called "prosperity" and has strengthened the administration of President Oscar Osorio, who governs for the planters. "The one serious shadow," says Kennedy, "is in relation to labor, which feels that its income is not keeping up with the pace of profits."

Class relations are sharply drawn with the workers and peasants making up the majority of the population. The coffee, cocoa, and cotton planters, although in a tiny minority, exert tyrannical power. Every administration must bow to their will.

The nearly forty labor unions in the country are stymied by restrictive anti-labor legislation. The "prosperity" that Kennedy talks about is confined to the planters and foreign investment capital. The workers and peasants, whose sweat, blood and tears, make possible any "prosperity" still live in degrading poverty.

And let me tell you, Mr. Kennedy, poverty may not make newspaper headlines, but it's a big "immediate problem" for those who suffer from it.

Notes from the News

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE at a meeting of its National Council in New York, Dec. 16, adopted a policy of "offering free legal service to selected cases which might check the most flagrant violations of the Bill of Rights." The National Council elected Harvey O'Connor, chairman; Corliss Lamont, vice-chairman; Edgar Stillman, Jr., secretary-treasurer; and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel.

TAXES AND STRIKE BREAKING. Walter Reuther, CIO president, recently called for a revision of present corporation tax laws. Companies can now deduct a loss suffered in any one year due to strikes from the taxes they paid in the last two years. Or they can carry the strike loss forward for five years. Reuther's plan would deny this kind of tax relief to companies that refuse to arbitrate union demands. He cites the Kohler Co. in Wisconsin, where the UAW-CIO has been on strike for eight months, as a typical example of a company which refuses to arbitrate because of the huge tax savings possible under the present law. "What it amounts to is that the taxpayer is financing strike breaking," Reuther said.

USE OF OPEN SHOP SOUTH failed to break the strike of Kraft Foods Co. workers, AFL Dairy Employees' Union, Local 754, in Chicago. After a four-week strike the union won a substantial victory. During the strike management switched production to non-union plants at Decatur, Ga., and Garland, Texas, moving equipment from Chicago to those plants. Under the contract just negotiated the employers agreed to return to full production at the Chicago plant and return all equipment. Thus the 1,300 workers will return to work having won a 17 cents an hour wage increase, health, welfare and pen-

sion benefits, the right to refuse to load or unload "unfair" vehicles, and relief from speed-up. "Speed-up was one of the issues that triggered the strike on Nov. 11.

"A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES" don't believe in the objectives of management, complained Clifford F. Hood, president of the U. S. Steel Corp. He blamed "an incessant, often dishonest barrage of propaganda" on behalf of socialism, reported the Wall Street Journal.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST, Rev. Jerome A. Drolet, pastor of the St. Charles Catholic Church in Thibodaux, Louisiana, received the David L. Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service to Labor's Rights for 1954, an annual award given by the Workers Defense League. Father Drolet was honored for "his militant support of 3,000 sugar cane field workers, members of the National Agricultural Workers (AWFL), in their hard-fought strike for union recognition, a living wage, and decent working conditions."

"FULL-TIME EATING" was upheld in a decision handed down by Charles Rubinoff, referee for the Michigan Employment Security Commission. The Great Lakes Bowling Centre had contested pin-setter Norman O. Rhodes' claim for unemployment benefits on the grounds that he had failed to accept "less than full time work" during the summer months at the end of the bowling season. "Those who in their chaste aloofness argue that part-time work, which must be performed without the prospect of a minimum wage, forget the arbitrary fact that man must have visible means of support to go on with the business of living," Rubinoff said. He added that a man will be better off with full-time eating than part-time eating.

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Democrats Cook Up Plans



Paul M. Butler (right), new chairman of the Democratic national committee, is shown with New York Gov.-elect Averell Harriman (left) and former Pres. Truman after a conference in Kansas City. The participants announced that they discussed chances for capturing the White House in 1956. They did not say what campaign promises they intend to make to keep the labor vote corralled with the Democratic donkey.

Detainees Still Kept in Prison

Despite phoney statements by Department of Justice officials that its policy has been reversed, detainees are still treated as criminals and held in prisons. The imprisoning of alien detainees without trial began after the closing of Ellis Island. A protest movement started by Pearl Buck was taken up by such conservative voices as that of the New York Times and Republican Attorney General-elect of New York, J. K. Javits.

