

Jobless Increase Seen in Spite of Production Rise

By Lewis Peterson

Nearly a year ago, in our Jan. 11, 1954, issue, we wrote: "If American economy stays fixed at the 1953 highest level in history — producing a gross national product priced at \$267 billion — we will be in a serious depression with eight to 10 million unemployed within four years." We attributed this prospect to "the factors of population growth and automation."

As we enter 1955, virtually all economic forecasts concede unemployment will continue to increase in accordance with the factors we cited almost 12 months ago. The situation is summarized by A. H. Raskin, economics and labor reporter, in the Dec. 26 N. Y. Times:

"Indeed, the likelihood that unemployment will probably edge above the 1954 average of 3,200,000 is conceded by many of those who are firmest in their expectation that business will be stronger in the next year. This paradoxical prospect of better business and more idleness is the most disturbing element in the 1955 outlook."

The National Planning Asso-

ciation, directed by business, union, farm and professional representatives, on Dec. 26 released in Washington a report that strongly confirms the perspective originally forecast by us and repeatedly stated over the past year. NPA researchers point out:

"The actual level of economic activity is at present about \$15,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000 below the level of reasonably full employment. Total production a year from now would have to be about \$25,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000 above the present rate in order to approximate the level of reasonably full employment."

2,000,000 NEW JOBS

In other words, to match the employment conditions in 1953, U.S. production in 1955 would have to expand to 5 or 6% above the 1953 level because, as the report states, "our economy has failed to grow in accordance with the growth of the labor force and the rise in productivity."

A similar point of view was recently expressed by Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Director of the CIO's Department of Education and Research, in a letter to the Dec. 17 N. Y. Times. "If job opportunities are to be provided for the 750,000 new entrants into the labor market and the more than 1,750,000 workers displaced by technological change and rising productivity each year, gross national product must increase at least \$15 billions each year," Ruttenberg explains.

Writing in the Dec. American Federationist, the AFL's official monthly magazine, AFL staff economist Bert Seidman says that to keep up with population growth and the rise in man-hour output "we need from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 new jobs each year. If our economy is able to do only as well in 1955 as in 1953, unemployment for the year would reach at least 5,500,000 and might go as high as 6,500,000 instead of the 1,500,000 we had in 1953."

But there is no assurance that even 1953 production levels will be maintained in 1955. The present steamed-up production in auto, for instance, appears, in part, to be an attempt to concentrate output in the period prior to union contract negotiations. "Inventories are likely to be built up in anticipation of possible midyear strikes and cost increases," observes Lewis L. Schellbach, of Standard & Poors, in the Dec. 18 N. Y. World Telegram. Speaking of production generally, he adds: "There is reason for believing that the peak of activity may be seen some time in the first six months, and that the second half may be less satisfactory."

Reunited



Beatrice Curran, 24, cleared of abandonment charges, reclaims her children, Karen, 3, and Billy, 18 months, at the New York Foundling Hospital. The mother, unemployed and penniless, had left them near the hospital. The children were returned after the Welfare Dept. reversed a previous decision denying her relief.

What Does Kremlin's Blood Purge Mean?

By John G. Wright

On Dec. 24, 1954, exactly one year after the execution of Beria and "six aides," the Malenkov regime announced still another "public trial" and execution of four more highly-placed "Beria plotters," plus two subordinates who received stiff prison terms. These latest known victims of the continuing post-Stalin blood purge were headed by V. S. Abakumov plus three of his chief secret police aides. It was none other than Stalin who appointed Abakumov Minister of State Security (Moscow falsely ascribed the appointment to Beria).

Abakumov served as secret-police chief from the middle of 1946 to the spring of 1952, i.e. throughout the initial, highly critical, six postwar years. Imputed with him was his chief deputy A. G. Leonov, and two of the latter's aides, V. I. Komarov and M. T. Likhachev. The frame-up was staged in Leningrad, next in importance only to Moscow, and it was tied in with the so-called "Leningrad case" of 1949. Clearly there is nothing "minor" about this 1954 version of the "Beria plot."

From the outset The Militant has characterized the Malenkov regime as a regime of crisis, incapable of maintaining itself without the method of purge, as its indispensable method of rule. Once again this has been strikingly confirmed. Events have at the same time crushingly refuted the unofficial apologists for the Malenkov regime and its alleged "new look," such as the journalist Isaac Deutscher, Polish ex-Communist, double zealous servitor of British capitalism.

The Abakumov blood purge, just as the post-Stalin purges preceding it, serves many func-

SCAPEGOATS

Second, the purge provides scapegoats for the ruinous consequences of the Kremlin's own policies and method of management, while, at the same time, lashing the bureaucratic ranks to greater efforts. The regime today needs scapegoats to explain away the Soviet farm crisis. On the very same day the Abakumov frameup was announced, Party Secretary Khrushchev issued a "denial" there was any "bread shortage," admitting in the same breath that there were "certain food scarcities."

The regime today needs scapegoats for its oppressive rule. Abakumov & Co. (plus Beria of course), you see, have been responsible for all the abominations in the course of the initial postwar years. (The main charge

(Continued on page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 1

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1955

PRICE: 10 Cents

Wall Street Jams War Pact Down Throat of French Govt.

Do Billionaire Foundations Aid "Reds"?

Representative B. Carroll Reece (R-Tenn.), Chairman of the House Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations, issued a majority report Dec. 19 over the objections of the two Democratic committee members. The N. Y. Times, Dec. 21 in an editorial deplored the "sensational and irresponsible charge," in the report "that the nation's leading foundations have 'directly supported subversion.'"

The Reece report charges that the country is faced with a "rapidly increasing birth rate of foundations." The "compelling motivation" behind this rapid increase is "tax planning rather than 'charity,'" the report says. Since 1930 foundations have increased from 200 to an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 with assets of about \$7 billion and an annual income of \$675 million.

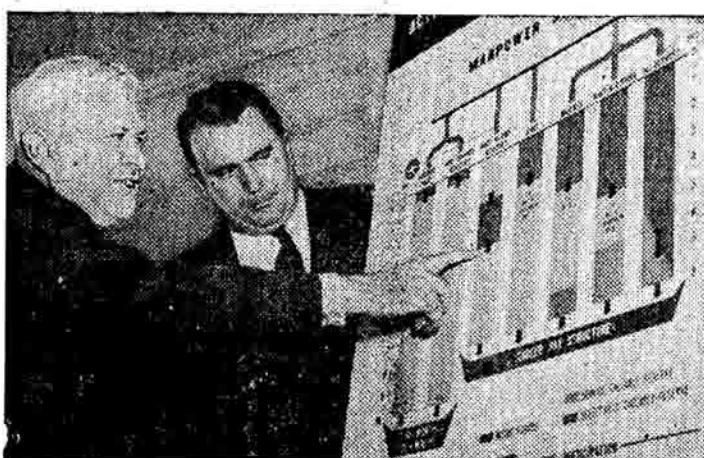
The report deals with recent excursions by the foundations into the field of social science. It is here, Reece charges, that "subversion" takes place. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, called the "Supreme Court" of social science, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Sage Foundation, is singled out for special attention. Lack of "objectivity" in assigning writers is one of the main charges. "Socialist," "Marxist" and other "leftists" were assigned to write on "left" subjects and (as if to add insult to injury) "leftists" were also assigned to write on "right" subjects!

The report also carries a "directive" to the foundations that in the future all "social" studies must be taboo. It speaks favorably of grants made for study of religion, the physical sciences and medicine, but is highly critical of social studies and condemns them as "empirical research," as contrasted with "theoretical research." The Kinsey studies are cited by the report as a horrible example of what not to do.

The Democrats, Representatives Wayne L. Hayes of Ohio and Gracie Pfof of Idaho, said: "The tax-exempt foundations of this nation have been indicted and convicted under procedures that can only be characterized as barbaric."

The United Nations voted on Dec. 10 to bar negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesian governments over Western New Guinea. The Dutch now occupy the territory claimed by the Indonesians as part of their national soil. All the western colonial powers voted to bar negotiations.

Urge New Militarism Scheme



Defense Sec. Charles E. Wilson (left) and Asst. Defense Sec. Carter Burgess, chief of manpower and personnel, are shown in Washington as they unveiled their new draft-military scheme to line up 17 to 19-year-olds for military service, including 9 1/2 years in the reserves subject to conscription on call.

Federal Court Upholds Police-State Measure

By Daniel Roberts

By a two-to-one vote, the Federal Court of Appeals upheld the McCarran Act of 1951 as constitutional. The court upheld the ruling of the Subversive Activities Con-

gressional Committee on Un-American Activities (H. R. 3045) which gave "self-incriminating testimony." The U. S. Supreme Court, he said, had already ruled to that effect.

The majority of the court—Judges Prettyman and Danaher—disregard Bazelon's reasoning. They also dismissed arguments of the attorney for the Communist Party that the McCarran Law violates the First Amendment of the Constitution protecting the right of free speech.

The majority upheld the formula of all witch-hunters that a world-wide "Communist movement" allegedly menaces every government in the world and that this presented a "clear and present danger" to the U. S. Government. In an interpretation of the legal maxim that completely reversed its traditional meaning, the majority judges held that "clear" means "actual" and "present" means "that which exists."

