

Harlem Firetrap Tenants Threaten Rent Strike Call

By Joyce Cowley

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—Some 500 angry tenants at a Harlem protest meeting here yesterday threatened landlords of firetraps with a permanent rent strike. The meet-

ing was called by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell after several Harlem tenement fires during the last few days in which three people lost their lives, others were injured and many families were left homeless.

"There is no difference between a man walking down the street with a gun and a man who with callous indifference knows the life of people living in his property can be snuffed out overnight," Powell told an audience which the N.Y. Times reports "buzzed in anger at frequent intervals."

They responded with loud applause and approving shouts when he said: "I call for a permanent rent strike in Harlem wherever there are housing violations."

SHOCKING CONDITIONS

Powell called housing the "number one problem facing people in this area," where the Negro people are forced because of residential segregation to pay high rents for overcrowded death-traps.

The meeting came on the heels of the admission by Fire Commissioner Cavanagh, that in a 10-day period fire inspectors had found 14 single-exit slum-area apartment houses with inoperative stairway sprinkler systems.

"Shocking" conditions were described by inspectors, who reported that some sprinkler systems were "completely disconnected from water supplies." Cavanagh threatened the usual "crack-down" on these "firetrap landlords."

Rep. Powell explained that tenants in Harlem will obtain the list of violations in their apartments from the Department of Housing and Buildings. Then those with violations ("probably nearly all," said Powell) will tell the landlord: "Fix these violations or we withhold your rent."

Powell also criticized Magistrates Courts, as being too lenient with landlords who violated the law, the city for not providing more housing inspectors and the Department of Housing and Buildings for not having a public education program.

Personally, I think it's the landlords, not the public, who need some educating and it looks like they're going to get it. I can't think of anything quite so educational for a landlord as not collecting his rent. Jail sentences for landlords whose gross negligence resulted in loss of human life would be another excellent method of education.

There's at least one story in



ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

the papers every week about helpless people trapped by fire in the tenements of Harlem, East Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant or other sections of rapidly spreading slum areas. Desperate people try to use sprinkler systems that haven't worked for years or frantically search for fire exits that don't exist. The landlord may pay a small fine but no matter how flagrantly he has violated building codes, he won't go to jail. I don't know of a single landlord in this city serving a jail term.

PREPARING ACTION

As a result of the tragic fires, tenants in Harlem are preparing to take action. Bernard J. Gilroy, Commissioner of Housing and Buildings, agreed to see a group from the protest meeting this week. On Jan. 1, delegates will set up a committee to work out strike techniques.

If this committee starts serious preparations for a rent strike and builds a strong tenants organization, it will be a big step toward a solution to housing problems. I'm confident they won't stop at an emergency measure like patching up firetraps, but will demand adequate new low-rent housing for millions of people jammed into the dark, filthy, dangerous slum buildings of this city.

ILA Ranks Vote Down "No-Strike" Contract

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Dec. 13 — The newly-negotiated contract of the independent International Longshoremen's Association was turned down this week by the union rank-and-file in a secret ballot.

The contract, a result of months of negotiations by ILA leaders had secured a 17-cent hourly wage and welfare package and a union-shop clause. But the contract had included a no-strike pledge which barred stoppages of any kind for a two-year period. This concession to the shippers put the entire contract in doubt.

During the past decade it has been the strike weapon that has given the New York dock wallop an even shake against the sell-outs of the union leaders. No waterfront in the world has had as many so-called wild-cat strikes. Time and again, a miserable contract negotiated by former ILA leader Joseph "King" Ryan was repudiated by rank-and-file strike action. It was his inability to make his sell-outs stick that eventually led to Ryan's forced retirement.

Virtually every gain made by the New York dockers has been the result of their own rank-and-file action. The strike weapon figures large in their experience.

The press reports the ILA leaders stunned by the action of the ranks. Enemies of the ILA are seeking some comfort from this vote by seeing a repudiation of the ILA leadership. But if the vote expresses non-confidence in the ILA's present leadership, it certainly gives no support to any of the other contenders for the dockers' allegiance. The AFL gang who failed in a year long battle to take over the waterfront lost out mainly because of the strike-breaking role they played during the spring dock strike and the support they gave to the government waterfront commission efforts to control

hiring and firing on the New York and New Jersey docks. This is announced as the first contract ever turned down by the rank-and-file dockers. The truth is that this is the first contract voted on in a secret ballot supervised by an outside professional balloting association. In the past the vote was always announced as Ryan wanted it.

It is clear that American politics, with its two-capitalist-party system, is suffering from a chronic and incurable crisis. That's why we hear the call for "realignment" from representatives of the most diverse political tendencies within this two-party system.

From the reactionary, pro-McCarthy N. Y. Daily News to CIO President Walter Reuther, the proposal is made: get all the "conservatives" into one party and all the liberals, or "radicals" as the Daily News calls them, into another party. According to all these realignment proponents, once this sorting out has been accomplished, American politics will be free of contradictions and inner-party struggles.

Reuther's latest pronouncement on the realignment theme was made at the recent CIO convention in Los Angeles. Reuther sounded off on Dec. 8 after Michael Quill, President of the CIO Transport Workers Union, made a proposal from the floor. Quill said: "Serious consideration

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THE MILITANT

Political Action, AFL Merger Discussed by CIO Convention

Own Party Seen Aim of McCarthy

By Daniel Roberts

DEC. 13.—Sen. Joseph McCarthy continued his course of building a fascist movement in the U.S. when on Dec. 7 he broke with President Eisenhower. The break came after Eisenhower praised Sen. Watkins (R-Utah) who headed the Senate committee that recommended McCarthy's censure. Eisenhower was pushing for the censure move behind the scenes.

McCarthy accused Eisenhower of a "shrinking show of weakness" in the fight against "Communism" and said, "I feel . . . that I should apologize for promising the American people that if they would elect the Eisenhower Administration that they could be assured of a vigorous, forceful fight against communism in Government."

On Dec. 8, Eisenhower responded by declaring in his press interview: "If people wanted to split off (from the Republican Party) . . . that would have to be their business." Thus, the split of the incipient fascist movement from the Republican Party, where it incubated during the last four years, appears closer.

"TREASON" THEME

As Roscoe Drummond stated in the Dec. 12 N.Y. Herald Tribune: "In effect and in sum total, Sen. McCarthy now accuses the Democratic administrations of twenty years of treason, accuses the Eisenhower administration of two years of treason, accuses seventy members of the Senate of being the 'handmaidens of Communism,' and levels the same charge against the President of the United States."

The treason theme is a hallmark of fascist demagoguery, which McCarthy now employs against all traditional agencies of capitalist class rule. A prominent McCarthyite recently declared: "Those for McCarthy are complete Americans. Others serve the Communist conspiracy, unwittingly at best, and deliberately and treacherously at worst." That is the Hitlerite fuhrer principle—the notion of the "savior" who, against any and all odds, will lead the nation to victory against "internal and external enemies."

In pursuing his fascist course, McCarthy has been deserted by most of his Republican allies, including senators who stood most staunchly by him during the censure fight. Sen. Knowland (Cal.), the GOP floor leader, who had voted against censure as a means of expressing his disagreement with the Eisenhower administration (Continued on page 4)

Signs Pact with Dictator



U.S. Sec. of State John Foster Dulles and George K. C. Yeh, foreign minister in dictator Chiang Kai-shek's cabinet, shake hands in Washington after signing a "mutual security" treaty. The treaty formally binds the U.S. to defend Chiang's seizure of Formosa and other Chinese islands and symbolizes the intent of American imperialism to continue its schemes to overthrow the revolutionary Chinese government.

RIGHT-WINGERS PURGE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

By John White

LONDON, Dec. 7 — Under the banner of a witch hunt against Trotskyists, the right-wing leadership has begun a purge among the rank-and-file of the British Labour Party. Its aim is to remove the most advanced of left-wing forces — the supporters of Socialist Outlook, left-wing weekly banned by the leadership which suspended publication early in October.

At its last meeting, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party expelled six Labour Party members, three of whom are members of the Management Committee of the Labour Publishing Society, which published Socialist Outlook. These three are also labor councillors.

DENOUNCE EXPULSIONS

Further expulsions have evidently been planned. To carry out this purge, right-wing members of the N.E.C. have set up a new purge machinery — a committee of enquiry consisting of two right-wing leaders plus two paid officials of the party. The committee has operated behind the backs of the party and was denounced by Nov. 26 Tribune and the Bevanite weekly.

In his weekly column, the

Braden Gets 15 Years in Ky. Frameup

DEC. 14 — For selling his house to a Negro couple and possessing radical literature in his library, newspaperman Carl Braden was sentenced yesterday to 15 years in prison and fined \$5,000 in the notorious Louisville, Ky., "sedition" case.

Last June, Mr. Braden and his wife Anne sold their home in an all-white neighborhood to Andrew Wade IV, a Negro contractor. The night after Mr. and Mrs. Wade moved in, a cross was burned in the neighborhood, rocks were thrown through their windows and six shots fired into their house. Then on June 27, despite the guard that white and colored friends of the Wades maintained around the house, a bomb shattered a wall and the porch.

IGNORE KU KLUXERS

Instead of looking for the Ku Klux Klan elements who were undoubtedly responsible for the crime, the police proceeded to investigate the victim Wade and his friends. The cops raided their homes and arrested Carl and Anne Braden and four other white friends of the Wades, charging that they had committed the bombing as part of a "Communist plot."

The six were indicted under a 1920 Kentucky sedition law and a state "criminal syndicalism" law. Braden, a copywriter for the Louisville Courier-Journal, was the first to be tried.

On the witness stand Braden denied that he had ever belonged to the Communist Party and explained his ownership of radical literature (a constitutional right which should not even be questioned) by the fact that he had once been a labor reporter and had acquired a considerable literature dealing with all phases of the labor movement.