Embarrassed by the attacks on its policy of imprisoning people who have not been convicted of any crime or misdemeanor as well as by continuing revelations of inhumane treatment of the detainees in the jails, the Department of Justice tried to fake its way out of the situation. Immigration Service headquarters in Washington on Dec. 9 announced that district directors

had been ordered "under no circumstances" to keep detainees in prisons but rather to lodge them in hotels. In New York it was announced with great fanfare that detainees had been moved to an inexpensive hotel. Then it came out that only a small group had been taken out of prison. Now the New York District Director of Immigration reveals that he has not yet received those publicized instructions from Washington and that the policy remains the same as before.

A N.Y. Times editorial of Dec. 16 concludes: "... things have now come to such a pass that Attorney General Brownell, who has final responsibility for the Immigration Service, should himself issue an order prohibiting further imprisonment of detainees. He should also make sure that his district directors receive the order and that they act on it forthwith."

U. S. treatment of detainees has received attention in the European press. In its issue of Dec. 16 the famous Manchester Guardian carries an account of N.Y. Governor-elect Harriman's attack on the McCarran Immigration Act and the imprisonment of detainees. It speculates that the Eisenhower administration got advance knowledge of Harriman's speech and hastily announced the end of this policy a few hours before Harriman spoke. In any case the promise has not been kept.

"Buy Studebaker" Or Else! NLRB Ruling Indicates

In a Dec. 14 ruling, the National Labor Relations Board dismissed a case brought by 19 workers against Studebaker corporation and the CIO United Auto Workers. These workers said they were laid off for buying new cars other than Studebakers. They charged that the company policy, supported by the union, demands that workers purchase the company product or else lose their jobs for "disloyalty."

The case started in 1953 when Elmer E. Kovach bought a new car that wasn't a Studebaker. He and 18 others, who had also purchased "off brand" cars, were laid off at the South Bend, Ind., plant.

The company claimed that "disloyalty" had nothing to do with the lay offs. Other employees, they said, refused to work alongside of buyers of "off-brand" autos. Thus "production was halted," and the 19 workers were suspended to permit full production to resume.

"UNWRITTEN LAW"

The NLRB, accommodating itself to this company dodge, maintained in its ruling that the 19 workers did not suffer discrimination of any kind from the company and the UAW-CIO. It dismissed the workers' charges on the grounds that neither the company nor the union had any "stated" policy requiring workers to buy the Studebaker product.

The NLRB refused to take an open stand on the issue of whether a company may demand "loyalty" from its employees by making mandatory the purchase of company products. However the NLRB trial examiner, Arthur Leff, noted in his report, "for many years... there has been a feeling among Studebaker employees that one working at Studebaker should drive a Studebaker. That feeling has been expressed by some as a tradition, by others as an unwritten law."

In this way the NLRB made an "unofficial decision" supporting Studebaker's loyalty-to-the-company-product "unwritten law."

N.Y. State CIO Insists Harriman Keep Pledges

By Carl Goodman

NEW YORK.—Louis Hollander, president of the state CIO, which numbers 700,000 members demanded on Dec. 15 that Governor-elect Averell Harriman act swiftly to implement his campaign promises.

Hollander demanded that Harriman push for more liberal unemployment and workmen's compensation programs, and also demanded that he enact a state-wide minimum wage law of \$1.25 per hour. The CIO hopes that such a state law would, if passed, become a yardstick for a new national minimum wage law.

The demand was delivered in a "tart tone," according to the Dec. 16 N. Y. Times. "We intend to give our full support to Mr. Harriman as long as he is true to the promises on which he was elected," Hollander told a meeting of 800 shop chairmen of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

"We are not bound to any political party. We are not interested in patronage. Our sole concern is with program, and we shall not hesitate to attack the Governor if we find him side-tracking things the people of this state need."

Hollander's tough speech was in line with Mike Quill's remarks at the recently held CIO Convention. Quill urged that the CIO follow a more independent policy toward the Democratic Party. He advocated that labor should build its own party in a number of states, not in order to run candidates of its own, but to place greater pressure upon the Democrats.