The Communist Party, they hold, doesn't merely conduct a discussion but puts forward a "program of action." This entitles the government to proceed legally against the party.

Said the judges: "(Communist) aspects may be freely discussed in philosophical dissertations, but in the field of action a Government must be realistic and factual. The right of free expression ceases at the point where it leads to harm to the Government."

But action that is not "philosophical dissertation" might be political. The Communist Par-

(Continued on page 2)

But Hairline Vote Reversal Spells Setback for American Imperialism

By Art Preis

DEC. 30 — Wall Street imperialism has given another graphic demonstration of what has made the United States a hated country throughout the world. This is the brutal and open campaign the Big Business government in Washington waged to jam

GREATER MILITARIZATION PROPOSED BY WILSON

On Dec. 20, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson announced that the Eisenhower Administration planned a 403,000 cut in the armed forces to take effect by June 1956.

Wilson declared that the change arose from the Administration's belief that the threat of global war has decreased. The "new look" military move is therefore in line with the "new look" foreign policy of the U. S. Government of establishing a balance of power deal with the Soviet Union and China.

The cuts were announced despite the event anxiety Washington feels about the spread in Indo-China and other parts of Asia of "creeping communism" which is the name the ruling circles give to the revolutionary movements for national independence and social change. The Korean experience and eight years of unsuccessful war waged by French imperialism in Indo-China have

convinced the Administration that it cannot hope to smash these revolutionary movements by means of limited "police actions."

And the world relationship of forces does not permit the U. S. government to engage in a global atomic war for the preservation of capitalism at this time.

But despite these cuts, the Eisenhower Administration continues and actually broadens its long-term preparations for World War III. As Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times said on Dec. 26, the revisions "are in line with the Administration's thinking that the nation must be prepared for a long period of readiness . . . without putting a killing burden on the budget."

San Francisco Teachers Denied Political Rights

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 22 —The Board of Education last night placed drastic limitations on the political rights of city teachers by a five-to-one vote depriving teachers of the right to campaign for candidates in city, county or school district elections.

This unprecedented political-gag move was instigated by John G. Levison, a Chamber of Commerce supported candidate for Board of Education in the last election. An organized campaign of teachers and parents had unsuccessfully opposed his candidacy and his policy of slashing the school budget.

The restriction of teacher's political rights was accompanied by a ruling of the Board's legal counsel granting it power to control teacher's activities, not only during school hours, but after as well.

Vigorous opposition to the measure and its far-reaching anti-democratic implications has come from all sections of the local labor movement, the daily press and the American Federation of Teachers.

Defense Secretary Wilson explained that the U. S. Government, because of its industrial strength and trained manpower, can be flexible as to the size of its standing army without impairing its ability to step up the war drive at any time. The same might be said for stockpiling conventional weapons used in war.

On the other hand, as Secretary of State Dulles made clear in his press interview on Dec. 21, the U. S. warmakers want to be ready to drop hydrogen bombs whenever they decide to junk the policy of coexistence with the Soviet bloc and China. That is why the military budget for the next years will feature new outlays for atomic weapons, guided missiles and planes.

Constant experimentation and development will be carried out in these lines. The Air Force alone of the military branches will not be cut.

Although the standing Army and Navy will be reduced, the Eisenhower Administration has announced a new reserve system which, according to Hanson Baldwin represents an essentially a Universal Military Training program — the hated scheme the militarists have been trying to put over for years. The draft itself is to be extended for four years, although at a reduced rate.

All reserves will have to undergo periodical training under a compulsory program.

the German rearmament pact down France's throat in obvious violation of the will of the French people and even the resistance of an important section of the French ruling class.

Eisenhower, in a virtually unprecedented act of intervention in the parliamentary affairs of another sovereign government, resorted to public threats to force a reversal by the French Chamber of Deputies of its 280 to 259 vote on Dec. 24 to reject rearmament of West Germany.

"NO WILD REJOICING"

The immediate effect of what the United Press described as the President's "delicate warning" — as "delicate" as an axe poised over the head — was to shift a sufficient number of votes of the French Deputies to win a slim plurality in favor of German rearmament. In the final vote today, Premier Mendes-France could muster only a 27 majority of the votes cast, but failed to get a majority of all Deputies because of numerous abstentions.

A previous 289 to 251 vote in the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 27, to invite the Bonn government to participate in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, gave the Eisenhower administration the hope that this time its intervention would ram the whole German rearmament pact through. But this prospect brought "no wild rejoicing in Bonn, London or Washington," reported the United Press on Dec. 28.

A MORAL DEFEAT

Every informed commentator admits that Wall Street and its allies among the French ruling class have suffered a stinging moral defeat which could not be retrieved by the belated reversal of the vote following a direct threat from a foreign power. Everyone in France cannot but feel indignation that this reversal — by a slim margin, to be sure — came directly in response to Eisenhower's statement that the "adverse vote of yesterday (Dec. 24) was one of utmost seriousness. However, we cannot believe that this represents the final French decision on this matter."

To anyone who understands the language of diplomacy, this was nothing less than an ultimatum to the French government: "Carry out our demand that you approve the German rearmament pact, or else —" The "or else" was partially spelled out in a Dec. 25 Associated Press dispatch from Washington:

"Congress is bound to look carefully at requests for grants of aid to France in the light of the Assembly's wobbling on rearming Germany. Of course should the rejection be upheld the effect might be disastrous from the standpoint of future American aid."

French capitalism and the French empire, including French Indo-China and North Africa, are wholly dependent for survival on U. S. dollars and arms. In reality, the French ruling class is nothing but a pensioner of Wall Street, dependent on U. S. bounty. Should that be withdrawn, the crumbling French empire would fall into dust in quick order. Thus, Washington's threat of withholding economic aid sounds like a sentence of death to the French rulers.

HOLLOW VICTORY

But what kind of "victory" does a favorable vote by France on German rearmament mean under the circumstances of compliance to such a threat?

The Dec. 29 N. Y. World Telegram admits editorially that "any victory must be hollow in the present French mood. . . France, by her instability, already has reduced the Big Three

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 3)

Reuther Shows His Real Political Colors

By Murry Weiss

Two things of importance happened at the CIO convention around the debate on the Labor Party question. (1) Walter Reuther presented, without any ambiguity, a defense of the two-capitalist-party system. (2) He presented a theoretical justification for the political line of the American labor bureaucracy.

The birth of the CIO during the stormy struggles of the Thirties squarely posed the question of an independent class political organization of the workers. In the ensuing decades, however, the labor movement has become closely tied to capitalist politics. The explanation for this lies in an understanding of the role of the labor bureaucracy.

The Reuther-type officials of the CIO section of the labor movement have played a double game all these years. In practice they were drawn more and more toward a partnership with the capitalist liberals within the Democratic Party. But the pressures of the class struggle and the all-too-apparent character of

the Democrats as a political tool of Big Business, forced them to hedge on this line; they always whispered it around that of course they were for a Labor Party, it was only a question of tactics and timing. But "tactics" always seemed to call for supporting a capitalist party and "timing" always called for postponing the organization of a Labor Party to an ever-receding future.

The CIO convention marked a change in this course. Reuther came out openly against a Labor Party. Not on grounds that "now is not the time." He left such formulations to Emil Mazey, who needs them as catch phrases to cover his transition from militant advocacy of a Labor Party in the past to the adoption of the new Reuther position.

Reuther attacked the Labor Party because it did not correspond to the "realities of the political society" we live in: The Labor Party, he contended, was a European idea which has no application to the United States. Let us cite Reuther's arguments as they were presented at the

CIO convention. Since they are not readily available to most workers we will quote his exact words extensively:

WHY NO LABOR PARTY?

"What are we trying to do in the American political scene? Well, we of the CIO occupy a unique position, when our brothers across the sea who come from countries that have labor parties ask us, 'How come you don't have a labor party in America?' Then we have to explain the whole different historical development of the American political system, of the essential difference in our culture, and the basic difference in the social structure of America."

"In Europe where you have society developed along very classical economic lines, where you have rigid class groupings, there labor parties are a natural political expression because there you have a highly fixed class society. But America is a society in which social groups are in flux, in which we do not have a rigid class structure."

"We have small businessmen. They don't really belong with a high priest of the Republican Party who controls Big Business and the Republican Party. We have millions of farmers. They are not wage earners. They are really small business people who have their wealth invested in their land and their tools of production. They don't fit into any narrow class structure. And yet they are an essential part of the vitality of our free political system and we cannot do in America what needs doing excepting as we get these kind of people joining forces with us."

"A labor party would commit the American political system to the same narrow class structure upon which the political parties of Europe are built."

The arguments are by no means distinguished by originality. They can be found in any keynote address to a National Association of Manufacturers' convention. Nor are they distinguished by an even elementary grasp of the most obvious facts concerning the social and economic structures of the U. S. and Europe, their similarities and differences.

Our problem will be to show how and why the leadership of the most powerful organized working class in the world possesses as its theoretical equipment the crudest versions of the theories and propaganda of the American capitalist ruling class. We must also inquire: Why does Reuther openly advance these arguments now?

For the moment, however, we will confine ourselves to only one aspect of Reuther's argument: the alleged basic difference in the social structure of Europe and the U. S.

