

FOR A WORKERS AND
FARMERS GOVT. VOTE
SOCIALIST ON NOV. 2

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII—No. 41.

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

McCarthy Issue Remains Central In '54 Elections

By David L. Weiss

SWP Candidate for Governor of New York

The year 1954 opened with the McCarthy issue. It is already scheduled to close with that issue when the first session of the 84th Congress opens a full-dress debate on the Watkins Committee's censure proposal.

Despite wishful thinking to the contrary, McCarthyism is a key issue in the election campaign.

Most of the Eisenhower Republicans and the liberal Democrats say that McCarthy is "finished." But there are a few sour notes in the chorus of premature jubilation, and even a few voices of warning realism.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of the leaders of Americans for Democratic Action, in his N. Y. Post column, Oct. 3, goes along with the false cry of "victory." However, he expresses some uneasiness: "McCarthy might be nearing the end of the trail... But the usual lag between politics and life still seems to hold." Schlesinger says that although "McCarthy himself, in a rare burst of prudence, has decided to restrict his fall crusading to the cause of Joe Meek in Illinois, candidates in the rest of the country still tremble at his name and reputation."

Schlesinger tells how in his own state of Massachusetts the Senatorial candidates "would die today rather than answer a question about the Watkins report."

The N.Y. Times, Oct. 3, says, "The vast majority of Senators maintained a 'judicious silence' on the Watkins report, a silence dictated by political expediency."

The Wall Street Journal, which tries to give its capitalist readers the blunt truth, says: "McCarthy's stock sells high at the

grass roots. The Wisconsin Senator's following is immense, among Democrats and Republicans. A swing through New Jersey turned up surprising McCarthy strength. The same goes for the Midwest."

Anthony Leviero, in the Times, Oct. 3, says, "It should be remembered that Mr. McCarthy has a dedicated following whose power is hard to measure in terms of votes... Even a small number of votes could turn a Representative's election on the McCarthy issue."

Two things are clear: Both the Republican and Democratic high commands would like to think that they have outflanked McCarthy on the "Communist" issue. The Republican big wigs "feel that the Eisenhower administration has succeeded in isolating the Senator from the issue that gained him prominence." (Leviero.) The Democrats think that when the liberal wing of the party steamrollered the worst witch-hunting, union-busting measure through the 83rd Congress, they successfully silenced McCarthy's charge of "treason" and "softness" toward "Communism."

Both these calculations are purely illusory. The "outflanking" technique may appear to score factional gains for the democratic capitalist politicians against the fascist wing, but invariably this appearance explodes, and when the smoke clears the McCarthyites are the gainers.

Feeling secure on their McCarthy flank, the Republicans with Vice-president Nixon in the lead, are tuning up for another red-baiting blast against the Democrats. The stage is being set for another appearance of the skeleton of Harry Dexter White, the alleged Russian spy that Attorney General Brownell "found" in Truman's closet last November — on the eve of an election that looked bad for the Republicans.

The elections again look bad for the Republicans. The red-smear will undoubtedly become the pivotal technique of the desperate GOP leaders. And under these conditions, will McCarthy continue to play the game of lulling his opponents with his "I am wounded and slandering" act?

Whatever the tactic pursued by the sly and crafty fascist Senator, it is nothing short of criminal for the labor movement to allow itself to be deluded into believing the fight against the fascist menace is won.

As a matter of fact the real fight hasn't even begun. Until the labor movement strips for action and takes charge of the fight, let's have no talk about the enemy being finished.

Race-Haters Incite Violence To Keep Segregated Schools

David and Goliath



Detroit Unions Assess Lessons of Square D

By Bill Talbot

DETROIT, Oct. 3.—The Square D strike is over, but Detroit is not the same town it was when the strike began. After 107 days, a settlement was reached last Thursday between the company and the union, Local 957 of the independent United Electrical Workers. But the almost universal feeling here is that nothing was settled decisively.

In line with the growing anti-labor offensive of the capitalist class, the Square D company tried to show that a strike and a union could be broken by police in Detroit, the heart of the CIO auto union. It did not succeed in this, but it came perilously close.

The strike attracted little attention during the first two months, while the plant was shut down, then, at the beginning of September the company began hiring scabs and the streets were choked with hundreds of cops sent down to escort the scabs into the plant. Workers from the auto plants

rubbed their eyes in disbelief when they saw this sight, so unusual in Detroit for more than ten years. Despite the fact that the UE had been expelled from the CIO and was being rebaited savagely by the local press, sentiment spread throughout the city for the UAW to come to the aid of the strikers.

UAW locals, especially those led by the opposition to Reuther — Ford Local 600, Dodge Local 3, Local 351, etc., joined the picket line on Sept. 9. The days that followed were the high point of the strike. Morale rose, the feeling of solidarity was strong, there was great satisfaction among both UAW and UE pickets that united action had been achieved despite the rebaiting and the recent passage of the anti-labor "Communist control law."

The company, which had been confident it could beat the previously isolated strikers, was taken by surprise. But it had the cops, the courts and the press on its side, and it decided

to continue operating the plant and to demand the most humiliating terms in the negotiations. Picketing was peaceful, though the papers gave the impression of a civil war. Actually the only people at the scene hurt seriously enough to require medical treatment were pickets who were run down or clubbed by the police.

READ RIOT ACT

The courts, after a short pretense of impartiality, returned to their original role as open agents of the company and issued a new injunction restricting the UAW along with the striking local. On Sept. 23 the riot act was read to the pickets at the plant over loud-speakers.

The police were further reinforced and again carried gas masks. Outnumbering the pickets, who were observing the injunction, they patrolled the streets, searching people and their cars and breaking up all groups standing around.

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Matthews Tells Newark Council to End Cop Brutality

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, Oct. 6.—"We want to stop the cop who thinks that because he has a club, a black-jack or a gun he can push the Negro people around," said Charles Matthews yesterday to the Newark City Council. Matthews, who is campaign director for the Citizens Against Police Brutality, acted as spokesman for the organization in demanding that the Council pass an ordinance which would automatically suspend any policeman against whom a complaint of brutality had been lodged.

Councilman Bontempo, a former police captain, pleaded, "Don't interfere with the boys (policemen) or they will be afraid to use their power."

Matthews rejoined: "We want policemen to be afraid of suspension if they beat people. We are not complaining of the policeman who uses his power but of the cops who abuse their power. Police brutality must be stopped now."

William Rix, another spokesman for the Citizens Against Police Brutality, and Regional Director of the CIO Packinghouse Workers, pointed to the latest atrocity committed by the Newark police. On the night of Oct. 3, Patrolman Robert C. Hill shot James J. Marshall, a Negro, in the back and killed him. The bullet lodged just above Marshall's heart.

"STILL ON DUTY"
"I called the police department," Rix said. "The patrolman is still on duty. Not a single policeman has ever been found guilty of this kind of crime. The threat of suspension is needed to keep the cops in line."

In another phase of the struggle against police brutality, two policemen, Fred DiOrto and Rocco Ferranti, refused to talk in court about the brutal beating they gave Edward Taylor on Aug. 22. Taylor placed charges of atrocious assault against the cops, and these charges were remanded by Judge Pine to the grand jury, when the policemen refused to enter any defense.

The cops evidently preferred to remain silent in open court, where they would be subject to cross-examination and the testimony of witnesses, in the hope that charges against them will be killed in secret grand jury sessions. Taylor's complaint is a test case of police brutality in Newark.

Taylor, the New Jersey organizer of the Negro Labor Council, is currently on trial on frame-up charges placed by the cops to cover up their own crime.

Negro Students Brave Threatening Mobs to Uphold Their Rights

By Howard Mayhew

Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for Congressman, 2nd. Dist., Ill.

OCT. 5.—When I wrote my article on Jim-Crow schools for last week's Militant, I did not expect such a swift, dramatic and tragic confirmation of my warning that "the fight has merely entered a new stage." Hardly were my words in print when white mobsters and race

terrorists were invading the streets in Baltimore, Md., and Washington, D. C., seeking to force discontinuation of even the limited desegregation put into effect this school term. The mob violence and threats to Negro students in Baltimore and Washington followed hard on the capitulation of Milford, Del., school officials to racist threats and the ending of desegregation there.

I said last week that the Supreme Court's ruling that segregated schools are unconstitutional is a "great legal and moral victory for civil rights and racial equality," but that this does not mean that the fight to abolish school Jim Crow "is just a mopping-up operation from here on in." When racist bands can run wild in the nation's capital, when 12 states of the union can continue total school segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court ruling, then the fight, I repeat, has only begun.

RACISTS ON OFFENSIVE
Right now, the white supremacists are on the offensive, with a violent drive launched from their chief base in the southern states. They are seeking to nullify the court's ruling, to force the court in its session that opened yesterday to give the segregationists all delays and legal loopholes needed to make the previous anti-segregation ruling a dead letter.