ANGRY AT DEMO BOSSES

In N. Y., the CIO is still sore at the Democratic Party bosses for having turned down Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. as candidate for governor in last November's election campaign and having made Harriman the standard bearer instead. Of course, the labor bureaucrats swallowed Harriman and campaigned for him, but they are still smarting over the fact that they have no voice in the Democratic Party councils.

At the same time they refuse to launch a Labor Party running its own candidates in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats. Hollander in his speech specifically rejected the notion. "When labor is ripe for independent political action," he said, "it will not be a third party. It will be the first party."

"The reason third parties have failed is that they were the brainchildren of a few self-anointed leaders and not a legitimate expression of the desires of the people. I refuse to isolate myself from the masses and join in a political ghetto by moving toward a third party now."

Hollander thus excused his own failure to advocate a Labor Party by pointing to the lack of readiness for such a move among the "masses." He conceals the fact that since the thirties the

"masses" have on a number of occasions shown readiness to break with the Democrats in favor of independent labor political action. But each time, the labor leaders "isolated" themselves from this sentiment and prevented the building of a Labor Party.

The labor bureaucrats never once during those years campaigned for the principle that working people must wage a class struggle on the political arena. And they do not advance that principle now.

Conservative to the marrow of their bones, the labor bureaucrats fend only for a more favored position inside the Labor-Democratic Party coalition. When Hollander protests that the CIO leaders want no patronage, he was not telling the exact truth. What the labor leaders want is more influence — that is, more control and more posts. Quill and Hollander recommend that the labor leaders should be more

obstreperous with the Democrats so as to win that greater recognition.

At the same time Hollander is mindful of the reason the workers voted for the Democratic Party. He knows that they followed the lead of the union leaders because they want action in the field of unemployment legislation and social reforms. The labor officials therefore hope that by talking tough they can keep the support of the ranks and involve them in their pressure moves.

But even if by these tough pressure tactics the labor officials should win a greater voice for themselves in the Democratic Party — even if next time they succeed in getting a Roosevelt instead of Harriman as candidate — this will not solve any real problems for the majority of the working people. It will not obviate the need of the workers to enter politics as an independent class force.

Buffalo Students Weigh 'Leftism'

By A. Ritchie

BUFFALO, Dec. 15 — A meeting at the State Teachers College here last week, called by the Student Congress to discuss "Leftist attitudes as they affect our campus," marked a break in the long political silence among students locally and indicated growth of resistance to the witch hunt. The meeting was attended by 70 students and members of the faculty.

According to reports, the meeting was called because of controversy over the activities of the Socialist Workers Party in this area. Throughout the discussion, students expressed their resentment against the many pressures imposed upon them by the school administration, as well as reactionary newspaper propaganda, to refrain from examining open-mindedly the ideas of socialism.

One young woman said, "If as teachers, we're expected to mold the minds of our future citizens, and are ourselves restricted in our attempts to learn more about these 'left-wing' movements, how can we answer any questions from our pupils concerning these movements?"

Another teacher-to-be, said, "We're all aware that democracy has a number of shortcomings. Possibly, groups like the Socialist Workers Party have some good which we can incorporate in our philosophy. But, if we just look at one side of the story, in regard to radical political groupings, we may end up with an authoritarian system which permits only one set of ideas."

Part of the discussion was on the "advisability" of allowing radical literature to be distributed on the campus, attending "leftist" meetings, and accepting advertisements from radical groups in the school paper. Some students feel that these practices should be avoided since the ideas of radical groups might influence students who "may not be aware that these groups are listed as subversive."

This view was not based on acceptance of the thought-control precept that ideas can be outlawed, but rather on considerations of a practical nature. Perhaps the most interesting comment in the discussion was made on this point by a student: "We'll have to sign loyalty oaths when we become teachers," she said. "I'd like to attend a radical meeting, but I'd be afraid that if someone were to see me there it might jeopardize my chance of getting a teacher's job later."

The school paper's editorial staff divided recently in a 4-to-3 vote against publishing an ad for a Socialist Workers Party election rally. The close division indicates how strong the tendency to resist accommodation to the witch hunt has become.