According to Reuther, the prob-

The American Way of Life

A Negro WAC Goes Home

A good part of the American population travels home for the holidays. That part which is Negro and has to travel through the South is subjected to the injustice and humiliation of Jim Crow transportation. Back in 1946 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation in bus travel was unconstitutional. Nevertheless it continues in practice.

Last October the Interstate Commerce Commission condoned Jim Crow buses in the South. It dismissed the case of Sarah Keyes, a member of the Women's Auxiliary Corps of the U.S. Army who was traveling home on furlough.

When the ICC ruled that Miss Keyes had not been subjected to "unreasonable prejudice" or "unjust discrimination" in 1952, she was interviewed by Arnold deMille of the Michigan Chronicle. Here is some of her story:

"The trip was rather pleasant until we got to Roanoke Rapids (North Carolina), about 200 miles from my home. It was around midnight. A new driver took over and collected the tickets. When he took mine, he motioned to someone in the back of the bus to come forward and told me to move to the back. No one was sitting next to me and I told him I was comfortable where I was.

"He continued to collect the tickets, but on returning to the front of the bus, he handed me back my ticket and said, 'So you prefer to sit here!'

"Not another word was said. He left the bus and in about four or five minutes returned. He stood in the doorway and announced that he wanted all of the passengers to get off and take another bus, 'except the woman who refused to move. She can stay seated there until this bus moves out.' I admit I was puzzled and confused. I knew something was going on but didn't know exactly what. Anyway I got up and followed the other passengers. The driver took everybody's ticket. When I handed him mine, he snapped, 'You're not riding this bus tonight.'

"I was excited and nervous but remained calm and spoke without raising my voice. I asked him if the bus was going to Rocky Mount. He answered: 'Yes but you ain't riding it.' While I was talking to him I heard a man's voice from the side saying, 'Is this the one?' The driver said, 'Yes.' It was a policeman. He told me, 'Get on over here out of the way!'

"I told him I wanted to get home and had a ticket to ride the bus. 'Why can't I get on?' I asked him. He never answered. So I went into the bus station to see if I could find someone who could help me. A girl was sitting at the lunch counter. She asked if I wanted a ticket. I told her I had one but wasn't allowed to get on the bus. Who could help me, I asked her.

"She went out to where the policeman and another man were standing. She said something to them and went back into the station without saying anything to me. I went back to the officer and asked him why I couldn't get on the bus.

"One of them said, 'Lady, you know white and colored ain't allowed to sit together.' Before I could say much more, a man's voice called out to the policeman, 'Take her away! Don't let her stay here tonight.'

"The policeman then said, 'Come on we're going to take you down and lock you up.' He jerked me by the arm and pulled me to a car. When I asked why I was being locked up, he said: 'We'll get you for something.' I was put in jail and kept there until about 3 P. M. the next day, which was Saturday."

Miss Keyes got out on bail and with the backing of her family went to court. The Chief of police called in the manager of the bus terminal and the ticket girl. They swore she had gone "screaming up and down the place and swearing for all I was worth."

"The officer got on the stand and said, I called him an SOB. Why you know if I had called him that he would have tried to kill me then and there. What defense would I have had against him and the rest of them?"

The judge found her guilty. The ICC examiner agreed with the judge and ruled that there is nothing wrong with Negroes being ordered to the back of buses anyhow. Courageous Miss Keyes plans to fight her case up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

... Reuther's Politics

(Continued from page 1) lem of the American labor movement in politics, as distinguished from European labor movements which formed Labor Parties, is that we have in America such social groups as small businessmen and small farmers. But where is this different than Europe? Isn't Reuther aware of the existence of the middle class in European countries as well as the U.S.? And yet he cites the American farmers and small businessmen as proof of the absence of rigid class distinctions in the U.S. and concludes that therefore we cannot have a Labor Party.

In a certain sense the allegiance of the middle class, which stands between the monopoly capitalists and the industrial workers, is the object of the class struggle in politics. The capitalists, both in Europe and America, try to maintain their political domination over the middle class, through the mechanism of capitalist liberalism. On the other hand, the workers' parties in Europe have won the middle class to their side time and again, attaining thereby enormous majorities on the electoral arena.

In 1945 for example the Labor Party of Great Britain won an overwhelming majority at the polls precisely because it mobilized the small business people, the working farmers, the demobilized soldiers, the professionals, etc. to its side. After the ex-

perience of the war, the British workers and the middle class were fed up with capitalism and expressed this feeling by a vote for socialism and the Labor Party at the polls.

It may be pointed out that the Labor Party of England and the workers' parties of Europe lost their influence over the middle class. In the 1930's this even resulted in the swing of sections of the middle class to fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain. That's true. But this loss was not a result of the existence of Labor Parties. On the contrary, insofar as these Labor Parties subordinated themselves to the parties of capitalist liberalism, insofar as they failed to carry out a class-struggle political program of the working class, they alienated middle-class support.

The lesson of this experience is not to refrain from building a Labor Party, but to understand that independent class political organization, in and of itself, does not guarantee victory. What is required is not only a Labor Party but a program of class struggle.

In any case Reuther's theory of the "peculiarity" of the American social structure because of the existence of a middle class doesn't stand up under any sort of examination. What purpose this theory serves and a further discussion of its fallacies will be dealt with in future articles.

A Closer Look at D. C. Schools

By George Lavan

How far has school integration gone in the nation's capital? Is it progressing at "a fast clip" as the N.Y. Times and many others have asserted?

Before answering let us take a look at the figures presented by the American Friend Service Committee (Quakers). The statistics are as of Nov. 4, 1954.

BEFORE AND AFTER

Before segregation was officially abolished in Washington, schools were segregated into Division I schools (white) and Division II (Negro). Here is the picture today in the formerly Division II schools.

Of four high schools three still have a 100% Negro student body and the other has a single white student. The two Negro vocational high schools are still all-Negro.

Of the eleven Junior High Schools, which were officially all-Negro before the Supreme Court decision, seven are still all-Negro. The remaining four have respectively 14, 11, 1 and 1 white students. The infinitesimal amount of integration in the formerly all-Negro schools above the elementary grades is seen when the figures are put together. In these 17 schools integration has meant only the introduction of 28 white students.

What is the picture in the 63 former-Negro elementary schools? Fifteen are still all-Negro; 24 have less than 1% white enrollment, 13 have less than 10% white enrollment and only one has over 10%. Thus among the 56,410 Negro children now in the former Negro schools of Washington there are today only 448 white children. Surely this percentage rivals the famous 99 44/100% claim of the Ivory soap ads.

WHITE SCHOOLS

The picture is a trifle better when a look is taken at the former Division I (white) schools. Of seven high schools, six have some Negro students: one has less than 2% Negro students, two have less than 10% while three have over 10%. One of these — McKinley High — is, however, really integrated with 42% of the student body Negro. The three white vocational high schools still remain lily-white.

In all eleven formerly white junior high schools there is some degree of integration, although in four the Negro children comprise less than two percent. In only one are the races nearly balanced.

Of the 61 former Division I (white) elementary schools, ten remain lily-white and 13 have less than 2% Negro enrollment. Only 17 is there at least 30% of either white or Negro.

However small the total number — 8,091 — of Negro children now in formerly white schools may seem, it far surpasses the total number — 448 — of white children now in formerly Negro schools. What integration there has been has been primarily a one-way integration.

REALISTIC PICTURE

Eight thousand of Washington's 64,500 Negro schoolchildren have been transferred from their Jim Crow schools to former white schools. The former all-Negro schools remain basically

Jim Crow with 448 white students sprinkled among 56,000 Negro students for window dressing.

Thus to some in Washington the integration seemed a migration (it was really a very modest infiltration of white schools) rather than a true mixing of the students regardless of race. This latter would have been the natural thing to do in Washington since housing segregation there is not by district. Almost every neighborhood in the city has its white and Negro sections and both white and Negro schools had to be built in the past to service the same neighborhoods.

The harsh facts about the limited integration in Washington schools is not presented to discourage the enemies of Jim Crow but rather to permit a realistic appraisal of the situation and of what has to be done. For many the fact that segregation has been breached at all in Dixie-minded D. C. overshadows the slim figures. True, the Jim Crow school wall has been breached and a few children have made their way through. But what about the future? The danger is that the authorities will want to slow down further integration and rest on the limited amount of integration now in force.

This danger is all the greater since the recent elections. The District of Columbia is governed by a Committee of Congress. Committees in the new Congress will be dominated by Democrats from the Deep South. Because of their racism and to aid their states fight the Supreme Court decision, they will do all they can to halt further integration in Washington.

To prevent this and to push integration through to complete victory in the nation's capital will require a militant, united struggle by the Negro people, the labor movement and all other enemies of white supremacy.

Racist Demonstrators



Incidents similar to this scene of white women picketing Public School 22 in Baltimore to protest integration of Negro children have also occurred in Washington, D. C., the nation's capital, as pressure to prevent enforcement of the Supreme Court's ruling against school segregation.

ACLU's Forecast on Civil Liberties in 1955

By John Thayer

In its 34th annual report entitled, "America's Need: A New Birth of Freedom," the American Civil Liberties Union surveys the past year and ventures some predictions for 1955.

It sees the U.S. Supreme Court decision against school segregation as the outstanding victory of 1954. Next in rank come the Watkins Committee's censure of witch-hunter-in-chief, Senator McCarthy and the counter-attack

by educational groups in defense of academic freedom.