STOOL-PIGEON TESTIFIES

However, in the rebuttal, the prosecutor rang in the testimony of a professional stool-pigeon, Albert Ahearn, who claimed that the Bradens belonged to a Communist Party cell in which she had been working for the FBI. Attempts by the defense to subpoena her reports to the FBI were unsuccessful.

The prosecuting attorney wound up the presentation of his frame-up case by stating that "sedition is communism and communism is sedition — there is no distinction." Robert Zollinger, Braden's defense counsel declared the issue was whether "a man has the right to an opinion different from those in his community."

Two Debates Reflect Concern over Latest Blows of Reaction

By C. Thomas

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 10 — The sixteenth constitutional convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations concluded its five-day session here today with the re-election of all its officers without opposition.

The great bulk of the convention resolutions were also adopted unanimously. This surface unanimity was marred only by (1) an undercurrent of difference manifested in the discussion on one of the main policy declarations of the convention, the resolution on organic unity with the American Federation of Labor, and (2) the unexpected criticism of CIO political policy coupled with the proposal for an independent labor party voiced by Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union.

CONDITIONS FOR UNITY

Judging by the report of the CIO "organic unity" committee and the remarks of leading CIO spokesmen, organic unity between the CIO and AFL is posed as a realistic proposition slated to be carried through in the not distant future. In his report to the convention, David J. McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers and chairman of the CIO subcommittee on organic unity, made a "prophecy" that the organic unity would be achieved soon.

In the course of his remarks, McDonald several times spoke out against any attempt to "lay down any pre-conditions as to the terms upon which organic unity can be achieved." Such "pre-conditions," he maintained, "would be a guarantee that labor unity cannot be achieved."

These remarks by McDonald served to increase the alarm of the officials of the smaller CIO unions who were already disquieted by the fear of being "absorbed"



WALTER REUTHER

ed" by the larger AFL units in the proposed merger. He was followed by secretary-treasurer James Carey who, with president Walter Reuther and McDonald, comprise the CIO organic unity subcommittee. Carey reassured the delegates that the unity would be accomplished without loss of principle.

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, went further in assuring the officials of the smaller unions that the CIO "wanted organic labor unity, but it wanted it on a basis where the integrity of all CIO unions, large and small, would be maintained."

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SOUTHERN RACE BIGOTS ORGANIZE VIGILANTES

There has been an alarming spread of vigilante Citizens Committees from Mississippi to Alabama and Georgia, where anti-Negro meetings are being held. This movement

is the answer of Deep South white supremacists to the demand of the Negro people for compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling against school segregation.

In Linden, Alabama, an audience of over 400 were told that "blood will be spilled on the campus" the first time a Negro tries to enter a white school in the area. The meeting was called to organize the Marengo County White Citizens Council. One of the main speakers, Democratic State Senator Givhan declared that the aim of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in fighting racial bias in schools "is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to Negro men."

ORGANIZING MEETINGS

At this meeting, Lawrence Crawford, chairman of the Perry County White Citizens Council, reported that the effects of organization were already visible in his area.

In Selma, Alabama, a similar meeting was attended by an audience of some 1,200 whites. Speakers included Alston Keith, who is head of the Democratic Party of Dallas County and chairman of the Dallas County White Citizens Committee, a Democratic State Senator, a Democratic member of the State House of Representatives and a preacher from Lexington, Miss. At the end of the meeting some 600 men joined the vigilante organization and paid their first dues.

The speech of the Reverend M. H. Clark was particularly in-

teresting because he came right to the heart of the question of segregation. Taking as his text the NAACP's slogan, "The Negro shall be free by 1963," he declared it must be fought against because its realization would ruin the South's economic system. This system is based on super-exploitation of Negro labor.

The Citizens Councils originated in Mississippi, where they have been called "uptown Ku Klux Klans." This is because the movement is headed in each county by the "best people"—bankers, cotton planters, lawyers, officials, etc. Citizens Councils are known to exist in 53 of Mississippi's 82 counties.

These Councils were largely responsible for the passage in the recent elections of a voting restriction amendment — which was defeated two years ago — depriving Mississippi Negroes of what few voting rights they had. The Councils also have engaged in numerous cases of economic coercion of Negroes suspected of "dangerous thoughts" about school segregation. Such "troublemakers" find the local banker foreclosing on them, merchants refusing credit, utility companies turning off service, etc. White boasting of this economic boycott of Negro "troublemakers," spokesmen for the Citizens Councils admit "there are some operations of the Councils which for obvious reasons cannot be publicized."

What Kind of "Political Realignment"?

By Murry Weiss

It is clear that American politics, with its two-capitalist-party system, is suffering from a chronic and incurable crisis. That's why we hear the call for "realignment" from representatives of the most diverse political tendencies within this two-party system.

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Reuther's latest pronouncement on the realignment theme was made at the recent CIO convention in Los Angeles. Reuther sounded off on Dec. 8 after Michael Quill, President of the CIO Transport Workers Union, made a proposal from the floor. Quill said: "Serious consideration

should be given to building in America a really and truly independent political party of CIO, so that the workers will have the choice to stand up separately and apart from any of the existing parties."

MODEST PROPOSAL

Actually Quill's proposal was not for a "really and truly independent" party of labor. He said, for example, "I am not talking about a political party that would nominate its own candidate for President of the United States, but I am talking about a party that would be strong enough to have something to say about that nomination." Quill also suggested that "we should at least give serious consideration to forming labor parties in the states throughout this country where it is impossible for us to walk with the existing Democratic Party."

But even this modest proposal was promptly and vigorously attacked by Reuther. He described Quill's proposal as "yielding to frustration." Quill had cited the

fact that 14 of the 17 states that have union-killing "right to work" laws on their books are Democratic states. To this Reuther replied: "There is a new beginning in the South. Sure, we know something about the Byrnes and the other apostles of white supremacy . . . but the encouraging thing in America is the fact that we have the Kefauvers and the Sparkmans and the Lister Hills coming out of the South."

Briefly, Reuther's political formula is as follows: put all the conservative, reactionaries, and Dixiecrats into the Republican Party, and put all the liberals and the labor movement into the Democratic Party. This, he claims, would bring about a "fundamental realignment of basic political forces" in the United States.

CLASS REALIGNMENT

But why wouldn't the formation of a Labor Party, that is, a class realignment in politics, be superior to this reshuffling of capitalist politicians within the two-party system with the inevi-

table domination by one wing of the capitalist politicians over the party to which labor gives its allegiance? Why not take the representatives of labor out of the capitalist parties and exclude the representatives of Big Business from a party of labor?

Reuther answers: "A labor party, here, would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built." He argues: "Unlike Europe with its rigid class groups, America is a place where social groups are in flux, without a rigid class structure. In Europe and other countries labor parties are natural because you have a fixed and class society."

The whole philosophy of the American labor bureaucrat is summed up in these phrases, which are lifted bodily from the propaganda arsenal of the National Association of Manufacturers.

If the existence of a "fixed" working class and capitalist class are recognized, the next step is

to recognize the existence of the class struggle. The class struggle, however, is a reality that Reuther and his colleagues cannot face. They prefer to build their political policy on the precarious equilibrium of capitalist war "prosperity." After all, that is what this mildewed theory about the "no fixed classes" in the United States is based on — the relative improvement in the conditions of workers resulting from the war-production boom.

If Reuther were to follow his thoughts through to the end he would see that he is presenting an argument against the existence of trade unions. Upon what is the American union movement, representing 17 million members, based? Is it not a "fixed" working class? And how did these unions come into existence?

Didn't the formation of the CIO during the Thirties take place through some of the sharpest class struggles known to history? What would Reuther call the 1937 sit-down strikes in

(Continued on page 2)

The American Way of Life

A Punishment to Fit the Crime

Justice Benjamin Brenner of the New York State Supreme Court will admit it was one of his toughest cases. His heart is no harder than any other judge's but the law allowed him no leeway. He had to impose the maximum penalty on the four defendants. After all, they were charged with the worst of all crimes in a capitalist society. They were guilty — the three men and one woman — of being old and sick and poor. The bosses couldn't grind a nickel's worth of profitable labor out of the lot of them.

They were guilty as charged, all right. That was clearly proved in the judge's five-page opinion handed down on Dec. 9. One is a 78-year-old woman who "has a permanent hip injury, is unable to walk, is overtalkative and almost blind." The others are a 78-year-old man who has suffered several strokes and loss of memory, an 84-year-old man "whose senility is rapidly worsening" and a 64-year-old man with a speech defect.

The four were brought before Judge Brenner as homeless patients, "made so because care and attention cannot be given them by relatives for financial or other reasons." He added: "Some of them are unwanted or neglected in their advanced years. Additionally, the Welfare Department of the city claims lack of funds for their placement in private institutions or old age homes."

In imposing sentence, he stated clearly their crime. "They are merely helpless old people. . . Like children, they may not be left alone and must be cared for, else they are capable of self harm. . ."

The judge examined the law closely and determined that "since denial of custodial care and hospitalization to these people would probably result in their death, I find myself compelled to certify them as mentally ill." Thus, he "reluctantly" directed that they be sent to an institution for the insane, although, as he emphasized, they "are not in fact mentally ill."

The judge deplored the fact that his certification of mental illness "would forever stigmatize" the four, but what could he do? As he pointed out, the law does not permit the certification to insane asylums of persons who are merely "helpless due to old age." And the alternative to the sentence figured out by the judge is condemnation to death by neglect, exposure and starvation.