The mob actions and racist demonstrations at the very doorstep of the Supreme Court show that the white supremacists do not depend on clever legal briefs alone to influence the court. They are resorting to extra-legal means—to force and violence—to compel the Supreme Court to follow up its anti-segregation ruling of last May with implementing decisions that will give the race-haters legal cover to continue segregated schools under the camouflage of apparent compliance with the original ruling.

I didn't need the examples of Washington, Baltimore and Milford to awaken me to the danger. Our long experience with racial terrorism here in Chicago at the Trumbull Park housing project showed what the score is. The race-haters and the fascist-minded bigots are no respecters of law. Nor does the existence of anti-segregation laws mean they'll be enforced.

Another thing we have learned about race terrorism is that it is organized, planned, directed

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Release Skoglund From Ellis Island On \$1,000 Bond



CARL SKOGLUND

NEW YORK, Oct. 7 — Carl Skoglund, 70-year-old Minneapolis labor leader who is under order of deportation to Sweden, was released from Ellis Island this afternoon on \$1,000 bond pending further consideration of his case by Washington authorities.

The former leader of Teamsters Local 544 has appealed to the Attorney General for discretionary relief due to his advanced years and serious heart condition.

Skoglund was ordered to Ellis Island last May for what he thought was a hearing. Instead he was ordered deported. His lawyer, Stanley Lowell, managed to block the order.

However, on Aug. 27 the immigration officials hustled him aboard a freighter without even giving him time to gather together his few belongings and say goodbye to his friends. Through a writ of habeas corpus he was taken off the ship ten minutes before sailing time and brought back to Ellis Island.

Since then the writ has been extended. Skoglund's release on bond does not change the deportation order. Funds to continue the fight are needed urgently. Send your contribution to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 11, N.Y.

Vatican Gives Blessing to Atomic Mass Murder

By Art Preis

Pope Pius XII has placed his imprimatur upon atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons, provided these are used for "the strict demands of defense." His Holiness told the Congress of the World Medical Association in Rome on Sept. 30 that "modern war" should not be unleashed "without a just cause (that is to say if it has not been forced upon one by a grave injustice that in no way can be avoided...)" Don't toss any H-bombs, piously admonished the authoritarian head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, "except in the case where it is judged indispensable to defend oneself from existing conditions."

Naturally, whoever launches total war, with atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass extermination, will claim to do so in accord with "the strict demands of defense" and with "just cause." This is particularly true of Wall Street im-

perialism, which is planning a war of atomic annihilation to preserve the capitalist profit system, including the richest capitalist institution on earth, the Roman Catholic Church under the totalitarian international rule of the Vatican.

"STRINGENT LIMITS"

God's Viceroy on earth, who presumes to speak in the name of the Prince of Peace, added that in using the H-bomb or some like weapon "to defend oneself" there must be "very clear and stringent limits upon its use so that its effect may not exceed the strict exigencies of defense." And he added the further stricture that "when... this kind of war escapes completely from human control, its use must be rejected as immoral." The "pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the range of action" is "not permitted for any reason whatsoever."

Now, just who does the Pope

expect to start an atomic war without "just cause?" He said: "The community of peoples must look out for criminals without conscience who do not fear to launch total war. There is nothing for it, but for the people to prepare for the day when they must defend themselves." Defend themselves, presumably, with H-bombs.

WHAT DOES HE MEAN?

Since, there are just two countries capable of waging total atomic war — the United States and the Soviet Union — it must be assumed that one of these must harbor those "criminals without conscience who do not fear to launch total war." No one believes the Pope is referring to capitalist America, which has done all the threatening about "massive retaliation" and similar "defensive" measures against the USSR, China and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the Pope's message can quite properly be interpreted as a papal blessing on an atomic "defensive" war conducted by Wall Street against the Soviet Union and its allies.

We do not know the line of moral distinction between a weapon that causes "pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the range of action" and one that is only 50% or 10% effective as a murder device.

The Pope, however, is equipped with a divine calculator to reckon such moral proportions. But if his words are not sheer hypocrisy, then they must be put down to ignorance of the real character of the weapons of modern war and the impossibility of putting "limits" on them so that they do not escape "completely from human control."

Take the latest model H-bombs, for instance. The type that the U. S. exploded in mid-Pacific on March 1, from which a Japanese fisherman died six months later after having been "dusted" with radioactive ash 80 miles from the blast, is cap-

able of destroying all life over an area that might contain tens of millions of people.

Of this bomb, columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop wrote on March 27 that it "will destroy a circular area of 300 square miles by fire and blast. But it will probably expose an area of 6,000 square miles to lethal radiation." (Emphasis in original.)

Such a bomb, they report, "will not only wipe the City of Hartford, say, off the face of the earth by its fireball and percussions, it will also shower most of the State of Connecticut with radio-active particles sufficiently powerful to cause the death of any one not sheltered from them."

Just 100 of these bombs "could destroy most of our major cities and temporarily paralyze a large part of the productive area of the United States," say the Alsops. And they are speaking of a bomb only one-third as powerful as the latest one developed

Isn't it nonsense for the Pope or anyone else to talk about putting "stringent limits" on such weapons? And doesn't this give a religious cover to the capitalists who would use such weapons — for "defense," of course?

Kutcher To Speak At Cleveland Panel

James Kutcher will participate in a panel discussion in Cleveland on the dangers to civil rights under the government "loyalty" program, and tell about his personal experiences as a veteran who was fired because of his political views.

The panel, under the auspices of the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union, is open to the public and will be held at the Baptist Church, 1926 East 18th St. The date: Oct. 14; time: 8 P. M.



HOWARD MAYHEW

"Secretary -- Attractive"

By Joyce Cowley

"Secretary—attractive, to age 29" . . . "Secretary—young" . . . "Secretary to executive, 23 to 29 years" . . . "Secretary—career opening for bright, ambitious young girl."

These help-wanted ads confirmed what I had been reading in a new pamphlet published by the Women's Bureau on the employment problems of older women. "Hiring restrictions based on age are common," they say, "especially for women, who are often considered 'too old' to be hired at 35 years . . . Once unemployed, women have the double disability of age and sex." From this they draw the rather obvious conclusion: "There seems to be something in the mores and conventions of society which makes age, per se, a greater disadvantage to a woman than a man."

Part of the trouble, however, comes from the defeatist attitude of the older workers themselves: "All the employment service study reports show that older workers sometimes fail to face their employment problems realistically. They suffer rapid loss of morale when repeatedly rejected for employment, and show discouragement and bitterness."

I'm forty, an advanced age for a woman in the job market, and I admit I show some of the psychological weaknesses of the older worker. I do feel discouraged, even bitter, when I am repeatedly rejected for employment. This is all wrong and will stand in the way of my adapting to the present employment situation. I don't even want to adapt, which proves I am not realistic. But I can't help agreeing with the conclusions reached by a recent conference on social work . . . "The consequences of discrimination are detrimental to the social and psychological life, as well as the economic resources, of the individuals affected."

I'm willing to forget about social life for a while, but it's an understatement to say that not having a paycheck is "detrimental" to my economic resources. I turned from the pamphlet to one of

those self-help articles in the daily newspaper. The editor comments: "Opportunities for employment of elderly women are not as apparent as during the post-war boom. But they do exist." Then the article gives some advice on how to track down an employer who will not consider you senile at 35.

"Think of yourself as a piece of merchandise. What are your marketable assets? Where can you find a buyer?"

I wonder if this is really good advice for elderly women. It seems more appropriate for special types of employment where youth and beauty are generally required. This may be another proof that I have a defeatist attitude.

You can't afford to get old in this society but it's also not a good thing to be really young. Teen-agers, too, are considered marginal workers. If you study the ads carefully (I do—I want a job), you'll see that the ideal female employee is about 24, a college graduate with five or six years experience. I frequently wonder how she managed all this but it's possible that she remained 24 considerably longer than the usual 12-month period. I think it's the employers, not the elderly workers, who have an unrealistic approach. No matter how many alterations a woman makes in her birth certificate, her face or her figure, she will eventually reach the age of 25.

Most working women are not 24. The median age of the 20 million women who work is 37, which means that half of them are over 37. Five million are over 45. This indicates that age and sex are not "disabilities" except to a boss who is trying to knock down your rate of pay. Since most of the men who interview you and say that you're getting a bit old are well past sixty themselves, I have an idea. Why not retire all the old bosses? This will leave management in the hands of the workers who will certainly find a way, if they're producing for themselves, to use the labor power of every individual who wants to do useful work.

American Way of Life

Happy Motoring—It Says Here

Like almost everyone else in America we spent part of our vacation on the road. (Which proves that experience is a very poor teacher—but we'll let that go.) A piece north of Baltimore on U.S. 1 we stopped at an overly antiseptic diner, all stainless steel and formica tabletops. But the coffee was good and the hamburgers better.