These three events the ACLU believes did more for the civil liberties situation in the last six months than has been done in a corresponding period for several years.

Basing its view on this estimate and Democratic Party control of the next Congress the report ventures the prediction that the witch hunt will be slowed down in 1955.

As evidence of the setback suffered by McCarthyism the report said: "... it is significant that, wherever the issue of Senator McCarthy was squarely joined in the Congressional elections just held, the candidate opposed to him was victorious. Fairness in legislative inquiry has taken a new lease on life."

Most important of the victories on the educational front, the report declares, was the counter-attack by the foundations which discredited the Reece Committee's investigation of them aimed at proving their "subversive" character. "And you can hardly pick up a mass circulation magazine these days without finding an article which affords at least some support for freedom of inquiry and communication in public and private schools and colleges and universities."

The report notes the responsibility of liberals like Humphrey and Lehman in the witch hunt: "Liberal Democratic Senators, to fend off the charge of '20 years of treason,' took the lead in passing the Communist Control Act, the latest legislative violation of

the vital principle that nobody should be barred from legal acts simply because he commits illegal acts."

WHAT'S AHEAD

As for the year ahead, of us, the ACLU says: "Whatever degree of cooperation in foreign policy may be achieved by the Republican executive and the Democratic legislative leaders, they are almost certain to be engaged in a dog-fight over domestic matters — looking toward the 1956 elections. But it is probable that neither party will calculate that it can gain much credit for itself, or heap much discredit on its opponent, by proposing enactment or repeal of laws particularly affecting civil liberties. This will be good for civil liberties in that there will be fewer threats to freedom of speech and association incident to new bills aimed at plugging loopholes in national security. But it will be bad for civil liberties in that, for example, there will be no federal civil rights legislation."

The report predicts that there will be fewer Congressional probes of loyalty and security and more of the economic and other policies of the Eisenhower administration. Perhaps the firings under the loyalty program will be investigated. "The Civil Service Commission, the Department of Justice and the security officers of the Department of State are going to have to answer a lot of embarrassing questions. Perhaps we shall even get some improvement in passport and visa administration."

... MALENKOV'S BLOOD PURGE

(Continued from page 1) in the indictment consists of abuse of power, arbitrary arrests, forced confessions, frameups, in short, the customary blessings of Stalinist rule.)

Third, the regime must at all costs impede the direct intervention of the Soviet masses, by demonstrating that it is itself capable of rectifying abuses, "abnormalities," "unpardonable violations of the Soviet laws."

Fourth, the purge serves to justify arbitrary rule, above all secret police rule, by periodically uncovering "plots," "enemies of the people," "criminal subversive groups." The direct charge of "agents of imperialism," stressed so prominently in the Beria frameup, has been quietly dropped in the interests of the deal with the Western imperialists that is now being negotiated. But it is implicit in the tie-up with Beria.

Fifth, and by no means the least important of the purge's functions is that it regulates the bureaucracy's internal life. Having freed itself from all external checks and controls, lacking historically stabilized class institutions whereby it could regulate the

selection, promotion, reliability, conduct, etc., of its own ranks, the bureaucratic caste, which has no independent roots in Soviet production, is forced to resort mainly to the purge for such internal regulation.

And finally, the Stalinist bureaucracy, headed by Malenkov, in dire need of "safety valves" and other safeguards against "excesses" of all sorts — corruption, waste, theft, inefficiency, disloyalty (to the caste), outright treachery, slothfulness and the like — characteristic traits of bureaucrats, that is, which exposes the caste too nakedly before the masses and which undermines the administration of Soviet industry and agriculture, second largest in the world.

The latest purge, amid mass discontent and a farm crisis with its "scarcities," indicates two more important Soviet processes. On the one hand, the imperious need of Soviet society to eject the bureaucratic incubus; and on the other, as Leon Trotsky long ago pointed out, the iron necessity of a political revolution to wipe out the rule of these bureaucratic usurpers.

Cleveland Strike Broken by Use Of Taft-Hartley

By Roy Gale

Unions have to fight every inch of the way today — merely to hold on to what they have. That is the reality of the class struggle between capital and labor at the present time. Taft-Hartley,

"Right to Work" Laws, runaway plants — these and other methods are being used effectively against the unions. Some smaller unions have already gone under before onslaughts of the employers or are in danger of becoming casualties. Here are two current examples:

After more than one year the Park Drop Forge Company of Cleveland, with the help of the NLRB, has scored a victory against Local 776 of the United Automobile Workers of America (CIO). News and Views, Ohio CIO Council bulletin of Dec. 3 called this "a perfect example of one of Taft-Hartley's union-busting clauses at work."

The bulletin reported: "An election has been called for at the (Park Drop Forge) plant to determine whether the UAW-CIO is to continue to represent the striking workers. BUT — the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that the Taft-Hartley Act prevents the striking employees from voting."

With all the cards stacked against them the UAW-CIO lost the election. Only four of those allowed to vote (all strikers were barred) voted UAW.

HISTORY OF STRIKE

On Oct. 19, 1953 UAW-CIO Local 776 called the strike to protest company demands that key provisions of the contract be junked. For 16 weeks the AFL Blacksmiths supported the strike but then caved in under company pressure. They began to sign up scabs for strikebreaking and petitioned for an NLRB election.

This action was condemned by both AFL and CIO councils. The Blacksmiths tried to withdraw the petition but the NLRB refused on the grounds that once a petition had been filed it could not be withdrawn — a face-saver for the Blacksmiths.

Open strikebreaking and scabbing started last April 14, when mounted police broke up a protest demonstration called by the CIO council in defiance of a court order limiting the number of pickets to 18. Four union officials were arrested and fined \$500 each. Since that time the strikers have been frozen out of the plant and maintained little more than a token picket line.

The recent NLRB election put the finishing touch on the disastrous rout of the powerful CIO auto union in its battle with the Park Drop Forge Company.

KOHLER STRIKE

Another drawn-out and bitterly fought strike is the one waged since last April 5 against the Kohler Company at Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

Nearly two years ago UAW-CIO Local 833 managed to break the long open-shop record of Kohler Company, but this victory was not conclusive. The main issue in the Kohler strike is the Union Shop. In an obvious bid for Wisconsin to enact a "Right to Work" Law, Herbert V. Kohler, president of the company, stated to a Chicago Tribune reporter that he was "unalterably opposed to compulsory unionism."

Twenty years ago, when the AFL tried to organize Kohler the workers were beaten back in a violent strike in which the company used tear gas, guns and clubs, killed two workers and injured 47 others. Kohler revealed that he was ready to use the same methods again in testimony before the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board.

STRIKEBREAKING

The U.S. government has aided Kohler not only with anti-picketing injunctions under the Taft-Hartley Law, but also with a \$2 million defense contract. And Kohler's union-busting program is also helped by another piece of anti-labor legislation — the tax rebate. The strike will not wipe out Kohler's profits in 1954, because as Reuther pointed out in a speech to the CIO convention, companies "can draw upon the profits they made in the past and will make in the future in order to cover their profits during the period of the strike."

But though Reuther and the other labor bureaucrats denounce government aids to strikebreaking, they have no program to defeat the employer-offensive. They have tied labor to the employer-controlled Democratic Party, and this prevents the unions from launching an effective struggle against anti-labor laws. Reuther's class — collaborationist policy can only result in more casualties for the unions.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seattle Literature Agent Helen Baker reports the results of three Sundays' work on their Militant neighborhood routes

"Dec. 5, Clara covered her old route and sold 15 papers. At two houses she had good discussions. One customer was very interested in the difference between our political ideas and those of others. He has been buying our paper regularly and is interested in coming to our next forum. Ann and I covered the route most recently opened up and sold five papers. Frank and Jack went to the Church of the People, which has a forum every Sunday during the winter months. They sold four Militants."

"Dec. 12, we had typical Seattle weather (pouring rain) but we had a very successful mobilization. Ann and I covered less than half our route and sold nine papers. We picked up a couple of new customers on the street, one who knew the Militant and asked us to bring it to his house in the future and gave us his address. Clara and Frank delivered some subs and covered their route. They sold five papers and had a very good and fruitful discussion with one subscriber and one route customer. We always come home from our routes with a new enthusiasm."

"This week Ann and I sold a one year subscription to a man we met for the first time when we were selling our large bundle of the Militant devoted to the NAACP event in San Francisco. We also sold five Trumbull Park pamphlets while visiting people. Two of these were young people on the street who were interested in what we were selling. Clara and Frank sold two six months renewals and two Trumbull Park pamphlets."

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "Just a brief note to send off the enclosed new six months sub brought in by C.R. A recent

new reader of the Militant is so well impressed with the paper that he is buying extra copies from the Labor Book Store to give to his friends."

Literature Agent John Tabor reports, "We had a good response to the Fourth International at a series of lectures on civil liberties here in New York. At the first one we sold three magazines; at the second, 10; at the third we sold three FT's and three Militants; and at the fourth, five FT's. In Brooklyn at an Emergency Civil Liberties meeting two FT's and three Militants were sold. At Local 65 Manny sold three papers."

Detroit Literature Agent Jean Blaine writes, "I am enclosing three subs. Art and Edie each got one of the year subs and Dorothy and Edie got the six-months sub. Also, on Sunday Sherry and Faye sold nine copies of the Militant at the Ford Tool and Die meeting. We're working hard on clearing up our expired subs and election contacts now so hope to have more to report next week."