But the judge's solution may turn out to be only temporary. Dr. Arthur W. Pense, deputy commissioner of the State Department of Mental Hygiene, stated that the four would be admitted to a mental hospital for 60 days "observation and treatment" and if they are found not to be mentally ill they will be released into the streets, the only home left for them.

You can commit wholesale murder under capitalism and get away with it. But if you think you can get away with being old and infirm and penniless in the richest city in the richest country in the world, you're crazy — and they'll probably certify you, too.

By Art Preis

Mechanization Imperils Jobs in Packinghouses

By A Packinghouse Worker

SOUTH ST. PAUL—A tremendous program to replace workers by new techniques and machinery is now being carried out in the packinghouse industry. Each week packinghouse workers hear reports of new developments and processes that mean less jobs in the packinghouse and possibly the elimination of their own jobs.

At the Armour plant here 50 mechanics were laid off after a time-study program. This is approximately one-fifth of the mechanical gang. Now, to install new machinery, especially in the canning department, these 50 mechanics and more have been hired. Once this installation is completed, these mechanics will again face a layoff.

MECHANICAL MONSTER

Reports have been heard of a mechanical monster now in use which rips off the complete hide of a steer in one operation, thereby eliminating dozens of workers who formerly cut off the hides by knife.

A new saw for splitting hogs has been developed and is in actual operation at a plant. Two splitters using the new saw split carcasses at a rate of 500 per hour, whereas four splitters are required to do this without the saw.

A union leaflet calling attention to this mechanization was distributed at the Swift plant here the other morning. Explaining a new process of smoking meats by electronic devices, the leaflet said, "The amount of labor 'saved' is estimated to be as much as 55% of the present

force working on curing and smoking processes in the plant."

SHORTER WEEK URGED

"The best way workers' jobs can be protected," the leaflet concludes, "is to shorten the work week to 35 hours per week (with 40-hour pay) so that other jobs would be available to the displaced worker."

This demand of "35 for 40" is a modification of the program for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, first advanced by The Militant and now endorsed by many unions. The demand was adopted by the CIO United Packinghouse Workers convention which met in Sioux City, Iowa, last summer before the contract negotiations this fall.

But in negotiations the "35 for 40" demand was not pushed at all. Instead of mobilizing the workers of the whole meat packing industry for concerted action, the only action capable of making the packers listen even to their modified demand for a shorter week, the union leadership impaired the workers' will to fight by deciding to strike, if necessary, only the Armour plants.

The workers felt that such a one-at-a-time strike policy would risk defeat. Rather than strike, they were forced into a position of accepting the company's offer of an increase of 5 to 6 1/2 cents per hour.

HOW TO SAVE JOBS

Now, instead of a 6- or 7-hour day, the packinghouse workers would have to work a 10-hour day to earn enough to pay their bills.

As the packers hurry more and more to install new equipment replacing workers, the workers' struggle to save their jobs by a shorter work week with an adequate wage will take more than cutting down demands when bargaining. It will require a firm demand—30 hours per week at 40 hours' pay—and it will require a militant leadership capable of leading the workers in a real picket-line struggle.

The False Economics of Reuther

By John G. Wright

CIO President Walter Reuther presented a report to the CIO Convention at Los Angeles which contains an alleged explanation of why "the economic decline of 1953-1954 has not spiraled into a full-blown depression." Needless to say, this is a burning question for labor. Reuther's explanation merits close attention.

According to Reutherite economics the country was "saved" from a full-blown depression, and we quote, "by the collective bargaining strength of the trade unions and by the legacy of social and economic legislation enacted under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations."

Trade unions play a tremendous role in defending labor's interests in periods of prosperity

and depression alike. But it is beyond the power of unions as such to alter the basic course of the economic process under capitalism — that is, to avert economic crises that flow from the very structure of the capitalist system. It is miseducation of workers for labor leaders to tell them otherwise. But this is not the crux of Reutherite economics.

CRUX OF HIS THEORY

It is contained rather in the key role Reuther assigns to the New Deal-Fair Deal legislation, or more accurately the meager remains of this legislation. It is not hard to demonstrate, figures and facts in hand, whether or not this legislation played the part Reuther claims it did.

But Reuther produced no facts or figures. He saw fit to dispose

of the whole matter in three brief paragraphs, 26 printed lines all told, out of the voluminous 117 page report. Later, in his keynote speech to the Convention, he touched upon the subject only vaguely. Why such brevity and reticence on so vital an issue?

"Because there is not a particle of fact to substantiate Reuther's contention."

To begin with, it is false to ascribe to Truman's Fair Deal any significant part in the so-called "social and economic legislation." Suffice it to quote Reuther himself in this connection. In a moment of forgetfulness, in his keynote speech Reuther asserted, "There has been not one significant piece of social legislation since 1938."

This happens to be correct. But if so, how could this failure since 1938, both under Roosevelt and Truman, have played the role of "saving" the country that Reuther says it did in his report? This is a case of legislation that simply wasn't there. But let us turn to what is real.

THE FACTS OF 1954

Take the 1954 federal budget. The "legacy" of the New Deal-Fair Deal must have played a decisive role in this budget, otherwise the country couldn't possibly have been saved in the face of Eisenhower's "inactivity," as Reuther politely phrases it. But the truth is just the opposite. The New Deal-Fair Deal "legacy" occupies an insignificant place in the 1954 federal budget.

It is to be located under the following three headings: 1) Social Security, Welfare and Health (which, by the way, includes appropriations for such progressive purposes as "Prisons and Probation," plus "Defense Community Facilities and Services"); 2) Housing and Community Development (which covers such items as "Civil Defense," "Defense Housing, Community Facilities and Services," and finally, 3) Education and General Research (in which expenditures for war preparation are likewise hidden). The grand total of all these appropriations in 1954 came to less than FOUR CENTS out of each budget DOLLAR.

Even if the appropriations for the GI Bill of Rights were included (and these properly also belong under war expenditures), the total would still amount to less than FIVE CENTS out of each budget dollar.

Yet to believe Reuther this miserly "legacy" of 4 to 5% of the annual budget is what spelled the difference between salvation and disaster for U.S. economy.

Had Reuther tried with facts and figures to substantiate his absurd claim, a child above kindergarten age would have laughed in his face. That is why, obviously, he preferred to be so brief and reticent.

TWO-THIRDS FOR WAR

The economic truth is that in recent years, under Truman as under Eisenhower, two-thirds and more of the budget has gone for arms expenditures. Under Truman the appropriations for "social and economic legislation" were maintained at roughly the same levels as now under Eisenhower, i.e., less than a nickel out of each dollar.

Huge arms expenditures plus inflation, as a component part of the whole arms program — that is the real legislation whereby U.S. economy has been "stabilized" in recent years. Reuther knows this. But he supports the arms program; he supports U.S. imperialist foreign policy, whether laid down under Truman or Eisenhower; and his chief political aim is to corral the labor vote for the Democrats come 1956. Consequently, he can't tell the workers the truth.

He must cover up; he must concoct "explanations" such as the foregoing. He banks that the workers will simply take his word, and never bother to check up on him.

Even in the heyday of the "New Deal," prior to 1938, when appropriations for social and economic measures did make up a substantial part of the annual federal budget, even then, this legislation was unable to pull the country out of the Great Depression. In fact, by 1937 a sharp depression again erupted, out of which Roosevelt and the capital-

ists whom he served escaped only by plunging into full-scale preparations for the second World War.

Furthermore, despite the huge arm budgets under Truman's "Fair Deal" (sprinkled with drabs and drabs from the "New Deal" "legacy"), there came the Truman depression of 1949-50. How did it happen that the same legislation that allegedly worked such miracles for Eisenhower failed so miserably for Truman? Reuther prefers not to recall the Truman depression. It does not serve his political aim — support of the Democrats.

It was not the operation of "New Deal-Fair Deal" legislation that averted the Truman depression. As is well known, it was averted by plunging into the Korean War, with even bigger arms expenditures, and with still more inflation.

And the same thing applies to the Eisenhower depression. It has been temporarily averted by resort to further inflationary measures plus hiked arms spending. The "New Deal-Fair Deal" legislation had no more to do with it, than the mixture of ignorance and demagoguery which constitutes the gist of Reutherite economics.

WILL AUTOMATION "CREATE JOBS" OR UNEMPLOYMENT?

By Myra Tanner

A Dec. 7 Wall Street Journal editorial, entitled "Alarm Over Automation," attempts to allay labor's fears of unemployment because of the latest technological advances in industry. The Journal gives the following typical capitalist argument:

"The evidence, of course, shows that increasing mechanization does not displace workers, but, on the contrary, creates greater employment opportunities. The United States has the most mechanized economy in the world, yet its employment has long since and by far exceeded what Henry Wallace used to consider the ideal of sixty million jobs. The relationship is simple: Introduce an assembly line into an auto plant, and you immediately multiply production and create demand by lowering costs; more, not fewer workers, are needed. The same principle applies to today's more advanced techniques of automation."

The editors of the Wall Street Journal, "of course," are familiar with the history of capitalism. They distort the real story of the effects of the mechanization of the labor process in order to disarm the American people and to provide the defenders of "free enterprise" with arguments in the great automation debate.

THE REAL HISTORY

What are the real historical facts? The first industrial revolution occurred during the rise of the capitalist system in Europe at the start of the 19th Century. Despite the fact that the whole world had not yet been conquered by capitalism and there was still plenty of room for expansion, the widespread introduction of machinery displaced so many workers, together with expropriated peasants, that a steady stream of poor emigrants was created for the settlement of America.

Where is the new virgin continent to which the dispossessed can travel in the so-called "second industrial revolution" that is anticipated with automation? Will Ford or GM workers migrate to the African jungle? No one has found a way to get to Mars. The impulsion for the first industrial revolution came as a result of the first organized workers' struggles. Capitalism sustained its earliest growth by prolonging the working day. More profits could be obtained by just working people longer hours. Men, women and children.

were worked beyond endurance. The situation in England, the mother of capitalist nations, became so bad that the very existence of the working class was endangered. Children died at an alarming rate or grew up stunted. Organization and struggle to limit the working day became inevitable.