In reply to the view that students should not be exposed to radical ideas one student said: "If democracy is so weak that the Socialist Workers Party can convince us with a little propaganda, when we are subjected to the propaganda of democratic capitalism every day, then there is only one conclusion — the SWP may have something."

Our Readers Take the Floor

Lieutenant Defies Army's Witch Hunt

(The following letter was sent to Army authorities on Nov. 18, 1954. The writer, Mr. Thomas J. Barrett, sent a copy to the Militant.—Ed.)

SUBJECT: DD Form 98, Loyalty Certificate

FROM: Thomas J. Barrett, 2nd Lt. Infantry USAR

TO: Headquarters Washington Military District, Fort Lawton, Washington

Reference is made to your letter of 29 October 1954 requesting that I return to you within ten days, executed, Department of Defense Form 98 Loyalty Certificate for personnel of the Armed Forces. I am herewith returning this form to you unsigned.

I had understood that my service in Korea was in defense of the Constitution and the traditional American freedoms. The Constitution of this country explicitly provides for freedom of speech and secrecy of the ballot. Yet now I am asked by the U.S. Army to conform to a political test, and inquisitorial device, opposition to which is axiomatic in the history of this country from the time of the Declaration of Independence. The arbitrary listing of organizations as "subversive" is a totalitarian practice better suited to our enemies in Korea than to the interests of a democracy.

Particularly obnoxious to freedom-loving individuals are the sections in DD Form 98 which prescribe "Standards of Conduct" and prohibit "membership in, association with, or sympathy towards" a vast number of organizations which have been proscribed without benefit of due process of law. Furthermore, the Loyalty Certificate form leaves any American citizen subject to prosecution for a number of undefined "offenses" when it states that "conduct... (and) associations which may be considered as establishing reasonable grounds for imposing appropriate penalties include but are not limited to..." etc.

Paragraph 4 of your letter informs me that I am subject to "involuntary separation" from the Army if I "decline or refuse" to complete this form. I volunteered for the Army, for Officers' Candidate School, for the Airborne Infantry and for the Reserve, and have thus evidenced my desire to do my patriotic duty. However, duty to the Constitution, the principles for which this country stands, and to the individual's conscience must take precedence in the belief of any American over transient hysteria. Thus, if I am forced to choose between the continuing freedom of this nation and conformity to unconstitutional "loyalty oaths," I shall be proud to choose the freedom of my country.

In closing, may I say that I

could with clear conscience answer in the negative all of the questions put to me by this loyalty oath, if I were so inclined. The interests of loyalty, however, seemed to be better served through its defense than through abstract obedience to a few demagogues who would destroy not only loyalty to America, but freedom in America.

This loyalty oath obligates one to reveal political affiliation, prescribes what may or may not be said, and dictates what organizations, may or may not be belonged to, associated with or sympathized in. I shall never lend my support to any scheme which attempts to enforce these things on me or any other American.

Very Truly Yours,
Thomas J. Barrett, 01934994
2nd Lt. Infantry USAR
Seattle, Washington

Workers' Views on Election Results

Editor:

After talking to about 60 persons throughout the plant I work in about what they thought of the elections, I found it was the consensus of opinion that the Democratic victory was the best that could have happened for the general good of labor. As for preventing war, nobody thought that the Democratic Party could prevent war since war was inevitable regardless of which party was in control.

On the question of a Labor Party, only a few believed in a Labor Party as such. Nearly everybody believes that the Democratic Party is a labor party. I asked a few who really showed some interest in discussing just what they thought of the Socialist Workers Party, and, believe me, they seemed to think the time would come when it would be worth a try but at the present time the country was not ready for such a party.

K. R.
Scranton, Penna.

10-Year Old English Girl Wants Pen Pal

Editor:

My Mummy and Daddy both read the Militant. I also read the bits about the school color bar, because Mummy and Daddy are fighting against the color bar in Nottingham. I would like an American Negro pen pal. If you could help me to find one I would be very pleased. I would like a girl about my own age which is ten.

I hope you will be able to help me find such a friend. Could you please send her name and address if you are able to find someone?

Allison Shaw
Nottingham, England

(Anyone wishing to become pen pal should write us and we will furnish her address, which is right in the heart of Robin Hood's old forest.—Ed.)