Many thanks to L.U.K. of Los Angeles, Calif. for his renewal and donation of \$2 to help print the Militant.

New York Friday Night Socialist Forum

"Automation — The New Industrial Revolution"

Speaker: Harold Robins
Chairman: Art Preis

Fri., Jan. 7, at 8 P. M.
at Militant Hall
116 University Pl.
(near Union Square)

Contribution 25c.
Free to unemployed

Two Indo-Chinas

By Joseph Keller

When the agreement to partition Indo-China was signed several months ago in Geneva, everyone had been consulted but the Indo-Chinese people. Their weight, however, is now being felt in South Vietnam, that portion of the eastern section of Indo-China handed over to the French and their native agents. That is the basis of the complaint being voiced by the pro-imperialist press in America that "from all accounts, South Vietnam seems doomed to fall to the Communists within a year." (N. Y. World Telegram, Dec. 24.)

The South Vietnam government headed by ex-emperor Bao Dai, degenerate puppet of French imperialism, is visibly crumbling apart. The people are starving while official graft and corruption run riot. Washington, which spent hundreds of millions to aid the French butchers in their attempt to grab Indo-China from the revolutionary independence fighters, has sent South Vietnam only a few millions of dollars of "aid" which has been largely soaked up by thieving officials.

FEAR '56 ELECTION

Thus, the complaint that South Vietnam "seems doomed to fall to the Communists" is not an expression of concern lest the revolutionary North Vietnam regime renew the military struggle, but of fear that the people in the southern section will kick out their present rulers, who keep power only with the aid of French forces and U.S. arms, and that all Vietnam will be united under the regime of Ho Chi-Minh. The imperialists look with foreboding toward the South Vietnam elections scheduled by the Geneva conference for 1956.

"There seems to be fairly general agreement that the Vietnamese who already hold North Vietnam would probably win in South Vietnam if the elections projected for 1956 . . . were held now," reports Henry R. Lieberman, N. Y. Times correspondent, from Hong Kong, Dec. 25. "Premier Ngo Dinh Diem's South Vietnam Government is weak and divided. . . The task confronting the South Vietnam Government, France and the United States is

to achieve a situation that would persuade the South Vietnamese to choose the non-Communist side in 1956." He adds pessimistically: "It is not going to be an easy job."

Walter Lippmann, the N. Y. Herald Tribune's chief political columnist, also feels it won't be an easy job and tells why. "The essence of the problem," he says, "is that Indo-China is not being invaded by a Chinese army, much less by a Soviet army. It is being infiltrated and subverted from village to village by native Indo-Chinese revolutionists. The French army has been unable to suppress them and it is plain that these guerrilla forces in the villages cannot be conquered by airplanes and bombs."

While the Indo-Chinese people are being "infiltrated and subverted" by their own revolutionary fighters, the French-directed South Vietnam army "cannot be used effectively against the revolutionary movement. Why not?" asks Lippmann, and answers: "Because the non-Communist government in Saigon is weak. It does not have popular support and it is unable to make the decisions and to take the measures which might win popular support. It is too weak even to use substantial economic aid."

CONTRAST IN TREATMENT

The ghastly treatment of the several hundred thousand people persuaded to leave North Vietnam for "free" South Vietnam highlights the reasons why the Indo-Chinese people will never submit again to imperialism and will eagerly embrace the revolutionary regime. Homer Bigart, Pulitzer Prize-winning foreign correspondent of the Herald Tribune, wrote from Saigon, Indo-China, on Dec. 20, that these refugees "awaiting a better life promised in the free south" have been dumped into a "forsaken country of flat jungleland. . . There are no ricefields here except near the farthest village of Giakem, and even that has not yet been distributed. Mostly the land is white clay — 'crawfish' soil hardly worth scratching in country abounding in fertile areas."

What a contrast this is to conditions in the areas under control

of the revolutionists. Joseph Alsop, who spent three days "in the great Vietnam guerrilla area which still forms a virtually independent state at the southern tip of Indo-China," expresses in a series of articles in the N. Y. Herald Tribune (a conservative Republican newspaper) his "horrified, helpless admiration for the Communist achievement — not of course for the thing itself, but for the courage shown, the incredible difficulties overcome, the sheer brilliance of the political-military feat."

The Communists have had a "political asset," as Alsop describes it. They did not dump peasants on "crawfish" soil. The revolutionists seized the land that the French had divided "into great landed estates. The peasants in their palm huts had always lived in bitter poverty and without hope until the Communists gave them the land."

THE POPULAR WILL

Every year or so, according to Alsop, "a French 'clean up' column would push into the region, burning and destroying as it moved. Always there were the air attacks that wrecked and wrecked again the little palm hut villages. . . But there was never a moment when the Vietnam did not run throughout the region."

Alsop confesses that he wishes he could report that the Vietnamese organization was "feeble, evanescent and hated by the people." But "the record of its achievements in nine years all too clearly confirms my own short observations of the efficiency, power and popular support of this Communist-built and Communist-guided machine of guerrilla government."

He admits "the Communists have scored a whole series of political, organizational, military and — one has to say it — moral triumphs. . . What impressed me most, alas, was the moral fervor that had inspired among the non-Communist Vietnamese cadre and the stout support they had obtained from the peasantry."

Alsop may moan "alas" for the triumph of the revolutionary will of the people, but it is this granite popular will against which the armed might of imperialism has battered in vain.

Indians Demand Land Rights



Grim-faced leaders of the Miccosukee tribe of Florida Seminole Indians gather in Miami to hear a statement from Indian Affairs Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons (right). The tribesmen are asking for guarantees against encroachments on their ancient hunting grounds and mineral rights — a claim which Florida and the federal government have refused to honor.

World Events

VLADIMIR DEDIJER, member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party has been arrested and faces prosecution. The biographer of Marshal Tito has been stripped of his parliamentary immunity and reporters arriving at his home for a press conference met only police there. His arrest climaxed a rapid development that took place during Tito's diplomatic visit to the Far East. It was a reopening of the struggle that had been officially declared ended last January with the expulsion of Yugoslav Vice-President Milovan Djilas from the Central Committee of the Party. Djilas' attacks on the regime for bureaucratization and his call for dissolution of the Communist Party at that time were delivered from a right-wing position. DediJer was at that time Djilas' principal open defender. The fight was reopened last week apparently on

the initiative of the Djilas-DediJer camp. Djilas and DediJer suddenly began giving interviews to the Western press criticizing the lack of democracy and calling for the right to form an opposition party. DediJer also walked out of a Party Control Commission session which sought to question him on his politics.

COEXISTENCE AND ITALIAN STALINISTS. Frank Gorelli, New Republic correspondent in Rome, reports in the Dec. 20 issue that: "Italy is the first country in Western Europe to feel — in advance — some of the direct effects on her domestic political situation of Moscow's new line — and Washington's too — of coexistence." This effect is the shifting of the government from defense to offense. Hard blows are being delivered against the Italian Communist Party: sources of its income are being outlawed, screening of all government office holders is planned to weed CPers out, government contracts will be denied to companies "soft" on communism, etc. Premier Scelba, who is directing the campaign, feels that the coexistence understandings protect him from any Stalinist reprisals other than name-calling.

NORTH VIET NAM AND CHINA have strengthened their ties by agreements for rebuilding, developing and reorienting Viet Nam's communication and transportation system. Chinese technicians and engineers will direct the work. North Viet Nam railroads will be linked with Chinese tracks, civil airlines will link the two countries and highways will be constructed. The Chinese will also aid in various Viet Nam water conservation projects.

SUCCESSOR TO FRANCO? The 62-year old butcher of the Spanish people, Francisco Franco, is scheduled to meet the monarchist pretender to the throne of Spain, the Bourbon prince Don Juan, Franco, in the past, has refused to designate Don Juan as his successor — a fact that has caused strained relations with the monarchists in Spain. It is believed now however that he will agree to the designation of Don Juan's son, 16-year old Juan Carlos. The meeting is supposed to concern plans for Juan Carlos' education.

556 LONGSHOREMEN ARRESTED IN TURKEY. They are accused of having staged a walkout to exert pressure on Izmir port authorities for higher wages and steadier work. Strikes or any work stoppages to improve workers' conditions or pay are illegal in this "democratic" ally of U.S. imperialism. Leaders can be sentenced up to two years and-filers up to six months plus fine. The strike, which was broken by police and troops, took place from July 16 to 20, 1954.

JAPAN DRIVES FOR TRADE WITH CHINA. According to a N. Y. Times report, Dec. 29, of a speech by new Japanese Premier Ichiro Hatoyama, "The Premier said the adverse feeling toward the United States stemmed from popular suspicion that the previous Yoshida Government was tied 'blindly' to Washington policy. He expressed the belief that establishment of normal trade and other contacts with the Communists would remove this 'misconception.'" Simultaneously the Hatoyama Cabinet abolished the Un-American Activities Countermeasures Council, Japanese counterpart of the Un-American Activities Investigating Committee in the U.S.