The capitalists then learned how to exploit labor more intensively even with a shorter working day through the widespread introduction of power-driven machinery. The workers who were displaced by the machines, as pointed out above, were absorbed in the new colonies, although this meant uprooting their families and suffering terrible hardship in wild country.

PICTURE DIFFERS NOW

The picture is entirely different for the modern American worker. Even if we could please Defense Secretary C. E. Wilson by acting like bird dogs instead of kennel hounds, where would we find the primeval forests to hunt in for our subsistence?

The introduction of the assembly line in the production of automobiles, the new radio industry and other industrial developments in the period up to 1929 could play a part in the expansion of American capitalist economy. Then the world crisis of capitalism caught up with the U.S. The economic edifice collapsed. The assembly line didn't prevent this; it gave the fall greater impact.

Neither the assembly line nor any other technical progress got us out of the depression. It took the preparations for a second world war, government-guaranteed markets and profits and war itself to obtain renewed industrial expansion and relatively full employment.

During this year, right with the beginning of the push toward automation, we have had 5 million unemployed and millions reduced to part-time work. And this despite the fact that the American people were subsidizing capitalist war production to the tune of two-thirds of the federal budget.

The American workers have good cause for alarm at the prospects held forth by automated production under capitalism. It is being used not to give the workers more goods and services, but to cut labor costs by getting more production with fewer workers.

But alarm is not enough. The workers must evolve a program that can meet this threat to their jobs. The shorter work week — embodied in the widely-endorsed demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay — is the direction that this struggle must take.

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Backs 'Right-to-Scab' Law



Henry G. Riter, 62, of West Orange, N. J., newly-elected president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers, receives the gavel from outgoing Pres. Harold C. McClelland (right) at the NAM's convention in New York. Riter defended the open-shop "right-to-work" laws that have spread to 17 states and which have been correctly called "right-to-scab" laws.

...CIO Convention Discussions

(Continued from page 1)

fully respected and fully protected within such a labor movement." Walter Reuther concluded the discussion by making direct reference to the question of "pre-conditions." "We make no pre-conditions," he asserted, "but..." And then proceeded to reiterate the "cardinal principle that the integrity of every affiliated union would be fully protected." Thus reassured the resolution on organic unity was adopted "unanimously."

A message from AFL president George Meany was read to the convention urging a meeting of the AFL-CIO unity committee "as soon as possible."

The debate on the "Political

Action" resolution came as a surprise to the convention. Michael Quill, who spoke in opposition to the resolution, had no counter resolution to offer although he was on the resolution committee. He made no official minority report and ended by voting "for" the resolution which was carried unanimously. It would be incorrect to conclude that his speech urging the formation of an independent labor party represented any significant tendency in the CIO officialdom. The incident is of interest mainly in disclosing the political evolution of the personalities involved.

Quill, a fiery speaker, got a round of applause upon the conclusion of his speech flaying the

Democratic party in general and Tammany Hall in particular. He was followed immediately by Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers. Mazey departed from his prepared speech to answer Quill. He had always been, he said, a strong advocate of a labor party. And, he added, "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 building 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."

Mazey's "defense" of CIO political policy was hardly calculated to inspire the enthusiasm of the case-hardened officialdom in attendance at the convention. Reuther was constrained to step into the breach with a speech outlining his political philosophy. The whole concept of the labor party, asserted Reuther, was contrary to the American historical development, culture, and social structure. While it was all right for Europe with its "rigid class

groupings," it would not do for America "in which social groups are in flux."

"A labor party" asserted Reuther, "would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built." Instead, Reuther proposes to reform the American two-party system by bringing about a "fundamental realignment of basic political forces." This CIO "elder," who had previously been one of the "now is not the time" opponents of the labor party, now concludes that the very idea is repugnant to the American way of life!

The two major policy questions which came before the convention, namely, organic unity and political action, will have far-reaching significance for the future of American labor. Self-defense against the blows of reaction have provided the greatest spur to the movement toward organic unity and an intensified concern with political action. The reaction of the officialdom is a reflection of the ferment in the ranks.

...Political Realignment

(Continued from page 1)

auto, or the armed attacks of the steel barons against the workers of Little Steel in 1936? Would he call that "social groups in flux?" The fact is that the whole history of the modern American labor movement is irrefutable proof of the existence, not only of "fixed classes" in the U.S., but of the existence of a profound class struggle.

POLICIES CHANGE

Reuther's policy is supported overwhelmingly by the mass of trade union officials today. It must also be frankly recognized that this policy is supported by the great majority of the workers. But that does not make it right.

At one time the policy of the labor officials was overwhelmingly opposed to industrial unions and the organization of the unorganized. The rank and file of the craft unions of those days also supported this policy which served the interests of a thin privileged stratum of skilled workers.

Only the radicals called for the organization of mass industrial unions. The Reuthers of that time preached the impossibility of achieving this "utopia." Replying to Quill at the CIO convention, Reuther said, "Every time for a third party has failed miserably." Therefore? Therefore it is obvious to the Reuthers that every time must fail in the future! Such is the mentality of the generation of bureaucrats who replaced the audacious young militants who founded the CIO.

Despite the unanimity around Reuther's political policy at the CIO convention, there are significant voices calling for a more far-sighted political policy for American labor.

One of these voices is the newest affiliate to the CIO, the Mechanics Educational Society of America. The MESA Educator, Nov. issue, in an editorial called "The Next Few Years" says: "Both these mammoth labor groups (AFL and CIO) are political parties without any political programs. A political party can have members on the basis of their common place of work just as well as on their common geographical residence."

The editorial refers to the problem of a political realignment: "It is a curious situation as the Northern Democrats are more liberal than Northern Republicans but Southern Democrats are more conservative than Northern Republicans. This is all very confusing to two labor federations that are in effect political parties."

Then the editorial gives its forecast of the outcome of this political situation: "It is almost inevitable that a merger of the two politico-labor federations will be negotiated in 1955 and almost as inevitable that a labor party opposed to both the Republican and Democratic Parties will be launched during the next few years. This forecast was the main factor in the determination of the MESA to become a unit in the CIO."

This conception of a political realignment in the U.S. makes a lot more sense than Reuther's idea of a class-collaboration Democratic Party of labor and the "pure" capitalist liberals.

A Delaware judge has dismissed charges against white supremacist leader Bryant D. Bowles, who had been accused of blocking integration of Negro school children in the town of Milford.

24-MINUTE SIT-DOWN GETS RESULTS

OAKLAND — A sit-down strike by auto workers here, achieved in 24 minutes the settlement of grievances that many weeks of complaints and negotiating had failed to effect. This sit-down was provoked by a company speed-up, wage cut and disregard of safety in the lower body shop of Fisher Body, a division of General Motors.

Welders, members of CIO United Auto Workers Local 333, had been trying to get a satisfactory adjustment of working conditions and piecework rates on the 1955 model bodies which the company is producing at a feverish pace. New methods of assembling the 1955 bodies meant a great increase in the amount of work to be done, but management did not increase the working force.

In addition, wages were, in effect, cut ten cents an hour when the lower body department was kept on the "basic earning rate" weeks after production on the new model had begun and was not put on the "normal earning rate." Finally, there was the company's failure after repeated requests to furnish adequate protective gloves to the men who must continually handle and work on sharp-edged metal.

The sit-down began spontaneously and within 24 minutes management had agreed: 1) to slow the assembly line down; 2) restore the ten cents wage cut;

3) provide adequate protective gloves. Then the line started up again.

The company's declaration that it would uncover and discipline the "ringleader" was rendered difficult by the fact that there were no ringleaders in the spontaneous group action. However, General Motors can make victims if it can't make ringleaders. Soon two men were suspended for 30 days and reprimands were issued to 36 others. These are respectively the eighth and second steps in GM's system of "progressive corrective discipline."

Subsequently the union local succeeded in getting the suspensions reduced to 15 days and a membership meeting of the local voted to hire the men to work for the union for the duration of their suspensions.

However, the infamous no-strike clause in the UAW's contract with GM, as well as Walter Reuther's well-known eagerness to put administrators over militant or opposition locals, puts

Local 333 in an exposed position. Probably because of this, the local union leadership publicly deplored the militant action taken by the membership.

HARRY BRIDGES, president of the west coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is again on trial for "perjury." Four times previously the government had attempted to deport him to his native Australia on trumped-up charges of alleged Communist Party membership. Four times he has been set free. During the war when Bridges supported the no-strike pledge he was shielded from persecution. Now the witch hunt needs more victims so the old charges of his alleged "Communism" are dragged into the courts once again.

We're Sorry

By mistake, the by-line of the author of the article on birth-control in the Dec. 13 Militant was omitted. Our regular readers, however, will have detected the lively, interesting style of Joyce Cowley.

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Monday, December 20, 1954

A True Defender of Civil Liberties

The hard-pressed forces defending civil liberties in this country have lost one of their most courageous and skillful fighters—Arthur Garfield Hays. He died on Dec. 14 in New York City at the age of 73.

Hays, a very able lawyer, made big fees from corporations and wealthy clients. But he considered this secondary to his main work and a means of facilitating that work, his life work, which he did for nothing. This was the defense of civil liberties. Whose civil liberties? Why those that were being violated. It did not matter to Hays what the person's or organization's views were. He believed in civil liberties for all, unconditionally.