While we were eating, another touring family entered the diner. The mother and two kids sat themselves down at a table while the father came to the counter to speak to the owner. This was sufficiently unorthodox for me to stretch my ears.

"Our maid's outside in the car," the man said, "can we bring her in to eat with us?"

"Colored?" the owner wanted to know. The tourist admitted that his maid was colored. The diner owner shook his head. Then the man asked if he could take some hamburgers out to her. The owner shrugged okay. Real magnanimous.

Unfortunately, we had already eaten. It reminded me of another episode in our checkered vacation career. We had driven down to see if it was true about

Florida. Somewhere around Daytona we saw the cutest motel ever and we drove in to see if we could afford it.

We were about to close the deal when my wife nudged me. I was so tired I disregarded the nudge. She nudged harder. Then I saw it. Swinging calmly in the breeze was a sign—"Gentiles Only."

I told the innkeeper what he could do with his motel. It was an improbable suggestion but I would have helped him.

I thought about it all the way home. About a family believing all the ads and billboards and deciding to take to the open road to see the wonders of America. Say a trip that took in Washington and the Great Smokies and the scenic Mississippi and on to fabulous Yellowstone.

Would the trip sour in the planning as they tried to figure out where to eat and whether they could find a place to sleep? Or would they give it up before the start, knowing that the kids would ask questions for which there is no answer—compatible with the wonders of America.

—Harry Gersh
(Reprinted from Jewish Labor Committee Labor Reports.)

Notes from the News

ONE MILLION AMERICANS will be of voting age in November, but "millions go through half a lifetime without voting at all," states the Cleveland Plain Dealer. "The chronic apathy of a sizable number of citizens towards politics is one of the wonders of this nation . . . Contrast this," they say, "with the European democracies where turnouts of 90 and 95% are commonplace."

GIANT CORPORATIONS GO TO LIECHTENSTEIN to dodge taxes. The Wall Street Journal reveals that this "tax dodging" device consists of incorporating special "holding companies" in the tiny country of Liechtenstein (population 13,757), which lies on the eastern border of Switzerland. "Between 6,000 and 7,000 holding companies, many of them affiliates and subsidiaries of some of America's best-known corporations, are currently 'headquartered' here." These subsidiaries include "big auto makers of the stature of Ford Motor Co. Oil companies of the proportion of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey," etc. The Wall Street Journal points out that "these outfits don't produce a thing in Liechtenstein." But they get secrecy, relief from "government intervention" and "super-low taxes."

BOMB BACKFIRES. For years the capitalist newspapers in Tennessee have had screaming headlines and editorials attacking the labor movement for a series of bombings and incendiary fires. Finally the truth has come out. Arrested as the head dynamite and arsonist is one Jesse Wilson, not a union man, but president of the Tennessee Motor Lines. Said District Attorney J. C. Loser of Nashville: "These operations were carried out in such a way as to

leave the impression that the depredations were being conducted by members of organized labor or their sympathizers. Such was not the case . . . These arrests bring to an end a gang of dynamiters, headed by a businessman, that has terrorized this community for the past several years." Anti-labor newspapers in Tennessee have not yet retracted their libel on the labor movement in headlines and editorials comparable to those proclaiming the unions guilty.

"BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF TAXPAYERS' PROPERTY—government real estate, federal plants and mining claims—are quietly being sold to private bidders at bargain basement rates," the CIO-PAC reports in its publication "Political Action of the Week." Choice items in the "big sell-out" include "a government magnesium claim in Las Vegas, Nev., a federal lock and dam on the Monongahela River, W. Va., the public crane pond wildlife refuge at Groveland, Mass., divers water stations and light houses, a fully equipped federal alcohol plant at Omaha, and a plant all set up to produce beryllium—the rare substance used in metal alloys." This is a big deal for "bargain hunters with the necessary cash."

A SIDEWAYS SLIDE if not a "moderately downward drift in the general level of business activity" is the best the U.S. Savings and Loan League can predict for "the remainder of the year." This definitely puts the League in the "gloom and doom" club, says the Sept. 20 International Oil Worker, because the "League's forecasts in the past have been uncannily accurate."

AFL Officials Echo Wall St.

By Ernest Rief

President George Meany set the tone at the pathetic 73rd convention of the American Federation of Labor which opened, Sept. 20, in Los Angeles. He devoted the first third of his keynote address to an attack on the "world Communist conspiracy." As for the union-busting offensive of the bosses, spearheaded by the Democratic liberals in the 83rd Congress, Meany had very little to say.

The AFL leaders continued to delude themselves and the delegates into believing that they had "improved" the anti-labor Communist Control Act, which incorporated the notorious Butler Bill, by securing the amendment declaring the AFL is not "Communist-infiltrated." Like ostriches, they ignored the fact that this clause is absolutely meaningless. It was clearly stipulated in the Senate floor, and is so stated in the law, that any time the Attorney General wants to, he can declare an AFL union "Communist dominated" or "infiltrated."

Despite this echoing of Wall Street's foreign policy and the

cover-up of the anti-labor role of the two capitalist parties, the convention pointed some sharp criticisms at the Eisenhower administration. The administration was accused of cynically disregarding the interests of labor and the minorities on such things as unemployment, anti-labor legislation, inadequate and segregated housing and tax discrimination against low incomes.

When Eisenhower spoke to the convention he felt compelled to apologize for failing to "revise" the Taft-Hartley law as he had promised. Ignoring all other charges against his administration he vaguely repeated his promise to remove some of the more odious clauses.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The convention named unemployment as labor's most pressing problem. But the AFL leaders offered absolutely no program capable of meeting the growing economic crisis. Where many unions are advancing the demand for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay the AFL announced the objective of a 35-hour regular work week to be achieved within two years, an objective already outdated at the time of its adoption.

Some of the aspirations of the Negro people were expressed in resolutions introduced by A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porter Union. One which condemned the racist policies of Mahan in South Africa was adopted. Another recognized "a state of violence bordering on armed conflict . . . in Trumbull Park federal housing project in Chicago" and declared "the federal government . . . is the greatest single force in promoting segregation in residential areas." This resolution was not adopted but was referred to a committee for further consideration, as was also a resolution which sympathized with the Mau Mau resistance movement in Kenya and condemned British colonialism as "the most brutal and barbaric form of warfare . . . directed against the natives of Kenya."

LABOR'S FRIENDS

The political policy adopted by the convention is, if anything, more miserable than its economic program. Even the old and worn-out Gompers policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies," is being watered down. A "friend," according to the present AFL leaders, is not someone who has done something for labor, or at least someone who has done nothing against labor, but rather someone who promises not to attack labor any more—in the future.

The AFL convention points up more than ever the need to build a left-wing movement in the unions that will assert labor's independent political interests. With its present policy the labor movement is heading for disaster. It cannot cope with the threat of capitalist depression, the menace of McCarthyite fascism, or the danger of war. A new policy and a new leadership is needed. Labor must build its own independent party and fight for a Workers and Farmers Government.

End 40-Year Feud



Ending a 40-year jurisdictional dispute, Pres. Al Hayes (left) of the AFL International Association of Machinists and Pres. Maurice Hatcher of the AFL Brotherhood of Carpenters sign a pact providing for arbitration of differences. The IAM had twice previously walked out of AFL because of conflict with Carpenters.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

The materialist dialectic of Marxism, which Herberg abandoned in favor of religious mysticism, teaches that "negative" and "positive" are simply two sides of a unified concept. You can't have the one without the other. (If you don't believe this, try to isolate a negative pole from its positive counterpart by sawing a magnet in half. You will find you have only got a new pair of opposites that can't be separated from each other.) Only in pretentious articles can we find the "apotheosis of negativity . . . clinging around a vacuum." In the real political world, if Herberg will excuse us, matters stand somewhat differently.

The "negative" rage and frustration of the American middle class, is threatening to take the "positive" form of a mass fascist movement. The conglomeration of "oppositions and resentments" that Herberg speaks of, has already, for a considerable number of middle class elements, begun to cling, not around a vacuum, but around the symbolic figure of McCarthy.

What does this ominous figure stand for? Herberg says it stands for—nothing. McCarthy is merely a "free swinging soldier of fortune," who is "for" only one thing—"Joe McCarthy."

Herberg may think this is a good joke, and that such a "for" cannot possibly be a part of the "positive" appeal of the fascists to the masses. It is hard to imagine a more serious mistake.

SALVATION OR DOOM?

One of the most striking successes of McCarthyism as an incipient fascist movement is the popularization of the issue: for or against McCarthy. The issue is not merely in McCarthy's head. It has been posed before millions of people who have taken sides. Moreover it is posed in typically fascist form: for or against McCarthy means: For national salvation or for national doom.

When McCarthy, like Hitler, raises the cry of "treason in high places" and parades before the American people as the "skunk-hunting" scourge of wrong-doers and traitors, we must conclude that the personal symbolism of a fascist program is already developing on American soil.