Anti-Militarism in Germany

The French people are overwhelmingly against German rearmament, yet the French National Assembly has voted for it. The German people likewise are overwhelmingly against rearmament, yet the Bundestag in Bonn is about to vote it through. This shows the power U.S. imperialism wields over the West-European capitalist rulers. In preparation for war it has crammed the hated rearmament treaty down the throats of the French and German peoples.

The phenomenal and steadily growing opposition to rearmament in Germany has no adequate political expression. The weak-kneed opposition to rearmament in the Bundestag is but the palest reflection of the tremendous popular hatred of the measure.

This feeling expresses first and foremost the people's insight that rearmament is an irreversible step toward World War III and the revival of the Junker-Nazi militarism in German life. It is also linked with the question of the reunification of Germany.

The German people are virtually unanimous in desiring the reunification of their country and the departure of foreign troops. They realize, moreover, that reconstitution of the Wehrmacht in West Germany makes the unification of Germany without war very remote. Thus anti-militarism and desire for reunification have become opposite sides of the same coin.

Prime source of this unorganized anti-rearmament sentiment may be gleaned from the Dec. 19 dispatch of N. Y. Times correspondent in Germany, M. S. Handler. He writes: "The first source is a profound revulsion among the younger generation to the thought of carrying guns again. It is a sentiment that almost approaches pacifism and as such is one of the most remarkable phenomena in German history since the days of Bismarck. It is a sentiment not based on fear but on a

genuine hatred for war and a contempt for the military."

The anti-militarist forces include "the Social Democrats, who are the second largest party in Germany; the trade union movement, which has more than six million members; the students in most German universities and technical colleges; a great number of the pastors in the Protestant churches and some members of the Catholic priesthood; intellectuals and artists; a high proportion of the country's teachers, and above all, the women-folk, who have demonstrated in public opinion polls their strong feelings against seeing their husbands and sons don the uniform again."

Who then in Germany is for remilitarization? Handler reports: "The ideological content that Secretary of State Dulles sought to infuse into the Paris agreements has found no buyers in West Germany except in Chancellor Adenauer's immediate entourage." This entourage represents only a tiny minority of the German people — the capitalist monopolists, and militarists, who having gone through the minor inconvenience of "denazification," are back running the country in partnership with U.S. Big Business.

The fact that the U.S. and this disoriented German capitalist class are able to put over rearmament in the face of almost unanimous opposition is not only a gauge of U.S. imperialism's power but of the weakness of working class leadership in Germany.

In a situation where most of the middle class has joined with the workers in opposition to rearmament the official parties of the German workers are unable to give leadership to a movement which would make the people's will prevail. The Stalinists are discredited and have hardly any following in Germany. But the Social Democracy shows the same bureaucratic cowardice as it did in the years when it failed to lead a fight to stop Hitler.

A Basic Freedom Attacked

On Christmas day the American military authorities announced they had negotiated a pact with the Spanish government authorizing the Catholic Church to regulate marriages of American soldiers and civilians stationed on the Iberian peninsula. A storm of protest arose, strong enough to force the government officials to announce that they had instructed U.S. military officials in Spain to hold up any action on such agreements until further notice.

The Christmas day dispatch revealed that the agreement reached between the American General Kissner and the Spanish General Vignon set forth the following conditions:

No American Catholic in Spain may marry a "heretic" (non-Catholic) unless the Catholic Church gives special dispensation. This applies not only when an American Catholic wishes to marry a Spaniard but even if the marriage is to be a fellow-American. Dispensation will be granted "only under the most severe circumstances," and then only if the non-Catholic signs an agreement pledging not to "pervert the Catholic party and the offspring."

Non-Catholic Americans may be married in Spain only if they can provide "proof" of their non-Catholic status.

American soldiers, whether Catholic or not, can never marry unless they have the consent of their commanding officers. Now, in order to secure military consent, they must either prove they are "heretics" or obtain the consent of the Spanish Catholic Church.

The jubilation of the Catholic hierarchy can well be imagined. They have long butted their

heads against the American constitutional separation of church and state. Now for the first time that principle is threatened by a major breach.

The Rev. Dean James Pike, pastor of the Protestant Episcopal New York Cathedral lashed out against the agreement in a sermon on Dec. 26, terming it an attempt "to sell down the river our most precious heritage — religious freedom."

Rev. Pike is right. Another constitutional right of the American people is threatened, a basic right deeply rooted in the history of our country.

The early colonists, like those who landed on Plymouth Rock in 1620, came here to escape the religious tyranny of the feudal church in Europe. Later the Calvinists came from Holland, the Huguenots from France, the Catholics under Lord Baltimore from England, the Jews from the pogroms of Eastern Europe and Russia, all seeking freedom and escape from the church-dominated state.

So strongly did the early Americans feel about this question they made the first article under the Bill of Rights a guarantee of religious freedom.

We dare not view with unconcern this latest attempt to tear another page from the Bill of Rights. Whatever religious beliefs one holds, including opposition to religion, it is the duty of every enemy of tyranny to speak out against this attempt of the Catholic Church in fascist Spain in collusion with the American brass to foist their medieval decrees up on us.

The Logic of Imperialist Liars

In the case of the partition of Indo-China, as described on Page 3, capitalist propaganda takes on a truly Alice-in-Wonderland quality.

On-the-spot reports from leading foreign correspondents of the most authoritative Big Business newspapers give us a graphic picture of two Indo-Chinas. One is run by the revolutionists led by the Indo-Chinese Communist Party; the other is controlled by a government picked by France with the approval of Washington.

What are we told about the revolutionary government? The capitalist press correspondents grudgingly and reluctantly admit it is composed of honest, hard-working, courageous, idealistic, self-sacrificing men and women. These leaders enjoy the confidence, respect and support of the great mass of the Indo-Chinese people.

The Vietminh government, despite terrific obstacles imposed by nine years of war against a major capitalist power, operates with admirable efficiency. Official corruption and thievery, so characteristic of capitalist governments, is virtually unknown in North Viet Nam under the government of national independence. This regime, all reliable correspondents concede, is made up of Indo-Chinese, genuine representatives of the people they lead.

Moreover, it has taken promised measures of social reform, the most important of which is division of the former great landed estates among the poor peasants.

But this regime, backed by the people of

both North and South Viet Nam, as the capitalist journalists admit, is called a "menace," "brutal tyranny," "threat to the free world," etc.

On the other hand, the regime in South Viet Nam is composed of utterly corrupt, hand-picked agents of the foreign capitalist powers. The head of the government, Bao Dai, lives abroad in unimaginable luxury on the French Riviera. This government exists only insofar as French armed forces, equipped by the U.S., remain to bolster it with naked military might. Everyone knows that the people of South Viet Nam are in deadly opposition to the imperialists and the local thieves they use to front for them. It goes without saying that this government operates without benefit of an election.

Yet this country run by a brutal dictatorship of foreigners and native thieves becomes, in the language of capitalist propaganda, "Free" Viet Nam.

Here everything is turned on its head by the word-artists of imperialism. The honest government upheld by the people and carrying out projects of vast benefit for the masses is really — evil. The vicious alien gang of armed crooks who exploit and degrade the people is a — "bulwark of freedom."

This is the kind of logic that has put many an unfortunate person behind the walls of institutions for the mentally unbalanced — and properly so. Real madmen, however, are unwitting victims of deceptions. The capitalists are fully aware of reality. They just lie about it, consciously.

The Lash--Symbol of French Rule

By George Lavan

Why does the French capitalist class give in against its will to the U.S. State Department on such things as the re-arming of Germany?

One big reason is that French imperialism can't hold on to its Empire any longer without U.S. money, arms and maybe even U.S. troops. But these aids can be expected only as long as French governments toe Wall Street's line on foreign policy.

The French Empire has shrunk considerably since the end of the war. First Syria and Lebanon — in the oil-rich Middle East — were lost.

Next Indo-China was inundated by the great revolutionary wave sweeping Asia. Despite eight years of war financed by the U.S. and despite the recent

Geneva deal cutting Indo-China in half, the French exploiters are on the verge of being swept off the peninsula.

What then remains of the French Empire? Only two really important sections: Equatorial Africa and North Africa. For the time being imperialist oppression does not appear to be seriously threatened in French Equatorial Africa.

But the North African picture is very different. Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco are volcanoes about to erupt.

SYMBOL OF LASH

In Morocco the nationalist Istiqlal Party has been driven underground with a ferocity unsurpassed by any "totalitarian" regime in history. Conditions in Morocco have been described by U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. After a recent

trip there, he wrote in Look magazine (Oct. 19, 1954): "The French have fastened a milking machine on Morocco and operated it for the benefit of the French."

He describes a tour of a French-owned rope factory: "Most of the workers were Moorish children from six to twelve. They worked by the piece, making 20 cents to 50 cents a day. A French foreman or overseer stood over them with a long leather lash, using it with fervor on the laggards. The lash is, indeed, the symbol of French rule in Morocco."

But the terror in Morocco is a measure of the desperation of French imperialism there. The whole population is united by a fierce hatred of its foreign oppressors and at any time the volcano of human misery may erupt.

...Wall Street Jams War Pact

(Continued from page 1)
to the Big Two. . . Now, more than ever, France's dependability as an ally is open to question."

Ludwell Denny, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, cabled from Paris on Dec. 30 that "France has lost her key role in Allied policy and European defense, regardless of whether the National Assembly in its repeatedly postponed showdown, nominally approves German rearmament today. Premier Pierre Mendes-France's warning that approval by a small majority would be as bad a rejection was only slightly exaggerated."