Here is part of his record since World War I. In the early '20s he was fighting for the right of striking coalminers to hold meetings in the company towns of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In 1925, with his friend and mentor Clarence Darrow, he fought religious bigotry in the famous Scopes "monkey trial" in Tennessee — where the issue was the right to teach the theory of evolution. The next year he was fighting a book and magazine ban in defense of the right of modern American writers to write honestly on social and sexual themes.

One of the greatest cases he was associated with was the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. This case—a vindictive follow-up of the witch hunt of the early '20s—saw two noble figures electrocuted because of their radical anti-capitalist views.

In 1933, Hays appeared in Berlin and Leipzig for Communist leader Dimitroff and other defendants in the Nazi Reichstag Fire frame-up. In the same period in the U.S. Hays was defending the Scottsboro Boys, as well as

Fred Beal and other Communist strike leaders on trial for their lives in Gastonia, N. C. In 1937, he was in the forefront of the fight against Mayor Frank "I am the law" Hague, who would not let striking seamen picket in Jersey City.

He continued his civil liberties work even after his 70th birthday. In 1950, he was in Washington protesting the Communist registration Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights. In 1951 and 1952 he was defense counsel for the Trenton Six, framed-up victims of anti-Negro cops. To the very end, he remained general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It is sad to lose such a soldier when the battle is so far from won. Hays was one of the last of a vanishing tribe in America — the principled liberal who really believes in civil rights for all. That is, all without exception.

Most of today's liberals are turning cowardly and, while they claim to be civil libertarians, use the kind of lawyer's formula that Hays never stooped to. They say, "We'll defend all civil liberties but those of the Stalinists. Heresy, yes, conspiracy, no." This covers up the fact that the "conspiracy" the Stalinists are being railroaded to prison for is "conspiracy to advocate," i.e. to talk or write. They hide the fact that every heretic burned at the stake by the Inquisition in the past was accused not merely of abstract heresy but of active conspiracy with the Devil.

The Bill of Rights has meaning only if everyone and every organization enjoys them in full. Arthur Garfield Hays knew this and devoted his life to the defense of all whose civil liberties were violated. His life was long and honorable. His death is a loss to the defense of freedom in America.

Billions for War, Dimes for Polio

The announcement of the development of a new polio vaccine by Dr. Jonas E. Salk is very welcome news. Dr. Salk himself expressed the view that this may lead to the virtual elimination of polio within five years. According to the Dec. 11 N.Y. Times, the "vaccine, if properly prepared and administered could produce an immunity considerably more potent than that provided by natural infection. Furthermore, such an immunity would last for many years, possibly for life."

But why must the victory over the crippling disease of poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) take as long as five years? Indeed, why has it taken this long to get close to a victory? Why must many thousands of children each year still be maimed for life or doomed to death when medical science has come this close to a solution? Is it the inadequacy of the scientists themselves or a failure to provide the means to do the job quickly?

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was established in 1938 and has run a March of Dimes campaign every year to get private donations. But the Foundation has been able to spend only 14 million dollars on research to end polio. Compare this with the billions the government provided science for the discovery and production of A-bombs and H-bombs, far more difficult scientific problems than polio presents. Can anyone doubt that polio would long ago have become a thing of the past if anywhere near as much had been spent for research to defeat this disease?

The Battle of Hostages

There are indications that Washington may get off its high horse and make a deal handing over the 35 Chinese students it has been holding in this country in exchange for American fliers jailed in China as spies.

The whole development of this possible students-for-fliers deal has brought to light some interesting facts. First is the number of jailed Americans involved. Originally, the headlines screamed the figure 13. Now, however, they keep talking about 11. Why? Because the U.S. press has virtually had to admit, as did the United Press on Nov. 24, that two of the 13 worked for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Another interesting fact to come to light is that the U.S. has been holding 35 Chinese students, men and women, as hostages here for the last four or five years. These Chinese entered the U.S. openly before the Chinese Revolution. They weren't sent here as spies, nor did they fly over dropping napalm bombs and strafing roads and villages. They were strictly civilians and students. When they had finished their studies and wanted to return

home they found that they were prisoners. Some wanted to go home undoubtedly to help build up their homeland, others to see fathers, mothers, wives, children. It made no difference to the U.S. State Department. It used the pretext that their technical skills and scientific training might be employed by the new regime in China and therefore they must be held in the U.S. under constant FBI surveillance.

Great pressure was put on these students to renounce the New China and to declare for Chiang Kai-shek. Those that did so received all sorts of favors and had no trouble leaving this country to go to Formosa.

State Department spokesman Lincoln White says that the imprisoned U.S. airmen and the student-hostages are in entirely different categories. That is quite obvious. The Chinese students are held by the U.S. and according to the "ethics" of diplomacy that is a "good" category. On the other hand the U.S. airmen are held by the Chinese, and any State Dept. logician can tell you that is an "evil" category.

Washington has been using the sufferings of the imprisoned U.S. fliers and the anxiety of their families to whip up hatred of China. The truth is that U.S. foreign policy is as responsible for the sufferings of the American airmen as it is for the graves of the casualties of the Korean "police action." When the families of the imprisoned American airmen and other Americans in sufficient numbers realize this, they will intervene in politics and take U.S. foreign policy out of the hands of the Wall Street imperialists. Then American fliers won't be imprisoned in China because they won't be shot down in bombing raids and Chinese students will be able to travel where they wish in peace.

Union Officialdom Serves Wall St.'s Foreign Policy

By Carl Goodman

We have often called the top CIO and AFL officials "State-Department unionists" — agents of the U.S. State Department in the ranks of the labor movement. The truth of this designation was amply demonstrated by Walter Reuther's opening address to the 16th CIO Convention.

In those portions of his speech devoted to the CIO's foreign policy, Reuther declared: "We supported the President (Eisenhower) . . . on all basic foreign policy matters." Thus, in the dispute between Eisenhower and Sen. Knowland (R-Cal.), Reuther lined up with the Administration. He supported Wall Street's present policy of seeking a temporary agreement with the Soviet bloc and China and opposed Knowland's refusal to compromise.

Reuther's stand appears less jingoistic than George Meany's declaration to the N. Y. State Federation of Labor Convention on July 19. Meany then ranted

against the "danger of massive appeasement" and "coexistence" and asked whether Eisenhower — Wall Street imperialism's man in the White House — was getting "soft" toward the "reds."

REUTHER MORE NIMBLE

Reuther is more nimble than Meany in following the twists and turns of Wall Street's foreign policy. Since Eisenhower, Dulles, Truman, Stevenson and all the other political spokesmen for the ruling capitalist circles are now for "coexistence," Reuther is too. This shows that he is a labor "statesman."

However, as the Militant has explained, the Eisenhower Administration is not cancelling Wall Street's drive to war. The ruling circles of Big Business are merely slowing down the pace, because they confront an unfavorable relation of forces on the world arena. They are introducing a tactical change in their war plans, without abandoning their longer range objective

of launching World War III to establish world domination for the American capitalist class.

Reuther is thoroughly tied to this imperialist course (the real "basic foreign policy" that Reuther endorses), as shown by what he said at the CIO convention about U.S. policy in Asia.

WHY THEY REBEL

Here Reuther strikes a critical note. He thinks the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations should have done a "more positive job of fighting communism." The gimmick he proposes is more economic aid to Asia. Reuther's motion is that the Communist Parties win recruits solely because the masses are hungry and poor. He wants the U.S. government to say: "We will give you a gun to help defend yourselves against the Communists; but . . . we want to also give you the tools with which to fight poverty and hunger in your country."

Reuther never mentions by so much as a word that what the workers and peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are rebelling against is not just hunger and poverty but an entire social system that perpetuates their misery. They are in revolt against foreign imperialist domination and its native agencies, the landlord and capitalist classes.

Hunger by itself, poverty by itself could never bring the workers and peasants to the point of revolt. Starvation deadens the will to struggle. What impels them to fight is the recognition that an outmoded and oppressive social system stands in their way and that a better one can be built.

WALL ST. BLOCKS WAY

Wall Street stands squarely in the way of realizing their aspirations. It wants to perpetuate their colonial slavery. As part of its counter-revolutionary schemes, which include napalm bombings of defenseless populations, U.S. Big Business uses the device of arming sections of the colonial people. This is what Reuther refers to when he says "we will give you a gun."

Who takes the gun? Who makes up the U.S.-sponsored ROK, Viet-Nam, Chinese "Nationalist" or other so-called national armies in the colonial countries? The sons of the native ruling classes enlist as officers to help preserve the imperialist orders. The soldiers are drafted from the population against their will. The genuine freedom fighters in Asia want no part of these puppet armies and struggle against them wherever they can.

But Reuther favors them. However, since as a labor "statesman" he is supposed to have the welfare of the working people of Asia at heart, he adds: "Let's also give them some economic aid."

NO REAL SYMPATHY

Reuther, Meany and most of the other officials of the labor movement have no real sympathy for the workers and peasants fighting for national independence and social change. They represent a privileged social grouping in the U.S. labor movement — a labor bureaucracy that rules dictatorially in the unions. This bureaucracy is imperialist-minded and corrupt to the core.

The bureaucrats want to enlarge their income, power and prestige by sharing in the gains the ruling capitalist circles hope to make from U.S. exploitation of the world. They have even carved out special careers for themselves as "labor relation experts" for the State Department in its dealings with the working people abroad.

There is a whole corps of global troubleshooters from the rank of the labor officialdom roaming the world for the State Department. Walter Reuther's brother, Victor, is one of their number.

WANT SOME DEMAGOGY

The bureaucrats want the U.S. government always to conduct its foreign policy in such a way as to mix a little demagoguery and some token reforms with its brutal counter-revolutionary measures. That way the labor agents of the State Department can get in on the act. That is what Reuther has in mind when he calls for more economic aid.