The McCarthyite charge of "21 years of treason" must be assessed against the background of the present position of American capitalism in the world. Since the end of World War II, American capitalism has suffered one reverse after another. The tide of history is flowing powerfully against the dollar imperialists. Hundreds of millions of former colonial slaves have shaken off the chains of servitude.

The very foundations of American capitalist society are being shaken. Every class in our society feels it. Insecurity and lack of faith in the future of capitalism is a fundamental part of our daily lives. And over all hangs the threat of an H-bomb catastrophe.

All this raises questions in the minds of millions of people: Who is responsible? How did we come to such a pass? How are we going to survive?

McCarthy's treason charge is the American fascist answer to these questions. It is the germ form of the whole fascist program and strategy. Every ill and misfortune of the American

Our Readers Take the Floor

A Street Scene in New York City

Editor:

As I walked by an old East Side tenement house last week a crowd was gathered in front with an old man in about his sixties holding on to an old iron railing weeping and fro, obviously drunk. Standing in front of him were two of "New York City's finest cops."

One of the big cops said to the old man, "Don't give me any lip" and he hit the old man across the face.

His wife who was standing in the doorway shouted, "Don't hit him or I'll break this box over your heads. I called you to quiet him down, but don't you hit him."

The moral of this is never to call a cop. All these enforcers of the peace understand is violence—with a club or blackjack.

A. M.
New York City

The wobbles have a slogan that I concur with. It is: Let the workers take the works and leave Washington to the politicians and we'll just let them give the weather report occasionally, or words to that effect.

I don't make a practice of writing to editors but since I'm writing anyway I may as well gripe.

B. B.
Flint, Mich.

The lectures by James P. Cannon that B. B. of Flint refers to have been printed in pamphlet form under the title "America's Road to Socialism." Price 35 cents. — Editor

Criticizes Emphasis On Politics

Editor:

My complaint is almost universal with all so-called liberal organizations, especially those who so volitionally espouse the cause of the working class. I'm not advocating surrender of principle but I do contend there is more ground for unity of thought and action than is being practiced by said liberal groups.

I think you devote too much space to the race and political questions. It seems to me the working class should be primarily concerned with the economic question which more nearly ties us all together.

Even labor unions ignore the workers on this issue in order to curry political boss favoritism for themselves and their subservient boot lickers.

I concede a major point to you on condition. If we are determined to dabble in politics, then certainly as you advocate we should have our own political party.

I think such traitors as Reuther are greatly responsible for the workers' inability to think and grasp the real problems but they (the traitors) seem to have the best of it.

I recall a series of lectures carried in the Militant more than a year ago delivered by Mr. Cannon in California that made the simplest and most constructive sense I ever read. We need more of that kind of message.

My surprise was more than matched by the complete bewilderment of the second heckler. "What goes on here? . . . I don't understand . . . We grew

up together . . . Aren't you with us?"

"I don't care," remarked our friend, "if there's going to be a parting of the ways, let it be now."

After the meeting a comrade who talked to this worker supplied some more information about him. He is a member of the Catholic Worker Movement, and was previously aware of the existence of the SWP (though not in agreement).

What an encouraging sight it was to see this side of the Catholic community strongly counterpoised to the attitude of the Police Department's Holy Name Society towards McCarthy.

H. G.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, and Circulation required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1907, and June 2, 1948 (Title 49, United States Code, Section 232) of The Militant published weekly at New York, N.Y., for October 1954.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are: Publisher, The Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Place, New York 3; Editor, Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3; Managing Editor, Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3; Business Manager, Dorothy Johnson, 116 University Place, New York 3.

2. The owner (if owned by a corporation, its name and address, and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given. If the publication is published by a sole proprietor, his name and address must be given.) None.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and tri-weekly newspapers only.) 2,226.

Dorothy Johnson, Business Manager sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1954.

REBA G. HANSEN
(Seal)
(My commission expires March 30, 1956.)

McCarthy-Hitler: Two of a Kind?

By Murry Weiss

According to Will Herberg, the ex-Marxist who undertook to refute the Hitler-McCarthy parallel (New Republic, Aug. 23) McCarthy is not a fascist because he has a purely negative program.

The fascist leader, says Herberg, "is concerned with building a movement against the existing order. The power with which he operates is fundamentally the power of the positive idea he stands for."

Herberg assures us: "McCarthy is obviously something very different. He stands for no cause, no program. He rallies his support by exploiting the country's fears, anxieties, and frustrations, and the incredible blunders of the men in power. He is against Communism . . . but is not for anything." (Emphasis in original.)

Herberg summarizes his findings with a deep-sounding phrase: "McCarthyism is thus the very apotheosis of negativity: it is a conglomeration of oppositions and resentments clinging around a vacuum."

The materialist dialectic of Marxism, which Herberg abandoned in favor of religious mysticism, teaches that "negative" and "positive" are simply two sides of a unified concept. You can't have the one without the other. (If you don't believe this, try to isolate a negative pole from its positive counterpart by sawing a magnet in half. You will find you have only got a new pair of opposites that can't be separated from each other.) Only in pretentious articles can we find the "apotheosis of negativity . . . clinging around a vacuum." In the real political world, if Herberg will excuse us, matters stand somewhat differently.

The "negative" rage and frustration of the American middle class, is threatening to take the "positive" form of a mass fascist movement. The conglomeration of "oppositions and resentments" that Herberg speaks of, has already, for a considerable number of middle class elements, begun to cling, not around a vacuum, but around the symbolic figure of McCarthy.

What does this ominous figure stand for? Herberg says it stands for—nothing. McCarthy is merely a "free swinging soldier of fortune," who is "for" only one thing—"Joe McCarthy."

Herberg may think this is a good joke, and that such a "for" cannot possibly be a part of the "positive" appeal of the fascists to the masses. It is hard to imagine a more serious mistake.

The task is not to wait for such a soul-satisfying, symmetrical parallel. The task is to destroy fascism in its incipient form, before its potential becomes actual.

The question of whether or not there is a parallel between McCarthy and Hitler can be debated until even the Herbergs can see one. But then it will be very late. The parallel cannot be refuted on paper, it must be destroyed in life.

(last of a series.)

NEW YORK
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Staff Writer of the Militant
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Socialist Workers Party

"Germans in Uniform Again Next Spring"

By Joseph Hansen

The nine-power accord which was signed in London Oct. 3 was hailed the following day by Eisenhower as "one of the greatest diplomatic achievements of our time."

This was not just election propaganda aimed at giving sagging Republican prospects a lift. The N.Y. Times, which is widely considered one of the most authoritative voices of Big Business, indicated its satisfaction over the diplomatic success in its lead editorial Oct. 5:

"The historic Act of London, which blueprints the foundations of a new Europe, is rightly being hailed as a triumph of Western diplomacy. To a large extent this act wipes out the debacle of the European Defense Community and gives new strength and vitality to the whole Atlantic community. History is on the march."

Is History really on the march? Have the foundations of a new Europe actually been laid? Is the accord a big step toward world peace? Let us see. The representatives of the nine powers (U.S., Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) made two decisions: to grant sovereignty to West Germany, and OK its rearmament.

Writing from Bonn Oct. 3, Times correspondent M. S. Handler summed it up in one sentence: "If all goes according to schedule, as far as obtaining parliamentary ratifications of the agreements is concerned, the world will see Germans in uniform again next spring."

The detailed plans for German rearmament which were worked out for application under the European Defense Community that was killed last month, will now be put into effect under the "Act of London." The plans call for construction of an army of 500,000 men within two years. Of these 100,000 will be volunteers, a high proportion of them officers and privates who fought in the Nazi armies of World War II. The other 400,000 will be conscripts.

Men between 18 and 45 will be subject to the draft, according to the proposed law.

Former officers of Hitler's forces will be liable up to the age of 60.

The U.S. Government has committed itself to supplying the heavy equipment for the army and planes for the air force. In addition, according to the N.Y.

British Left Laborite in China



British-left Laborite Aneurin Bevan (left) chats with a Chinese miner as he visits the Kailan coal mines during the British Labor party delegation tour of China. Bevan returned to continue opposition fight against right wing of the Labor Party led by Clement Attlee at a recent party conference.

Times, a "skeleton detachment of a United States military mission arrived in Bonn some time ago to prepare the ground for close cooperation in the building up of the new German military establishment."

In reaching the agreement, Chancellor Adenauer "promised" that the new German imperialist armed forces would refrain from producing atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and would not use "force" in trying to unify Germany. Such promises are obviously nothing but sugar-coating. Undoubtedly in the highly secret sessions held during the conference a different understanding was reached about training the German forces in the use of such weapons if not their immediate manufacture.

The "Act of London," clearly enough, is another long step toward World War III. It is a step taken in line with the strategic aim of Wall Street's policy;

that is, to prepare for an attack on the Soviet bloc.