RUTHLESS PRESSURE

What stands out in this whole development is the utter ruthlessness of the American capitalist government in its drive to force the French legislators to submit to the U.S. demands. The leading capitalist newspapers here admit that the views and feelings of the French people were brushed aside.

To Washington's complaint that the French government appeared unable to make a decision, the French government leaders replied, writes Harold Callender from Paris to the Dec. 26 N. Y. Times, that "it is not a question of a capacity to take decisions but of a capacity to take a decision running counter to what seems to be overwhelming public opinion. . . A question here is: How far is a French Deputy justified in heeding advice and admonitions from Washington and London when they seem to

be opposed to the sentiments of the people those Deputies represent?"

FRENCH RULERS EXPOSED

The truth is that the vote on the Western European Union pact, with the plan for rearmament of West Germany as a military ally of western imperialism, has not so much strengthened American imperialism's preparations for war on the Soviet bloc as it has revealed the senile and shaky nature of the French ruling class and its incapacity to advance a step without the U.S. crutch.

This fact was indicated in advance of the reversal of the vote by a Washington dispatch in the Dec. 24 N. Y. Times. Commenting on the adverse vote last Friday, the Times stated: "Coming after the French rejection of the European Defense Community plan, the French partition of Indo-China, and the political instability of nineteen French governments since the war, it has provoked doubts here that will not be removed even by a reversal of the vote."

The Time's military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin put the matter in a more cold-blooded way on Dec. 29:

"The end of the Indo-China war was to have enabled France to increase her strength in Europe. But about two divisions have been sent from Europe to unsettled French North Africa, so that French strength in Europe today is actually less on the ground than it was a year ago, and

there is no prospect of an immediate increase."

That is, France is militarily weak and getting weaker and is no good, in this sense, to Wall Street's ultimate war plans. American imperialism, with all its pretenses of democratic ideals, now has only one criterion of what constitutes a worthy ally: How much military power will that ally be able to mobilize on behalf of a war against the Soviet bloc and new China? Lacking the single desirable asset of big military potential, the old ally France is moved down on Washington's list of favorites as the old enemy Germany is moved closer to the top.

WHY THEIR WEAKNESS

Underlying the weakness of the French capitalist rulers is the tremendous revolutionary tide that is sweeping through France's colonies in southeast Asia and North Africa (see article on Page 3) and the continuous class struggle ferment that prevails in France itself. The Communist and Socialist parties are the largest parties in France and by that fact alone reflect the overwhelming aspiration of the French workers for an end to capitalism and the building of socialism.

But neither of these parties, the one a servant of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the other an agent of French imperialism, can lead the revolutionary struggle which could, almost at a blow, finish off feeble French capitalism for good.

Waitress Talk

By Shirley Clark

In the crowded dressing room we talked freely as we put on our uniforms. Soon we would be rushing the dinner orders, too busy for conversation.

"How's your back today, Pat?" Betty asked.

"It still bothers me some," Pat replied. "But what was worse than the pain was the way it scared the wits out of me. I thought I had trouble when my teeth bothered me last year, but when this back pain started — brother! my toothaches seemed like nothing."

"What happened?" Betty asked as she brushed polish off her white shoes.

"You remember what a tough day we had last Sunday? Well, after work I went home and just sat in the chair for a while. Just sat. When I tried to get up I felt a terrible pain, right here," Pat said, touching the lower part of her spine. "It was so bad I couldn't get up. I just dropped to the floor, afraid to move. 'What is it?' I thought. 'Did I twist something?' Or is it all in my mind? How can I work if something happened to my back? What will become of me? I was really scared."

"Don't ever let yourself think like that, Pat," Nelly, an experienced waitress, said sharply. "It only makes things worse. You just have to put those thoughts out of your mind. It doesn't do one bit of good." Nelly knew all the aches and pains of waitress' work. And the fears too. Now a grandmother, she had been working since she was 14 years old, with time out only for childbirth.

Vera, the practical joker of our dressing room, was now very serious. She thought Nelly was right, but said it was hard to follow her advice. She also had trouble with her back and described her symptoms and worries to us. We all listened gravely. The fears she and Pat spoke of were shared by all of us.

I looked around the small room. These were all fairly "well off" working women. Some of them had husbands on good jobs. Others were maintaining homes on their own and sending their children to school. On this job the work was hard but the tips were pretty good. And yet there was a feeling in that room, a feeling that was always with us — insecurity.

I thought of Lucy who looked so pale and had lost so much weight. She had been out recently for three months after an operation. She still didn't look well enough to work. But who would keep her son in school and take care of her little girl?

Insecurity! What it takes out of people who work for a living. All they have in the world is the ability to work. And if something happens to that...?

It's bad enough for a man. But women have less confidence on the labor market. And they are easier prey to the terrible fear of insecurity.

I suppose the defenders of capitalism justify all this with talk of "rugged individualism." But sitting there in our dressing room all I could see of their rugged individualism was the isolation of each individual into a private world of loneliness and fear.

Over-Crowded Jails

By Joyce Cowley

Police Commissioner Adams made a speech to the Real Estate Board of New York this week which shows that he is broadening his perspective. His program to combat crime now goes further than 7,000 more cops. He says that after we provide a proper "moral climate in our streets" (i.e., enough club-swinging policemen to terrify potential law-breakers and everyone else as well), we must "return to the eternal verities" and "reinvigorate the concept that the home is the basis of society."

He didn't implement this by suggesting that real estate interests provide homes that people can afford. He's evidently not thinking of the problem in a material sense. For him it's more a spiritual thing when he says that 7,000 additional men and \$35,000,000 to pay for their keep is a step toward "restoration of the dignity and integrity of the home."

I don't believe Commissioner Adams has inspected New York's City Jail recently, or checked his plans with Corrections Commissioner Anna Kross. She has no idea where she will put the extra criminals these extra cops arrest. A group of ministers recently had lunch in City Jail as guests of Commissioner Kross. Afterwards they toured the prison and saw conditions which must have been unsettling to the lunch they had just consumed.

The City Jail was built to house 900 inmates. Rev. Wm. R. Woffendend reports that he found 1400 in the place and that at times

there are over 1600. "Women, charged with everything from petty larceny to murder, were locked up together in one large cage. When a wagonload or so accumulate, they are herded into a police van and delivered to what the Commissioner described as a disgrace to the City of New York, the Women's House of Detention."

"Teen age boys mill around in a corridor equipped with only a few benches and a few checker boards. Men charged with such things as non-support or petty larceny have nothing to do but read, write or play cards. No other activity is possible. The present budget does not allow it."

The Department of Correction is asking \$500,000 for a limited program for the prisoners but has little hope of getting it. (Half a million dollars to take care of prisoners that will cost another \$35,000,000 to arrest seems like a modest request to me.)

Rev. Woffendend concludes. "Law breakers who are locked up in an already overcrowded jail, helpless to do anything more than hold them, are very likely to develop into confirmed criminals. Just the title 'Department of Correction' with no means to carry out a program of correction and rehabilitation is of little use to society."

But Commissioner Adams doesn't believe in coddling criminals, so I don't suppose he is much interested in restoring the dignity and integrity of people jammed into our City Jail.

Notes from the News

A NEGRO HISTORY CALENDAR for 1955 is available free. Those wanting it should write to Schenley Industries, Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.

PAUL HALL, secretary-treasurer of the Atlantic and Gulf district of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, denounced a proposed Coast Guard "body and brain testing" system as "clearly the most vicious and unjustified attack on seamen ever made by a Government agency." Hall called it an "outrageous power grab for a fist-fisted military control," and cited provisions of the proposed rules that would bar a man for speech defects, defective hearing and sense of smell, allergies, religious attitudes, a record of juvenile delinquency, background of a broken home, lack of educational opportunities, a record of a complainer in which the ship's master's opinions are given great weight, attitudes toward sex, frequent changing of jobs and a "long list of broad and undefined specifications."

"ARE YOU WRAPPING UP THE FUR-LOUGH NOTICE WITH RED RIBBONS?" This was the sardonic question that 3,000 Pullman Company workers were asking one another after the company handed out layoff notices effective Dec. 24 to Jan. 24.

MERGER PLANS are proceeding between the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen AFL and the independent International Fur and Leather Workers Union despite a unanimous rejection of the plans by the AFL Executive Council, it was reported in the Dec. 16, N. Y. Times. The Fur union was ousted five years ago from the CIO on charges of "Communist domination." George Meany, AFL president, in rejecting the merger said: "Merely the signing of a non-Communist affidavit, in no way meets the problem of Communist domination from the viewpoint of the AFL."

IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MOVE the Atomic Energy Commission has circulated an answer to a book Joseph and Stewart Alsop have written about the J. Robert Oppenheimer case. The N. Y. Post, Dec. 20 says this is the first time a government agency has released a statement of its views in advance of publication of a book.

"RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS, now on the books in 17 states, are under heavy attack from both the AFL and CIO. The CIO has issued a 171 page handbook which can be obtained from The Congress of Industrial Organization, 718 Jackson Pl., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. The AFL pamphlet can be obtained from The American Federation of Labor, AFL Building, Washington 1, D. C.