It is certainly the duty of the American labor movement to demand that the U.S. government extend aid to the working people abroad. But Reuther's is a strictly phony brand of internationalism in the service of a counter-revolutionary power.

A genuinely internationalist program must begin by demanding that the U.S. government recognize the right of peoples of other lands to freely choose whatever form of government or social system they want. The demand for economic aid must be tied to that.

Science Group Hits Methods of Govt. 'Security'

By Roy Gale

Breaking an overlong silence on the government's witch hunt against scientists, the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science

has issued a criticism of the "security and screening program." The protest is published in the current issue of the organization's magazine Science.

This statement of conservative-minded scientists, who have become greatly disturbed by the lowered morale of scientists plagued by surveillance and smear attacks, hits at the heart of the pretext given by the witch-hunters for their persecution of scientific workers, that is, the claim that scientific "secrets" must be kept from spies.

"The basic fact is that there simply are no such things as permanent scientific secrets," affirm the AAAS directors, who point out that once this fact is recognized, "the whole picture changes."

They charge that the attacks on scientists "add up to a bill of unknown but certainly large size," which includes "the lowered morale, the lost time and efficiency, and the denial to the nation of the use of some persons of great talent. . . . They add: "Were time, talent and effectiveness so wasted for any other reason, those responsible would be considered guilty of sabotage of the first order."

For some time, the Association has been under heavy pressure by prominent members to take a stand. While the statement is cautiously worded, it clearly indicates the extent of the thought-control and intimidation exercised by the political police against the scientists.

The protest is limited, however, to the witch hunt against scientists and does not take into account the larger sweep of thought-control and police-state actions against persons in all professions and in virtually all spheres of activity, private as well as public.

Moreover, the AAAS directors accept the war program of American imperialism and, therefore, accept in principle the necessity for a "security" program which is the excuse for the witch hunt. Their main argument is merely that the present form of the "security and screening" program is interfering with the use of scientists for war preparations. They say:

"This (security) program is necessary, but it poses a serious dilemma: the more completely we

succeed in reducing the danger that information now in our possession may lead to a potential enemy, the more risk we run of interfering with scientific progress and of reducing the technological superiority and the moral and physical strength upon which victory in the ultimate test would depend."

The two specific policy changes asked by the American Association for the Advancement of Science are: (1) "That greater weight be given to a man's potential contributions. The risk involved must still be considered, but for any given position, we can afford a larger risk if we stand to make a great gain, than if we expect only a small one."

(2) "That the risk be measured more with regard for the nature of the work to be done than has frequently been true in the past. No satisfactory justification has yet been advanced for screening persons engaged in unclassified research . . . by the standards appropriate for screening those who have access to details of war plans and advanced weapons."

Needless to say these pious hopes of the scientists for a moderation of the witch hunt will be torpedoed by the police-state minds of the higher authorities. Their decisions on the "security" program rest not on the need of the scientists for a more favorable climate in which to work but on the continuing demands of the witch hunt for ever more victims in order to silence dissent.

Robert C. Cowen, science writer for the Christian Science Monitor, observes that "to the natural scientist this (AAAS) program will mark the difference between the dwindling of the stockpile of scientific 'advances' under the present policy and a virile research program that will expand the stockpile to its fullest."

What Cowen and the scientists don't understand is the inner logic of the witch hunt. It will take more than declarations and desires to stop or even slow down the witch hunt. The only thing that will help the scientists regain freedom of expression and research is to organize mass pressure on the powers in Washington and the Pentagon and demand that all restraints and restrictions on scientists and science be junked.

Got Himself in a Sling



His right arm in a sling, Sen. Joseph McCarthy is shown displaying injured elbow he claims kept him in a hospital 12 days during the Senate debate on censuring him. After the Senate voted the condemnation, McCarthy made an open break with Eisenhower. His new party aims are discussed on Page 1.

... British Laborites

(Continued from page 1)

these expulsions are instituted AGAINST the will of the local parties concerned."

It is a fact that the local constituency labor parties to which the expelled members belonged were opposed to their expulsions. In the case of two of those expelled, they were first excluded on the advice of a local paid official. Neither the constitutional rights of local parties nor any principles of party democracy restrained the right wing in carrying out their purge. As the rank and file respected and supported these local leaders and left-wing militants, the Labor Party tops were forced to step in from above and pluck them out of the party.

The Tribune condemns the inquisition conducted by the purge tribunal and the fact that the accused members were "called upon to answer a whole series of vague inquiries without being told what was the precise nature of the accusations against them." It concludes: "The purge must be stopped right now and those already expelled should be readmitted to the party at an early date."

DEFENDS DEMOCRACY

The Bevanite paper thus continues that defense of party democracy which it courageously carried forward when it rallied in sharp protest at the ban on Socialist Outlook. Its articles have already resulted in Miss Alice Bacon resigning as chairman of the Organizational sub-committee of the N.E.C.

"... It appears to be impossible to act as a member of that committee," she complained to the secretary of the Labor Party, "without being singled out for attacks in 'Tribune' and misrepresented in other papers. . . . To be singled out as the chairman of a special sub-committee which goes round witch-hunting is just untrue."

Notwithstanding Miss Bacon's denials that she witch-hunted in McCarthy style, the rank and

file of the Labor Party will be under no illusions. Her resignation will give them added confidence to fight the purge as it discloses a crisis in right-wing circles who come up against a deep opposition at every attempt to deal with the left.

EXPULSED APPEAL

The expelled left-wingers are campaigning against their expulsions. Five of them have issued an appeal to the Labor Movement.

"We are the victims of a witch hunt," they state to Labor's rank and file. "Like thousands of other rank and file we have fought for socialism in the Labor Party. Clearly, our 'crime' in the eyes of Morrison and Co., is that we condemned attempts to line the party behind an Eden-Dulles foreign policy by opposing German re-armament and S.E.A.T.O.; that we fought within the framework of the party for a socialist foreign policy and a domestic programme to end capitalism. In other words, we endeavored to assist the socialist wing of the party to victory."

"It is for this and no other reason that we have been expelled."

"We have not been expelled for any breach of discipline or the constitution. We were among the most active workers in our Constituency Labor Parties. . . . Allegations that we disrupted the party could not and cannot be substantiated. . . .

FLAGRANT VIOLATION

"We appeal to the rank and file of the Labor Movement to fight these bureaucratic expulsions."

"... The right-wing leaders of the party can no longer control it by winning support for their ideas. They can only continue by using the party machine to bludgeon back all those demanding a fight against Toryism and war, by flagrantly violating party democracy and creating a corps of thought police backed by thought tribunals."

World Events

ICHIRO HATOYAMA, NEW JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER,

"is just as conservative as Mr. Yoshida (the defeated premier), in his political views," says the Dec. 9 Christian Science Monitor, "but being a professional politician, he is expected to be less autocratic in voicing them." Hatoyama, who heads the Democrats, a conservative businessmen's party, was elected prime minister by the Japanese Diet (parliament), with the support of the Socialist Party. One of the conditions for this support is that new general elections be held by March 10. The new prime minister favors Japanese rearmament and close ties with the United States, but at the same time favors diplomatic relations and more trade with Russia and China.

JAPANESE RIGHTWING PARLIAMENT LEADERS Y.

Nakasone and M. Tsuji attacked ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and said "both U.S. and Japan are to blame for the war on a 50-50 basis," according to the Dec. 8 N.Y. World Telegram. Genuine socialists throughout the world have contended all along that World War II was fought by Germany, Italy and Japan on one side and the U.S., Britain and lesser allies on the other for the sake of capitalist profits. Each side fought for a monopoly of the markets, colonies and raw material sources of the world.

IN SOUTH KOREA, 12 As-

semblymen quit the Liberal Party in revolt against President Syngman Rhee, the U.S. puppet. The walkout followed an Assembly dispute following passage of a constitutional amendment allowing Rhee to run for President as long as he wishes.

IN TUNISIA, French and Tun-

isian officials threatened to wage war against Fellagha bands that refused to lay down arms under terms of an amnesty offer. The Fellaghas are fighting for the complete independence of Tunisia from despotic French rule.

THE WEST GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS decided on

Dec. 12 to wage a vigorous campaign of opposition to the London-Paris accords providing for W. German rearmament. According to M. S. Handler in the Dec. 13 N.Y. Times, this means that "the Social Democrats will embark on a determined effort to slow down the ratification proceedings in the West German Parliament and will intensify their agitation among the German people against the agreements." Chancellor Adenauer is pushing for ratification of the agreements, although he knows that rearmament is unpopular with the German people, Handler reports. On Dec. 10, the upper house of Parliament provisionally voted for rearmament. The issue will now have to be acted on by the lower house, where Adenauer has a majority. In the meantime, new anti-Adenauer coalition governments in Hesse and Bavaria, in which the Social Democrats hold the biggest number of votes, have altered the composition of the upper house. The Social Democrats' capitalist allies, however, are not committed to oppose rearmament when it again comes up for a vote in the upper house of Parliament.

A NEW TREATY BETWEEN

PANAMA and the U.S., replacing the 1903 treaty, may be signed next month. Under the new agreement, the U.S. will increase its annual payments to Panama from \$430,000 to \$1,930,000 for use of the Canal Zone. This is still far short of the \$5,000,000 Panama asked for. In 1903, the U.S. government under President Theodore Roosevelt engineered a "revolution" that broke Panama away from Columbia, after the Colombian Senate had held up ratification of a treaty granting a canal zone to the U.S. American marines were rushed to support the Panamanian "revolutionaries." Roosevelt recognized the Republic of Panama and signed a treaty which granted the territory the U.S. demanded for a trifling sum.