As pointed out by the Militant many times, this requires two essentials — the rearmament of Germany and Japan. Japan has already begun this task. Now agreement has been reached to start it in Germany. That is the reason for Wall Street's elation.

DEFEAT OF EDC

Only a month ago, the French government vetoed the EDC plan of rearming Germany and integrating its forces under an overall Allied command. This was considered a staggering defeat for Wall Street's war plans. However, as Joseph C. Harsch of the Christian Science Monitor puts it, "the appearance of disaster sometimes exceeds the substance." The defeat of EDC constituted a tactical setback for Dulles, not a strategic defeat.

The head of the State Department was, in the vernacular of

the criminal world, "hot." And so he stepped back and a different member of the gang, Anthony Eden, moved into the forefront.

Eden met French objections by committing England to an active part in the Allied military scheme for Europe. Adenauer followed up with his "promises," which were especially aimed at soothing French fears of a re-armed Germany. And Premier Pierre Mendes-France signed on the dotted line. He has now announced that he will stake his government on getting early ratification of his concessions to Dulles-Eden.

Thus Dulles scored a tactical success, one so great in the opinion of most of the bourgeois commentators as to more than make up for the setback he suffered last month over EDC.

COOL RECEPTION

But the cheering in Wall Street was not echoed in Germany. When Adenauer reported back to Parliament in Bonn Oct. 5 he met with such a cool reception that it appeared like a demonstration, particularly since he had been expecting to get an ovation.

The Social Democratic opposition heard him in almost complete silence. Even his own party gave only sparse applause. This attitude reflects fear of the Soviet reaction to the rearming of Germany and the feeling that the course to which Adenauer is trying to commit the country stands in the way of reunification with East Germany. In addition the profound hatred of war that exists among the German people after experiencing the catastrophes of World War I and World War II could not help but penetrate the assemblage and stifle any cheers over a policy that commits Germany to becoming a battlefield in an atomic conflict.

The haste with which Mendes-France seeks approval of his policy indicates that he fears popular opposition. He hopes to get legislative approval before the people have a chance to organize pressure sufficient to cause his government to fall. Whether he succeeds remains to be seen.

The agreement to rearm Germany, even if it is ratified by the various governments, does not mean that World War III will break out tomorrow. Like all the phases in Wall Street's blueprint for World War III, German rearmament is subject to delay and postponement.

LONGING FOR PEACE

The greatest obstacle of all is the universal longing of the people of the world for peace. This holds true for the United States as well as countries that have suffered most directly and grievously from the devastation of imperialist war.

While the diplomats were plotting at London, the American people once again registered their opposition to another conflict. On Sept. 28 the Gallup Poll reported that persons asked whether they thought the U.S. "should go to war against Russia now while we still have the advantage in atomic and hydrogen bombs" responded with an overwhelming, "No."

Deducting the 11% who had no opinion, the answers were six to one against war. According to the Gallup Institute this was "one of the most convincing majorities ever recorded in polling annals."

That majority, we may safely predict, will prove somewhat more difficult to line up for another war than the puppet government the U.S. is backing in West Germany.

(Next week: Moscow's reaction to German rearmament.)

World Events

By Fred Hart

YUGOSLAV DIPLOMACY AGENCIES have been working at white heat. Within a short period the Trieste territorial dispute with Italy has been settled. A trade pact with the Soviet Union has been signed, ending the six-year economic war which the Kremlin instituted. And arrangements have been announced for Tito to visit India and Burma.

COPPER MINERS IN CHILE won a victory in their strike despite the combined efforts of the U. S. owned companies and the government to defeat them. On Oct. 2 the key Braden Copper Co. (a Kennecott subsidiary) signed an agreement granting a 26% wage increase to miners and other company workers. The strikes, which also involved Andacota Copper mines, began in August. Chilean President Ibanez tried to label the strikes as "communist-inspired" and on that pretext put the country under martial law. Despite arrests of strikers and the use of troops the strikers won.

JOMO KENYATTA and four other leaders of the outlawed Kenya Africa Union, mass organization of the Kenyan people, will be confined "indefinitely" even after they have completed serving the seven-year prison sentences imposed on them in a frame-up trial over a year ago. British imperialist governor Sir Evelyn Baring announced. Despite savage repression the Mau Mau guerrilla movement continues unabated. Recently Mau Mau guerrillas staged their biggest jail delivery only 23 miles from Nairobi, capital of Kenya. Attacking the prison in force and by surprise they freed 200 anti-imperialist prisoners.

"SEDITIONOUS" AFRICA. In Uganda the British have imprisoned Kagwa Ddamba of the Uganda Express for printing "seditious" news. In Tanganyika the conviction of nine Arab writers for an anti-imperialist article in the Zanzibar newspaper Al Falah has resulted in the resignation of two Arab members of the Legislative Council and wholesale resignations of Arabs connected with other government departments.

WHAT'S GOING ON IN GUATEMALA? Here are excerpts from the accounts from the AFL and CIO both of which, to their shame, supported the State Department's intervention and propaganda cover-up against the Arbenz regime. The news from CIO, Int'l Ed. Sept. 10 carries the story of Daniel Benedict, Associate director of International Affairs, who has visited Guatemala twice since the State Department-United Fruit Co. "revolt." According to Benedict, "non-Communist workers known

for, or suspected of, strong trade union feelings have been and are now being fired by the scores . . . Juridical recognition of many unions from which the Communist leaders had been removed . . . has been withdrawn . . . The land reform program . . . is being wiped out." The American Federationist of September gives a report by Serafino Romualdo, AFL Representative for Latin America, describing the new regime's "dissolving the Teacher's, the Railway Union called SAME, which was the strongest in the country, and two labor syndicates in the United Fruit Company's banana plantations . . . The three dissolved industrial unions operated in the jurisdiction of the United Fruit Company and its subsidiary, the International Railway of Central America . . . It is generally accepted that the decree dissolving the banana workers' and railway workers' unions . . . was issued at the insistent request of the American companies."

POSSIBLE FAMINE IN THE USSR This winter is listed by Robert S. Allen, Washington columnist, as a factor in the Kremlin's decision to accept surplus U. S. farm products for the satellite countries and repeated increases in the price of bread and other foods in the USSR. The Fall issue of Fourth International, now on the press, contains an article by John G. Wright giving details of the crisis in Soviet agriculture.

"AT LEAST" 2,000 political prisoners are in Guatemalan jails. This is the figure the United Fruit Co. puppet ruler of Guatemala, Castillo Armas, admits. Moreover, the Mexican government has started extradition proceedings against at least 16 Guatemalan refugees. Extradition of political supporters of the overthrown Arbenz regime would be a reversal of Mexico's policy of asylum for refugees in the period during and immediately after the U.S. State Department's contrived "revolt" against the democratically elected Arbenz regime in Guatemala. It would also be a reversal of Mexico's cherished and world-honored policy of political asylum which was established by the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ITALY, the country's "greatest economic and social problem," according to the N. Y. Times correspondent in Rome, remains high and government authorities have no hope of it diminishing in the next few years. Official figures which are notoriously untrustworthy show about 2,300,000 unemployed. This despite the much touted post-war recovery of Italian capitalism.

The Lesson of the Square D Strike

There are important lessons for the whole American working class in the recently concluded Detroit Square D strike.

The strike-breaking plan of the Square D employers was launched immediately after Congress passed the Humphrey-Butler "Communist infiltration" in unions bill, the Communist Control Act of 1954.

The workers at Square D belonged to a union, the independent United Electrical Workers, which was marked by the union-busters as "red."

Surely, the employers figured, there was no need to worry about the rest of the Detroit labor movement coming to the aid of the strikers. Reuther and the other labor officials have been red-baiting and raiding the UE for years.

What a wonderful opportunity to set a precedent for some good, old-fashioned strike-breaking. The employers all over the country were watching with avid interest, licking their chops at the delicious prospect—a smashed strike in Detroit!

But wait. Something happened. The rank-and-file Detroit unionists upset the apple cart. They refused to stand by and allow the strike to be broken. They cut right through all the witch-hunting formulas with the sharp axe of working-class solidarity. A wave of support for the Square D strike swept the Detroit union movement, AFL and CIO. Talk was rife about a Labor Holiday.

The tables were turned on the employers. They couldn't get what they dreamed about—a broken strike in the heart of the industrial union movement of the United States. The rank-and-file Detroit unionists had prevented that. But they could try to salvage something. They had another card to play. They could use

the tie-up of the labor officials with the Democratic Party to rob the strikers of a clean-cut victory. And that's just what happened if you want the blunt truth.

Detroit labor could easily have won every demand raised by the Square D strikers. These demands were elementary and completely justified. As a matter of fact they were exceedingly modest demands. But the Reutherites, after failing to isolate the Square D strike from the main stream of the Detroit labor movement, knifed the strike in another way.

They convinced the more militant union officials that mass picket action, which would certainly have won the strike, should not be used—because it would embarrass the Democratic Party state administration during an election year. Thus in the interests of their alliance with the Democratic Party strike-breakers, the Reutherites prevented a sure victory for all the strike demands.

The Detroit workers saved the day for unionism, they prevented the Square D strike from being smashed by police terror and scab-herding, they gave a magnificent demonstration of solidarity and militancy. But the Reutherite union officials sold the striker's demands down the river in order to sew up their alliance with "Soapy" Williams, the Democratic governor.

The lesson stands out in bold relief. The union-busters cannot be fought successfully in alliance with one of the major union-busting boss parties. What is won on the picket line is lost in the smoke-filled back room where the labor officials make deals with the capitalist politicians. The fight against the union-busters demands a break once and for all with company unionism in politics.

Arnall Shows His True Colors

Ellis Arnall has long been a prize exhibit of the Southern liberals. As New Deal Governor of Georgia during the last war he was acclaimed by the Stalinists, Social-Democrats and liberals. When labor leaders and Negro leaders wanted to take the bad taste of Rankin, Bilbo and Talmadge out of their followers' mouths and get them to vote the Democratic ticket, hosannas to Arnall were a standard recipe.

Well, the great liberal Arnall has spoken out on the school segregation battle. He criticizes the way the present Governor of Georgia, Talmadge, and the other old-line Democratic politicians of the South are "agitating" the issue. He counterposes his "liberal" solution: "Delaying tactics through the courts can preserve segregation in Georgia schools for at least a hundred years," the N.Y. Times of Oct. 5 reports him as declaring.

Here in a nutshell is the difference between the liberals and the reactionaries of the Democratic Party. It is a matter of method.

Talmadge and his ilk are crude in their political manners and talk. They don't try

to pretend they're friends of labor or of the Negro people. They don't conceal the fact that they are labor haters and racists. They propose to prevent integration even if it means junking the public school system of the South. Arnall and his type propose to prevent integration by legislative and legal tricks for "at least a hundred years."

Thus for labor and the Negro people a choice between Democratic reactionaries like Talmadge and Democratic liberals like Arnall boils down to whether you prefer your enemies open and avowed or hypocritical.

There is a lot to be said for an enemy that you know is an enemy rather than an enemy who pretends to be your friend.

But the working people and oppressed minorities of this country are not confined to choosing between enemies. Another alternative exists. That is the building of an independent party of labor. Then the Talmadges and Arnalls and their ilk can be swept out of office and replaced by men and women of all races who are not "friends" but the flesh and bone of the working people and responsible to them.

Stevenson on Depressions

Adlai Stevenson made a big speech in Detroit on Oct. 2. Citing the growing unemployment and other signs of economic decline and the lack of government action, he lambasted the Republican Party.

But, after all, the capitalist system has always been a system of boom and bust—with the busts getting more and more terrible as capitalism decays. Would the Democratic Party be able to stop the threatening depression?

Let's look at the record. The Democratic Party under Roosevelt came into office in the midst of the last major depression. Despite all the recovery efforts, the depression was not overcome. In fact in 1937 the shaky economy took another "recession" nose dive. The only way the country got out of the depression was by war production and entry into World War II.

Under Truman the war-prosperity jag began to wear off in 1949 and the economy declined the same way it is doing today. What economic wizardry did the Truman administration use to prevent that decline from becoming a depression? The answer is as well known as it was bloody—the Korean War.

A close reading of Stevenson's speech shows that beneath all his assertions he has no cure for economic decline and depression. He merely proposes some piddling measures, palliatives. A doctor, who assured a patient mortally sick with cancer that a few sugar-coated pills would make him sound, would be labelled a quack. Stevenson's remedies for the mortally sick capitalist system qualify him for the same title.

The only answer the capitalist politicians have to depressions is war. And this "cure," only postpones depression, it doesn't prevent it. Moreover, in this day of the H-Bomb the war "cure" would destroy civilization.

Stevenson also attacked the Republicans for their "indifference, complacency and the failure to show genuine, human concern" about the economic situation. But did not his party exhibit "indifference, complacency and the failure to show genuine, human concern" for the mounting unemployment before the Korean War? On February 15, 1950, Truman declared: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times. This is healthy for the economic body."

When the Democrats were in the White House "three to five million" unemployed didn't upset them. "Job-seeking" was a "good thing." How much "genuine, human concern" did Truman exhibit for the unemployed?

It is evident that the capitalist politicians of both parties sing different tunes about unemployment depending on whether they are in or out of office.

The only people who can be depended on to have "genuine, human concern" for the plight of the unemployed is the labor movement and the unemployed themselves, not the vote-catching capitalist politicians. That is why this country needs a Labor Party.

And the only way to cure depressions is to junk the capitalist system and replace it with a planned socialist economy.

...Detroit Unions Assess Square D

(Continued from page 1)

The showdown had begun. In the seat of its power, the UAW was being told that it must sit by while the cops broke a strike and re-established an open shop.

There was only one way to turn the tide and win a victory, and everyone knew what it was: a labor holiday, that is, a demonstration by the whole union movement that would turn out tens of thousands of workers in a show of strength so great that scab-herding would have to be abandoned and the company forced to negotiate a reasonable settlement.

Around the Square D picket line and through the city, workers talked of a labor holiday. But the leadership of the UAW international feared such an action as much as it did the precedent of a broken strike in Detroit. Instead, it chose to seek a compromise.

REUTHER STATEMENT

Walter Reuther and other top officers of the international issued a statement on Sept. 24, calling for arbitration of the disputed issues and for an election to be held shortly after settlement to "give the Square D workers a chance to change their leadership." It is true that the UAW proposal, with the exception of the proposed election, did not offer the company anything which the UE leadership had not already given away in negotiations. But the Square D leaders were on the spot and had little power to bargain with. It was the UAW as the power on the scene which had the opportunity to force acceptance of the workers' original demands, or at least, something approaching a reasonable settlement. This they chose not to do.

The so-called "right wing" locals of the UAW were pulled off the line when the injunction was issued, with the general understanding in the ranks that if a compromise was not reached, they might have to return in force. The other locals continued picketing, and after two days actually increased the picket lines above what the injunction allowed, but not enough to stop the scabs. It was clear that the Square D strikers were going to be forced to take a bitter pill.

The UE negotiators agreed to

give the company its no-strike pledge, only slightly modified, and the company agreed to give the strikers seniority over the scabs. The sole remaining issue was the rehiring of 27 militant strikers who had been fired by the company (for no stated cause) since the strike began.

On Sept. 29, the courts dealt the union a stiff blow by sentencing three leaders of Local 957 to 30 days in jail and a \$250 fine for violating the original injunction against mass picketing. The next day the union negotiating committee finally agreed to arbitrate the question of rehiring the 27, some of whom sat on that very committee.

Why did the UAW leaders seek this terrible compromise? Why did even the local leaders who had come to the aid of the strikers in their hour of need choose to withhold enough aid to win a definite victory? Why did they back down in the face of the clear-cut, open, anti-union actions of the city officials? It should be pointed out here that not only the International leaders, but also those of the more militant UAW locals share the responsibility for this retreat. They supported it and spoke in favor of it to the ranks of their squadrons.

GAME OF BOSS POLITICS

It is common knowledge that the reason was political. All the UAW leaders, Reuther and anti-Reuther, are supporting Democratic Governor Williams for reelection this year. They shrink from taking any action that might embarrass him on the eve of the elections.

"The UAW could shut down this plant in 24 hours," said one supporter of the UAW's official political line. "But that would put Williams on the spot. He would be asked to call out the Guard. If he supported us, he would lose a lot of votes. If he went against us, a lot of union guys wouldn't vote for him. Either way, he might lose the election because of what we did. We just can't afford to go into the '55 contract fights without a friend in the governorship."

The decision to retreat was not a popular one among the UAW ranks. The overwhelming majority of the UAW pickets wanted to carry through the

fight and show the cops and city officials that Detroit is still a union town. It frightened them to see anyone getting away with crossing a picket line here. Occasionally the comment was heard: "If Williams isn't enough of a friend to help us out in this strike, he isn't enough of a friend to worry about in the election."

But the ranks are going along with the leaders. They accepted the compromise because they feel that at least the open strike-breaking was stopped, that the old town was given a good shakeup, that people are now more conscious of the need to defend the unions against the employers' aggression.

At the membership meeting called last Thursday to ratify the agreement the negotiating committee of the UE local was faced with the bitter task of recommending a settlement which not only granted every major company demand, but which left out of the shop 27 of the best militant union members, including several of the negotiating committee. The vote was heavily in favor of settlement—800 for, 150 against. The business agent, allowed out of jail for a few hours to attend this meeting, remarked as the opposing votes were being counted: "Our hearts are with the people who are voting against this settlement, but we feel this is the best we can do under the circumstances."