Negroes in the Postwar World

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"It's a Free Country"

By Amargo

It's a free country, isn't it? Not if you're a "subversive" or a "potential subversive." What are subversives and potential subversives? In 1948 the Attorney General (a Democrat, if you please) dug into his, and the FBI's, store of knowledge and came up with a political black-list. The list was added to, and it now numbers about 100 organizations.

If you are, or have at any time been, a member of one of these organizations, even before it got "on the list," you're a subversive. The list contains the Communist Party, as well as a host of organizations which, in the personal opinion of one Attorney General, are to one degree or another "infiltrated" by "communists." Organizations for the aid of the Spanish Republic are on the list. Book clubs are on the list. Nature study groups are on the list. Socialist parties with any socialism left in them are also on the list. The Socialist Workers Party and even the Independent Socialist League are there. So is the IWW, which is just a union.

Did you ever attend any meetings of these organizations, subscribe to their periodicals, go to their parties? You're a subversive. Were you bold enough to sign a petition or contribute money in defence of the Scottsboro Boys in the thirties, or the Trenton Six in the forties? You're a subversive. Are you so unfortunate as to have a relative, or a girl or boy friend who did any of these things? A radical uncle, perhaps, who starts political discussions at family gatherings? You're a subversive.

But don't let it worry you. Being a subversive is no bother at all — unless you want a job in the government, or with a company having contracts with the government. Or

unless you want to teach school, become an official in your union, get a passport to travel, get an apartment in a public housing project, get an honorable discharge in the Army, enter the boxing ring in the state of Indiana, or have any relatives who want to do any of these things. Of course, in a "national emergency" you can be thrown without trial into a concentration camp. But our American concentration camps are sure to have steam heat, TV and ice cream on Sunday — at least, that's what the police-state liberals who authored the bill assure us.

What is a subversive? Anyone under the slightest suspicion of having a serious criticism of American foreign policy, or the present American economic and social system. And, sometimes, you need to be only slightly critical to get tagged. It's a free country for those who say "ja."

So what are you going to do about it, Mr. Subversive? You can plead innocence, say it was all a mistake, confess your sins. But it is not enough to confess your own sins. To prove your good faith you must implicate others. Who sold you the ticket to that meeting, who gave you that petition to sign, what books do your friends read? Tell all you know about that radical uncle of yours. You must become an informer and a rat, and lose all vestige of human dignity or decency.

The other alternative is to fight for your right, and for everyone else's, to express opinions — any opinions — freely, and without persecution of any kind. You must join with others to struggle every inch of the way against the attempt by the government to make a police-state of our country — against Brownell and Eisenhower, as well as McCarthy; against Humphries, as well as Dies.

Notes from the News

NO FREEZE ON DIVIDENDS. Oil refineries reported cash dividends amounting to \$760 million in the first ten months of 1954 as compared to \$732 million in the same period in 1953. All demands by the workers for wage increases were rejected during the same period.

A SHORTER WORK WEEK was won after a five months battle by Engravers Guild Local 28 and Engraved Steel Plate Finishers Local 29. The work week was shortened from 37½ hours to 36½ hours accompanied by a wage increase of \$2 a week retroactive to July 5, 1954. They will receive an additional \$1 a week starting July 5, 1955, for the duration of the 18-month contract.

OVER 7,000 JOBS have evaporated in the last year at the Murray Body plant in Detroit. Less than 50 workers are left in the plant and they are working on aircraft contracts about to expire. Most of the laid-off workers had more than 30 years seniority and were in the 40 to 50 years age bracket — too young to draw pensions and social security and too old to find other jobs.

ADVICE FOR ADULTS. 500 Crane High School students in Chicago gave the following advice to adults on juvenile delinquency: "We live in an adult community which has much wrong with it. These adults are our models. So one of the answers is for the adults to clean up their own mess and produce better models."

FEAR GENETIC DAMAGE. Some biologists fear that enough atomic radiation has been released by the 64 atomic explosions to date to cause serious genetic damage and increase the

number of defective individuals in future generations. Atomic Energy Commission officials pooh-pooh the possibility of long-range radiation damage. The only thing these officials fear is that "radiation scare stories" will affect their weapons testing program. Despite serious warnings by scientists they have no intention of abandoning future tests unless compelled to do so by considerations of international politics.

CEDRIC H. BELFRAGE, editor of the National Guardian, was ordered deported on Dec. 10 "on grounds of Communist party membership." Belfrage said that he would appeal the deportation order and carry on the fight as long as the National Guardian, a news weekly, had the resources. He charged that the present order was issued because his "politics were wrong seven years ago." "The fight to protect the right of any publication to criticize the Government in any way it sees fit — for that is the essence of this fight as we see it — is an enormously costly one, but our many friends and readers are back of us," he declared.

THERE IS NO JOB SECURITY in the foreign service of the U.S., according to John Paton Davies Jr., recently ousted veteran diplomat who fell victim to the witch-hunt purge. Davies said that any candidate for a diplomatic career would be prudent to "know another trade."

ANSWER BLACKED OUT. Georgia radio and television stations which carried Governor Talmadge's tirade against the school desegregation ruling of the Supreme Court on NBC's "Youth Wants to Know," blacked out the answer given by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP spokesman.

Jailed Victims Of Witch Hunt Fear Assault

As Department of Justice officials continued to keep a veil of secrecy around the prison murder of William Remington, fears for the safety of other imprisoned witch hunt victims grew. Irving Potash, first of the eleven Communist Party leaders railroaded in 1951 under the Smith Act to complete his sentence, was re-arrested before he had passed through the gates of Leavenworth Prison. He asked that he not be taken to Wyandotte County Jail in Kansas City for fear "I might be the victim of the same thing that happened to Remington." Authorities, apparently recognizing the validity of his fears, took him to an undisclosed jail in Eastern Kansas.

POLITICAL PERSECUTION

The re-arrest of Potash, a former official of the Fur and Leather Workers Union (Independent), is a shameful political persecution. He is being held under an indictment returned, but purposely delayed all these years, by the same Grand Jury that brought the Smith Act indictment against him in 1950.

At Lewisburg (Pa.) Federal Penitentiary where witch hunt victim William Remington was recently beaten to death Myrl Alexander, an aide of the Federal Director of Prisons, completed an on-the-spot investigation. Department of Justice officials, however, have refused to divulge the contents of his report or even say if it ever would be made public.

WHY DID HE DIE?

Rumors and theories that the former government economist, was killed because he somehow was mixed up with rival prison gangs have been seized on by the capitalist newspapers. This theory would present Remington's murder as a sort of accident unconnected with the political witch hunt. Asked about the gang theory, Warden Fred T. Wilkinson at Lewisburg replied: "I personally discount reports of gang warfare or similar defects as a basic cause for the murder of Remington."

Wilkinson's statement again raises this question: Was Remington beaten to death by fellow prisoners because they were inflamed by witch hunt propaganda or because they hoped to be rewarded for their "patriotic" act?

Police Brutality Victim Convicted For Complaining

NEWARK, Dec. 10 — Chief Police Magistrate Harry A. Pine today retaliated against Edward C. Taylor, New Jersey Negro Labor Council Organizer, for having dared last August to place charges of atrocious assault against Patrolmen Di Orto and Ferranti.

On Aug. 22 the two cops beat Mr. Taylor severely, breaking his nose, while they had him in the police wagon under arrest. They then filed trumped-up charges against him of interfering with the police, using loud and abusive language, and assault and battery. Pine today declared Taylor guilty, fined him \$150 and put him on parole under a one-year suspended sentence.

FACES NEW FRAMEUP

The cops also accused Taylor of carrying a concealed weapon — a 4½-inch knife that Taylor declares they planted on him. The knife-carrying charge has been referred to the grand jury, so that Taylor faces yet another frame-up count against him.

The grand jury will also consider Taylor's complaint against the officers. Despite the numerous known instances of police brutality, this is the first time in Newark that a case has been carried as far as the grand jury.

In handing down his verdict, Judge Pine refused to credit the testimony of Taylor's five witnesses — all colored. They bore out Taylor's account that he had simply slowed down to watch officers questioning people in a car, that Patrolman Ferranti pushed Taylor, and that the two cops arrested Taylor when he protested this treatment in a dignified way.

Taylor's beating led last September to the formation of the Citizens Against Police Brutality who obtained several thousand signatures on a petition to Mayor Carlin protesting the outrage.

Taylor's conviction will be appealed.

Faces Death



B. Navidzadeh, 30, a University of Michigan student, is shown in Detroit as he said he will fight deportation to Iran where a possible death sentence awaits him. He charges he is falsely accused of "Communist" sympathies at home because he exposed graft in Iran. The Iran government canceled his passport. His wife and two children are in Iran.

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

On November 24, the day before Thanksgiving, a young man tried to hold up a bank in Milwaukee. Shot by a policeman concealed in the bank, his dying words were, "Why did you have to shoot me?"

Behind these poignant last words and the attempted armed robbery lies a tale of human suffering and human desperation.

Search of the body revealed no identification. The dead man's pockets yielded a total of seven cents. All Thanksgiving Day — while throughout the city families and friends gathered together for holiday celebration — the unknown youth's body lay in the morgue unidentified. Finally a deputy sheriff recognized it as that of a man he had once worked with at the Nash-Kelvinator factory.

Thereupon a story began to be fitted together that disclosed a record of idealism, courage, love of life, suffering and a final act of desperation climaxed by sudden death.

NO WORK, GOING BLIND

The body in the morgue with the bullet-ripped chest was that of 30-year old Raymond C. Shepherd. He was an unemployed industrial worker whose unemployment compensation had run out six months before.

His failure to find work was in large part due to the fact that he was going blind. He had already lost the sight of one eye and was rapidly losing the sight of the other.