The ranks cheered as the meeting broke up. They piled out of the hall and marched, 1,200 strong, through the streets to the Square D plant a half mile away. They circled the plant, and sang and shouted at the scabs still inside: "You'd better go somewhere else, we'll be in there on Monday." The scabs who leaned out the windows for a look appeared a little sick.

After a while the strikers drifted away in groups, some laughing, some smiling, some with tears in their eyes. The last to leave was a group of about a dozen women, the staunch picket line fighters. They stood in front of the plant, their arms about each other, singing: "Oh you can't scare me, I'm sticking to the union, I'm sticking to the union . . ."

Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

For many years the Militant has advocated the organization of defense guards whenever minority groups or individuals have been subjected to attacks or threats of violence, just as we have advocated that labor organizations should organize to defend their members from physical violence during strikes.

Actually, there is nothing very novel about the proposal. It is a recognition that the law enforcement agencies of the government cannot be relied on to protect all citizens from violence.

But aside from the elementary principle of the right of self defense, and aside from the legal precedent afforded by the whole system of company police, there is a much more compelling reason for advocating a defense organization for labor and minority groups, particularly Negroes: The whole history of attacks on Negroes which go unpunished, which continue daily, and which are now being stepped up by organized groups.

Race-Hate Groups

Encouraged by official support or tolerance for McCarthyite disregard for traditional democratic procedures or pretense, race-hate groups are springing up from under the rocks to publicly announce themselves and their aims.

The National Citizens Protective Association, which operates mostly in Chicago and St. Louis, was founded in the summer of 1951 by John W. Hamilton, a leader in Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party. He built the organization from a small group of Smith's former followers. Its first public meeting was held last November in Chicago's terror-stricken Trumbull Park area. More recently it held a "mass meeting" to "protest race-mixing" in the schools, at Albrechts Hall in St. Louis.

In a leaflet calling a meeting for August 26 in St. Louis, Rev. Dale J. Benjamin was scheduled to talk on "Separation of the Races Is the Law of God."

"Are 150,000,000 white Americans going to let nine old men and 16,000,000 Negroes destroy our white American way of life?" the leaflet continued. "Today they want our schools—tomorrow our daughters... Mongrelization of the white race is Communism's Fifth Column in America... America awake before it is too late! The hour is now!"

The NAACPMPWI

In Detroit the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of the White People, Inc., is attempting to recruit members at \$7 a year dues. Its organizer and general counsel is R. L. Addleton, assistant attorney general of Georgia. Its purpose: "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."

In Washington, D.C., according to an Associated Press story dated Sept. 17, the newly formed National Association for the Advancement of White People "frankly aims at fighting all efforts of Negroes, whether in the North or South, to wipe out the color line in schools, restaurants, residential areas or anywhere else."

This is just a small sample of why conscious organization for defense is necessary.

VOLUME XVIII

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1954

NUMBER 41.

Brooklyn Sit-Down Strike Blocks Run-Away Safety Razor Company

OTTO BUSCHELL

By W. Ference

ST. PAUL, Sept. 28—The Minnesota Section of the Socialist Workers Party sustained a cruel blow this morning with the death of Comrade Otto Buschell. He

suffered a stroke brought on by anemia while at work in the Northern Pacific railway shop and two weeks later the 66-year-old labor veteran died, mourned by a host of comrades and friends.

For the last 32 years he had worked as a skilled mechanic for the Northern Pacific and was in the left-wing of Sheet Metal Workers Local Union No. 209, AFL. Here he served frequently as an elected officer.

He always considered himself a radical. When he came into contact with the Trotskyist movement 10 years ago, he realized that here at last was the party he had been seeking. Though coming into our midst late in life, Otto quickly and thoroughly endeared himself to everyone.

Modest and unpretentious, he never considered himself a party leader. Yet he quickly became a model revolutionary. His sense of party loyalty and responsibility was a constant inspiration to all of us — old and young comrades alike. From his very first day in our ranks, when he realized that the movement had to sustain itself primarily through the material efforts of the membership, he made a regular and substantial financial pledge. The treasurer could depend on getting prompt payments from him, helping to insure the financial stability of the St. Paul Branch. Comrade Buschell's generosity was equally apparent in special fund drives, where he was always one of the heavier donors.

All of this was done in the face of unending political hostility at home. While he never permitted domestic opposition to interfere with party activities, he was conscientious in meeting his family financial obligations. He had no extra source of income — only what he earned as an exploited worker in a railway shop.

Comrade Otto showed that same fervor in his untiring efforts on behalf of the Militant and other socialist literature. Every worker in the Como shops knew that he was intensely proud of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party and al-

ways eager to explain his socialist views to those about him. He was respected by all the men. Even those who disagreed with him politically, the right-wingers, reserved a spot in their heart for this thin, little man whose human warmth and joviality proved superior to personal animosity.

For our Otto no party task was too hard or menial. He would volunteer for clean-up before a social and after. He would insist on washing and drying the dishes; sweeping, mopping, and dusting headquarters; getting out to the picnic grounds with the early morning crew to set up the tents and the booths and be the last to leave at night, seeing to it that everything was taken down and properly put away. Attempts to convince Otto that he should take things somewhat easier were of little avail.

Campaign work undertaken by the branch, whether in the neighborhood or out of town by auto to Duluth and across the border into Wisconsin — Otto never missed being present.

Our departed comrade was American to the core, but his internationalism was just as genuine. He felt great satisfaction in the advances made by the world working class and subscribed to and avidly read the press of our English-speaking foreign co-thinkers. He liked to study publications in German, a language with which he had a nodding acquaintance.

A self-educated man, Otto had a profound respect and admiration for scientific learning in general and Marxist theory in particular. Whenever anyone praised Otto for any service to our cause, he invariably pointed out that the movement had done more for him than he could ever give for the movement. If he gave without reservation to the party, it was because the party meant everything to him.

We who claimed this beloved man as our own are still too stunned to fully assess our loss. One fact can not be disputed: Our party, and thereby humanity as a whole, has been the richer for having had an Otto Buschell.

Cops Attack Square D Pickets



Mounted police ride into mass picket line at Square D plant in Detroit. The attempted strike-breaking by police violence aroused the CIO auto workers who swelled the picket line of the independent United Electrical Workers, despite the smear of "Communist-infiltration" hurled against the striking union. The strike was settled. (See Page 1).

Dorothy Haines Answers Buffalo Paper on Fight for Surplus Food

(The following is part of a radio speech given over WKBW in Buffalo Sept. 30 by Dorothy Haines, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor of New York.)

This past Monday, I spoke to the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in Washington about getting free government surplus food for the unemployed people of Buffalo. He told the non-partisan housewives' delegation, which accompanied me, that this surplus food would be given free to the unemployed, if New York State would ask for it. But the state administration so far has done nothing.

I am running for lieutenant-governor of this state. If I were lieutenant-governor at this moment, I would not only ask for this food, I would get it, and plenty of it, right now. It belongs in peoples' stomachs, not rotting in warehouses.

The present state administration has to be pressured to ask for such an elementary human

need. Well, we of the Socialist Workers Party are going to pressure it — but what a shame that this should be necessary.

GIVE-AWAY

Not so long ago, the present state administration gave back several millions of dollars in unused unemployment insurance to the big corporations. If I were elected lieutenant-governor, along with the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, David Weiss, I would not be so extravagant with the workers' money, by giving it to Big Business, I would see that the money went to increase the benefits for the unemployed.

Strange as it may seem, some very big newspapers seem to believe that the rights of Big Business come before the rights of human beings. The Buffalo Evening News is well aware that I and my party would treat their Big Business buddies a little severely if they tried to coin profit out of work-

ers' misery when we are in office. So it should surprise no one that the News shouts "Red" at us for going down to Washington to try to get surplus food for the unemployed. The News wouldn't call us "Reds" if we came out for surplus millions for the Buffalo Evening News and the big corporations.

The News says the Socialist Workers Party is cited as "subversive." It is true that one man, Tom Clark, "cited" us, just as one man, Senator McCarthy, cited the Democratic Party as being guilty of "20 years of treason." But we, like the Democrats, have never had a hearing, a trial, or a chance to examine the evidence of our accuser. But that doesn't matter to the Buffalo Evening News.

POWER OF PRESS

The power of the press is very great. I would be the last to deny it. But the power of the working majority of the people is still greater, and the News is not going to prevent the people of Buffalo from getting surplus food for the unemployed, by branding the Socialist Workers Party, the leader of the campaign to get the food, as "Red."

Anyone who fights consistently for the poor people will run afoul of the Buffalo Evening News. We expect to run afoul of the News again very shortly in this campaign, and many times in the future. When the Buffalo Evening News praises the Socialist Workers Party you can be sure something will be wrong.

You can get further information about the SWP and about the campaign for surplus food for the unemployed by writing to 831 Main St., Buffalo, or phoning MA 3960.