But there was more to his life than unemployment and impending blindness. As a medical corpsman in World War II he had been awarded the Bronze Star for heroism in exposing himself to enemy fire to rescue a wounded comrade. Characteristic of Raymond Shepherd was the fact that he had transferred from the infantry into a medical detachment because he didn't believe in killing.

HIGHEST PRAISE

In civilian life he displayed similar qualities. In 1947 he became a member of the Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Workers

Party. His comrades, unbelieving and dismayed by the tragic act of desperation which cost Raymond Shepherd his life, have only the highest praise for his political work and personal qualities up to the final drama.

His outstanding personal qualities — as was noted by the reporter for the Milwaukee Journal who was struck by the paradox of a music and art lover being shot down as a hold-up man — were his sensitiveness and kindness.

How great then must have been his inner turmoil — over unemployment, approaching blindness, the thought of being a burden on family and friends — that led to an act so out of keeping with his personal character and so contradictory of his political and social views?

That he had struggled hard before desperation gained the upper hand is shown by the fact that he had started studying braille in preparation for his days of total blindness.

He is mourned by all who knew him, not only for the terrible manner of his death, but for the loss of him as a kind, honest, courageous and suffering fellow human. This is truly an American tragedy.

Racists Set Fire To Home in Conn.

Jim-Crow arsonists in Bridgeport, Conn., set fire recently to the home of Mrs. Marion Freeman because she refused to move out of a "white" neighborhood.

The fire was preceded by a series of threats and incidents, including crowds gathering in front of the house and shouting "nigger" at her and her two sons.

A \$3,000 LOSS

The house was rented from Mrs. John R. Condon, who reported that 10 residents of the street had offered to pay her two months' rent if she would change her mind about renting to Mrs. Freeman. "One man cursed me and a woman wanted to beat me up," Mrs. Condon said.

Mrs. Freeman lost \$3,000 in furnishings and personal possessions but says she intends to start saving for her next home. "I only hope the conscience of whoever did it will get them, even if the law doesn't," Mrs. Freeman declared.

Expose Cruel Treatment Of Immigration Detainees

By John Thayer

The Department of Justice stooped to the release of false news in an attempt to quiet mounting protests against its barbarous treatment of detainees whom it has thrown into federal and city prisons since the closing of Ellis Island.

A protest by the famous author, Pearl Buck, led the conservative New York Times to start a crusade against the imprisonment and treatment as common criminals of aliens, whose only crime is that they were not born in this country. Republican Attorney General-elect of New York, J. K. Javits has described the treatment of these aliens as that of "second class human beings." Democratic Governor-elect of New York, Averell Harriman sharply denounced the McCarran Act under which the aliens are being held and also denounced their being thrown into jail "alongside thieves and hoodlums."

Under this barrage the Department of Justice on Dec. 9 told the N. Y. Times that it had re-

scinded its former policy and that "under no circumstances may alien detainees any longer be placed in jail." The Times further reported that immigration officials in New York had been ordered to place all present and future detainees under guard in the Empire Hotel in Manhattan pending the establishment of detention quarters in the Department of Justice building in Manhattan.

The N. Y. Times gave this news front page prominence and congratulated the Department of Justice in an editorial entitled, "Order Revoked." This stated: "To imprison people by act of an administrative official is deeply alien to American tradition." No sooner was this off the press than the truth came out.

The Justice Department had not ended its policy of administrative imprisonment of detained aliens. It had merely moved eleven of these harassed people from jail to an inexpensive hotel. The majority remain in prison and are treated like criminals. The Department of Justice will not move them out of jail unless popular protest forces it to.

PEARL BUCK'S LETTER

The official "justification" is that those still kept in jail are "possible" subversive or criminal types. This is the personal judgment of some Department of Justice bureaucrats. If the whole American people were subjected to such screening by bureaucrats who are either scared by McCarthyism for their jobs or, in some cases, are outright McCarthyites, the majority of the population would be in prison.

Pearl Buck, in a second letter to the Times, gives an example of the type of "possible" subversive or criminal the Department of Justice is mistreating. She quotes a letter from a Chinese friend "detained" for deportation:

"We arrived at the West Coast at 11 a.m. today with three elderly looking Chinese men and one Malaya young man. They were taken out from prison in New York before they boarded the plane. A man from Immigration in New York, wearing civilian clothes with a gun, guarded us all the way here. We were met by an Immigration officer at the airport and he immediately put us in a station wagon that had an iron bar in front and an iron door in the back and drove us to Alameda County Jail. My husband and I were once again put in jail and separated from each other."

"All day Monday, since 1 o'clock in the afternoon until 4 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon we

were not given anything to eat except one cup of coffee and two cookies which the stewardess in the plane gave to us. My husband looked very pale when we arrived at Alameda jail, and I felt quite ill, too, from hunger and from weariness of the trip. I am, however, feeling better today."

SUFFER INDIGNITIES

"The Alameda prison is the same as the Westchester County (N.Y.) jail. I was locked in a cell with six others, two Canadians, one Cuban and three Mexicans. One of them is a seven-month pregnant woman. In our cell there are four upper and four lower bunks. We are allowed to have half an hour fresh air each day if the weather is good. Except for three meals and in the evening when they let us out to take showers, the door is locked all the time. There is no space to walk around, so most of the time we stay in our bunks. The matrons here are quite nice but the rules are very strict. I was not allowed to take anything, not even a tooth brush with me, and I had nothing on me when I was sent to take a shower."

Pearl Buck adds that her two friends "came to the United States twelve years ago on visas from the Chinese Nationalist Government. There has been no way to find out who accuses them or of what they are accused. When I inquired I was told that under the McCarran law people can be deported without trial and without being told why."

SKOGLUND CASE

The inhuman treatment of detainees since the closing of Ellis Island will cause Militant readers to wonder how this affects the case of Carl Skoglund. Efforts to secure the release on bond of the 70-year-old labor leader from Ellis Island succeeded one month before detainees were transferred to prisons. Less than two days after his release he was taken ill and rushed for emergency surgery to the Lenox Hill Hospital in New York. Released from the hospital, he is recuperating, though under doctor's care.

Skoglund is out on bond but it can be arbitrarily cancelled by the Department of Justice at any time. Were this to occur he would, under present policy, be thrown into a New York prison. Needless to say, such treatment of a man in his seventies, suffering from a cardiac condition, might well be fatal. Those wishing to help fight the deportation of Skoglund and to help pay his heavy medical expenses should make a Christmas contribution to the Civil Rights Defense League, 68 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N.Y.

... McCarthy's Aim Seen

(Continued from page 1)

mation over foreign policy, dissociated himself from McCarthy's attack on the President.

Sen. Butler (R-Md.), who owes his election in 1950 to McCarthy's intervention and smear campaign against Millard Tydings, also solidified himself with Eisenhower. Sen. Goldwater (Ariz.) whose speeches during the campaign followed the McCarthy line closely, did likewise.

RATS LEAVE SHIP

Then on Dec. 11, Gen. Van Fleet, one of the prominent retired brass-hats who headed the 10,000,000 Americans for Justice group that conducted a petition campaign against McCarthy's censure, wired the Wisconsin Senator: "This last attack on our great President causes me to withdraw all support."

Even Sen. Mundt (R-S.D.) lined up with Eisenhower. "There is a lot of room for honest disagreement as to the approach" to foreign policy questions, Mundt said. He thus rejected McCarthy's treason theme and announced in effect that, unlike McCarthy, he remains bound to the Republican Party machine and ties his fortunes to those of the GOP.

McCarthy's closest allies did not desert him because they hate his crimes against civil liberties. They are among the most ardent witch-hunters in the country and even cheered when McCarthy turned the witch hunt against the Democratic Party.

They have no stomach, however, for the difficulties that the McCarthyites now face in building an independent fascist movement. The McCarthyites will not share in the political plums. They will be boxed off in a corner in-

sofar as the old-line political machines are able to do so. Now that the main sections of Big Business are following a policy of easing the tensions of the cold war, the ruling circles do not want to encourage McCarthyite demagoguery, which interferes with their tricky international maneuvers.

CLIMATE HAS CHANGED

At home the Democratic-liberal coalition is again coming to the forefront as a method of Big Business rule. The Republican Party policy itself is receiving a "liberal" face-lift, with the announcement by Eisenhower that his policy will henceforth be known as "progressive moderation" and his supporters as "moderate progressives."

The political climate for the time being—determined both by the tactical shifts of Big Business and the predominant trend in the population towards a renewal of New Deal illusions—is unfavorable to the growth of the extreme right. Even Right-wing dissidents in the capitalist political ranks like Knowland, Mundt and Van Fleet prefer to adapt themselves to these shifts, which they realize are merely maneuvers of the ruling circles designed to adjust the methods of Big Business rule to the problems of the present conjuncture.

McCarthy, on the other hand, prepares for a longer range objective of Big Business to crush the labor movement with a fascist dictatorship.

McCarthyite Strength

And despite their current isolation in the Republican Party, the McCarthyites are not operating on a shoestring. The judgment of the N.Y. Post's liberal columnist Max Lerner that McCarthyism is

a "was-m" rather than an "is-m," is as wrong as all the previous announcements of the liberals that McCarthy is finished.

It must not be forgotten that McCarthy still enjoys a substantial popular following numbering in the millions among the middle-classes. He still enjoys financial backing from a powerful minority section of the capitalist class — primarily the aggressive Texas oil millionaires. He is the leader of a considerable cadre of hardened fascists.

Blocked from using the Republican Party as a vehicle for building their movement, the McCarthyites in the next period might begin storm-troop activities, which they sooner or later must resort to, anyway. For fascism does not aim to come to power necessarily by means of the ballot box. It plans to hurl private military formations against the labor movement and to march to power by that road. There is therefore no cause for complacency towards the fascist menace that the continued existence of McCarthyism represents to the labor movement.

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