VOTE SOCIALIST NOVEMBER 2



DOROTHY HAINES

Detroit Square D Fight Inspires N.Y. Pickets

By Catherine Gratta

SWP Candidate for N.Y. State Attorney General

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—I have just come from the American Safety Razor picket line in Brooklyn, and the words and music of "Solidarity Forever" are still ringing

in my ears. I keenly regret that instead of being on the inside with my former shopmates of Local 475, United Electrical Workers, I am on the outside picket line as a sympathizer. Nevertheless, my going there has been like a tonic. A new spirit of solidarity there spreads from the stone building now occupied by the strikers to the surrounding neighborhood.

The ASR workers with whom I worked for two years, finally became tired of being pushed around by the company. Negotiations dragged on for months over a new contract — a contract that would have been the last one for the ASR workers, because the company is joining the many others that have decided to leave the New York area for the unorganized south.

The union signed the contract, but at the last moment the company reneged and demanded an additional clause that would bar any union campaign to save the jobs of these workers and keep the factory from moving.

I fully agree with my ex-shopmates that this arrogant demand was an outrage and in reality nothing but a stall to avoid signing a new contract. I quite understand the feelings of the ASR workers when they decided to protect themselves with the only weapon they had at hand — strike.

What makes this strike even more stirring is its character. It is a revival of that highly successful strike tactic of the thirties — the sitdown picket. Coupled with an outside picket line, it has shut down this plant tight.

And the sympathy of the working class in Brooklyn is decidedly with the ASR workers. The surrounding neighborhood of mainly Spanish-speaking workers has sent in food and messages of support. Many others have shown their solidarity too.

Inside the plant, the organization of the sitdowners revealed what hidden talents there were

among the ASR workers. Ever since the company foremen, who are also on the inside, tried to provoke a battle, a tight system of security has been established. Committees to handle food, sanitation, publicity, etc., have been set up and the spirit is high.

One of my old shopmates told me through the fence that this had turned out to be the most wonderful experience of her life. She had learned more about trade unionism, organization and strategy in a few days than she had in the last eight years.

The daily press has clamped down virtual censorship on strike news. Apparently they are afraid of its possible effect on other workers. And well they might be afraid. It was the news of the Square D strike in Detroit and the magnificent action there that inspired the workers at ASR. Everyone there knew about the Square D strike.

This strike of my ex-shopmates comes when I am running for attorney general on the Socialist Workers ticket. I am going to use a good part of my time on the air to tell the story of this battle.



CATHERINE GRATTA

"IT'S UP TO ALBANY"-- SAY SWP CANDIDATES

(The following are parts of radio speeches given over WKBW in Buffalo Sept. 30 by Louise Ellis, SWP candidate for State Senator from the 55th District and Vincent Copeland, SWP candidate for Congress, 41st District.)

Louise Ellis: Even in the middle of this important fight for surplus food for the unemployed, I cannot help asking myself: What kind of a world do we live in, when such a great effort must be made to get the bare means of subsistence for thousands of people?

We have more food in this country than they have anywhere else. We have more productive farms. We have more efficient factories. And we also have nearly five million unemployed. Something is seriously wrong with a system that is so rich and productive at the same time that five million people cannot get work. These millions had work in war time, but not in peace time. Why?

The one obstacle to full employment and prosperity in peace time is the ownership and control of our great industries by a tiny group of selfish billionaires. These industries should be owned by the people who work in them — that is, they should be socialized. This is what the SWP calls for.

Vincent Copeland: The two socialist women, Dorothy Haines and Louise Ellis, who just led a group of ten non-partisan Negro and white housewives to Washington, D.C., to demand free surplus food for the un-

employed of Buffalo, explained to the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Dr. Earl L. Butz, that 34,000 are now unemployed here, according to the conservative Buffalo Evening News — and 12,000 are not getting any unemployment compensation.

Dr. Butz, was very much impressed by the housewives' story. He indicated that the Agriculture department would give the government food to Buffalo's unemployed if the state would take the responsibility for distribution. "If New York state should want this program," he said, "we will have our surplus food program rallying in that direction."

So there you are. It is now up to the state administration. The SWP calls upon all the unemployed, and in fact, every working person, to demand that the state avail itself of this invitation from the Department of Agriculture.

Seattle Myra T. Weiss

Speaks on:
"The Struggle for Socialism and the '54 Elections"
Fri., Oct. 22, 8:30 P.M.
Washington Hall
14th and Fir Sts.
Donation 35 cents
Unemployed Free Refreshments

...Incite Racist Violence

(Continued from page 1)

ted. It isn't just some white people "spontaneously" mobbing a Negro family who move into a "white" residential area — or white kids running wild because they "just naturally" hate Negro children and can't stand to have them in the same schools.

The white supremacists — I mean, the business man, plantation owners and politicians who find the Jim Crow system a paying proposition — deliberately organize and incite race hatred and lynch violence. They play on ignorance, superstition, prejudice and fear. I exposed the role of their terrorist organizations in my recent pamphlet, "Racial Terror at Trumbull Park," published by Pioneer Publishers.

It comes as no surprise to me to learn that the pro-segregationist elements in Washington, Baltimore, Milford and other places where they are fighting desegregation have been mobilized by professional race-hate organizers.

The Jim Crow school demonstrations that ended attempts at desegregation in Milford, Del., were incited in part, it is reported, by Willis V. McCall, the Florida sheriff who three years ago shot down in cold blood two handcuffed Negro prisoners being transported for a new trial in the Lakeland rape frameup "Little Scottsboro" case. One prisoner, Walter Irvin, survived and was railroaded to the death house where he is now waiting execution.

Sheriff McCall gained new prominence last week when he

addressed a pro-segregationist meeting near Milford, boasting of Jim-Crow "victories" in Florida, including the bomb-murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, NAACP leaders. The meeting was organized by the so-called National Association for the Advancement and Protection of White People, Inc.

William Bryant Bowles, founder and president of the NAACPMPWI, was revealed to be a bogus check artist who had been arrested and fined in Baltimore and who had also been wanted in Tampa, Fla., and Belair, Md., on "false pretense" and had check charges. Bowles and his wife were selling NAACPMPWI memberships at \$5 a throw in Milford. The NAACPMPWI was asking \$7 in Detroit recently, the money being sent to the Georgia headquarters, presided over by the NAACPMPWI's organizer and general counsel, R. L. Addleton, assistant attorney general of Georgia.

Bowles, who boasted responsibility for the "great victory" at Milford, was on hand at the Ritchie Raceway outside the Baltimore city limits urging on crowds of white people to keep their children from school and to defy the Supreme Court ruling.

A couple of events stand out for me in the reports on the Baltimore violence against Negro students, only 2.5% of whom are actually enrolled in non-segregated schools. One tells of a 24-year-old white man striking a 14-year-old Negro student, one of four who remained all day in school despite the threatening

mob of 800 outside. Another tells how James Barbee, an 18-year-old Negro youth who had been escorting Negro pupils to school, was fined \$100 and costs for allegedly carrying a "danger," while two of the white mob who were arrested were fined no more than \$10 for "disorderly conduct."

I say these young Davids of the Negro race who are risking their lives against the Goliaths of race hatred are a glorious example to all of us.

But we can't back them up unless we fully appreciate the nature of the fight, its real extent and the strength and ferocity of the enemy. Washington, Baltimore and Milford give us a hint of the real situation; they dramatize it for us. But all we have to do is look at a map of the states where segregation remains intact to understand what an uphill battle is still before us.

Segregated public grade and high schools are still enforced, by state law, in every one of the old secessionist slave states of the South — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia — and in Kentucky and Oklahoma. Two-thirds of the Negro population of America live in these 13 states.

Behind the resistance of these states to non-segregated schools lies the threat of terrorist violence to the Negroes who seek their just rights. Florida's attorney general Richard W. Erwin, in a Supreme Court brief filed on Oct. 1, warned of serious

violence in his state if the court orders speedy implementation of its May ruling. Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia declared: "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia." Gov. Robert F. Kennon of Louisiana declared he intended to maintain "segregation in fact" whatever the decision of the Supreme Court implementing its previous school desegregation ruling.

This is part of the pressure and heat the Southern ruling class and race-haters everywhere are putting on the Supreme Court. They realize the importance of mobilizing their forces and applying mass pressure. What must be understood by the Negro people and their allies, particularly the labor movement, is the necessity to bring their own mighty, organized pressure to bear.

The Court must be told that the Negro people expect nothing less than immediate, unconditional, total desegregation, without further delays. To this end, a giant anti-segregation conference should be called in Washington, D.C., in the week of the hearings starting Dec. 6 to implement the court's May ruling. Local mass meetings and demonstrations of Negro and labor organizations throughout the country should be called to back up a mobilization at the very door of the Supreme Court. The race-terrorists are talking in Baltimore. Washington and below the Mason-Dixon line now. The defenders of equality and civil rights must speak in an even mightier voice by Dec. 6.