"CHANGES IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, 1940-1950" is the title of a new publication just released by the U.S. Department of Labor. About 30% of all workers are women and four and one-half million additional women entered the labor force in the decade. Every occupation group listed had an increase except household workers and farmers. A great majority of women workers are married and their median age is 36.5 years compared to 32 years in 1940.

IN A SURPRISE MOVE the tugboatmen in New York harbor quit John L. Lewis's District 50 of the United Mine Workers and joined the AFL. The official reason for disaffiliation was that Lewis refused to sign the non-Communist affidavits required of all unions wishing to use NLRB machinery. Waterfront observers think that the real reason is the failure of Lewis to come through on promises of local autonomy, according to the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times.

ONLY EIGHT out of 30 supervisors managed to get through a massed picket line of 1,200 striking workers at the Underwood Corporation's Bridgeport, Conn., plant. The International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, on strike since Nov. 5, refused to allow the supervisors through the picket line until a squad of club-swinging cops forced an opening. This was the first step of a company plan to start a back-to-work movement.

LOOKING FOR PARADISE? If you are a boss looking for paradise, try Pelahatchie, Miss. The mayor of that town has been writing northern employers advertising lower wages and higher production per man, as follows: "This labor is truly American, not inflected with the 'something for nothing' idea and works together joyously with management for the success of both."

A NEW AUTOMATIC MILL for debarking logs was dedicated at Bow, N. H., for the Champion-International Paper Co. The new mill will use only six men to debark all the logs coming from 1,250,000 acres of timberland.

SURPLUS FARM PRODUCTS continue to move into government warehouses at a record rate. They now amount to \$6,634 million, up 2 billion from a year ago, despite a lower parity ratio and acreage controls.

THE LIFE STORY OF JOHN BROWN, abolitionist who staged the famous raid on Harpers Ferry, W. V., will be filmed by Allied Artists. A large number of Negro actors will be used in supporting roles. Raymond Massey will star in the picture which is to be called "God's Angry Man."

Jailed Months For Being Puerto Ricans

By Myra Tanner

New York police, patrolling Central Park late at night last June, encountered a woman in her fifties lying unclothed on the grass. Two teen-aged boys, recent immigrants from Puerto Rico were nearby. The woman told the cops the youths had forced her there and assaulted her. A knife was found in the possession of one of the youths. The woman's story was accepted and the two boys, unable to meet bail of \$10,000 each, were put in jail. A grand jury "investigation" indicted them on charges of attempted rape.

Nearly six months later Assistant District Attorney Andreoli, preparing the case for trial, contacted an eye-witness whose name had been taken by the arresting officer, John Brady of Albany, New York, and got his version of what happened. Brady exploded the woman's story. He reported that he had been accosted by the woman who was drunk. He rebuffed her and then saw her invite the two youths into the park. He identified the woman and she confessed her lie.

HOW MANY OTHERS?

The New York Post, in an editorial Dec. 15 pointed out that "Assistant DA Richard Uviller... obtained the original indictment and saw the youths imprisoned when they could not produce bail. Everything that Andreoli discovered could have been found out before the indictment was sought." The facts show that Uviller's "perfect case" was based on the word of the woman without any attempt to verify it.

The editorial continued: "Thanks to Mr. Andreoli, two boys from Puerto Rico have narrowly escaped being sentenced to 10 years in jail for an imaginary Mississippi-style 'rape'."

"But the case must haunt Our Town. How many similar episodes remain unexposed?"

"If all the machinery of law could filter so long in so palpably flimsy a case, it is time to wonder again what goes on in our courts every other day of the year."

However, no one had to "wonder" long. District Attorney Hogan quickly came to the defense of his Assistant, Uviller, and protested against the criticism of the Post. In doing so, he unwittingly revealed the deep-rooted prejudice buried in his police mind. Convictions, not justice are the objectives of his office. He pleaded the "seeming respectability and background" of the woman. And blamed the false arrest and indictment on the "suspicious and indecent actions of the defendants."

EXPERT TESTIMONY

The Post replied in another editorial: "If so enlightened and esteemed a prosecutor as Frank Hogan can defend this case as Standard Operating Procedure, the fears we voiced last week about the condition of justice in Our Town (especially cases involving Puerto Ricans) were an understatement... What is most painfully missing in Hogan's letter is any sense of outrage at the cruel and inhuman punishment imposed on two youths who happened to lack any 'seeming respectability and background.'"

This exchange between District Attorney Hogan and the Post editors inspired former police reporter Don Evans from Louisiana to write to the Post letter column offering some expert testimony: "My own experience, climaxed by an assistant DA's comforting assurance that the use of rubber hose 'cuts our work in half,' left me with nothing so much as a sickening, tormenting suspicion that our prosecutors, pressed for time and frantic to get the convictions they are hired to get, never really match up the right people with the crimes that are committed."

Evans could have added: working class youth, particularly from minority groups, are the main victims of the rubber-hose squads.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1955

NUMBER 1

No Basic Differences



Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), Democratic leader of the Senate, assumes a feet-on-desk pose as he tells a Washington press conference there is "no bitter disagreement" on Pres. Eisenhower's program. The major factions of both capitalist parties may differ over secondary and tactical matters but follow Wall Street's dictates on basic foreign policy.

Swift & Co. Intensifies Provocations Campaign

By Al Simmons

CHICAGO, Dec. 15 — About a month ago Swift and Co., leading packer in the meat-packing industry, fired a group of union stewards in their Denver plant. The cause

of firing was that these stewards pressed grievances of the workers too hard to suit the company. The workers in ten Denver plants responded to this flagrant attack on their union with a one-week strike, but despite the strike the stewards remain discharged.

Following this broadside attack on the union in Denver, Swift then threatened to fire a group of workers in its St. Paul plant, unless they submitted to the company's program of speed-up.

This move was followed with the discharge of two stewards in the Chicago plant and the suspension of fourteen dock workers. Here the two stewards were involved in finding out why a worker in their department had been reprimanded by his supervisor and when they insisted on performing their union duties they were ordered by the supervisor to leave the plant. The 14 workers in their gang, who were on lunch time, gathered around to find out what had happened, protested the arbitrary firing of their stewards and were given two weeks off.

This week, in the Wilmington, N. C., plant, the workers walked off their jobs to protest the discharge of the president of their local. He refused to apologize to his supervisor for an argument over an excessive job load. He protested Swift's program of speed-up.

"SOMETHING'S FISHY" As yet this "scare-the-stewards" drive has not hit the other packing companies but every packinghouse worker knows that Armour, Wilson and Cudahy are watching Swift's offensive against the union with keen interest and are chafing at the bit to do a little firing themselves.

As one worker in the Armour plant in Chicago puts it: "My boss and I have been at each other's throats for five years now, but only last week he started getting real nice to me. Something's fishy! We better watch ourselves."

The firings in Swift came on the heels of a recent three-day conference of Swift superintendents from all plants, held in the company's general office in Chicago.

The international union has summoned an emergency meeting of spokesmen of all Swift Locals in Chicago Dec. 16 to work out plans to meet this offensive.

This is a good beginning. This meeting indicates that the union is facing up to the fact that the

"This Is Murder" Charged in N.Y. Slum Fire Deaths

Christmas week saw six more tenants of slums in New York City burned to death in fire traps. And this, after weeks of a noisy campaign to "force" landlords to end

violations of the housing laws. On Dec. 22 Fire Commissioner Edward F. Cavanagh Jr. said "We are burning up the entire city — all around us — and burning it up needlessly."

On Dec. 23, as Cavanagh was making a public speech about the progress of his big campaign, a man was burning to death in his tenement house with neither a second exit nor a sprinkler system as required by law. Inspectors had noted the violations beginning in 1941! The last inspection occurred in August, 1954. The landlord, in the course of these 13 years had been fined a total of \$205. But the violations had never been corrected.

TOO LATE Then on Christmas night, firemen finally made their way into the charred remains of a Harlem tenement room to recover two bodies. Little Edward Rivera was dead. His uncle, Mr. Martinez, had dashed in to rescue him, but failed, and they died together.

The N. Y. Post, Dec. 26, correctly calls it "murder." In a Dec. 26 editorial they say: "There is no excuse. There is no defense. There is no explanation. Whatever legal terms may be applied, this is murder."

The N. Y. Times, December 27 does some wishful thinking: "We hope that this incident will stiffen Commissioner Cavanagh's determination to discover the culprits and bring them to book, and that magistrates will not hesitate to mete out maximum penalties for violators."

But worse than the Christmas week fire deaths is the fact that tens of thousands are living right this minute in danger of being cornered in a tenement room with no means of escape, without even a slim chance of survival.

Fire Chief Peter Loftus describes how a fire transforms the stairway into an impassable inferno. "Any fire starting from below will go directly up the stairway" turning it into a "chimney." That is why the law requires a sprinkling system or a second exit.

LANDLORD GREED Weeks ago Cavanagh admitted that "there must be hundreds and hundreds if not thousands, of dwellings without sprinklers or secondary exits."

The law, designed to curb the greed of landlords and provide some protection to the people who inhabit the slums, is violated left and right. Cavanagh's paltry assignment of 50 firemen to correct this situation is like trying to hold back the ocean waves with a broom. He gives an ultimatum to 13 landlords and "appeals" to the rest.

Furthermore, the laws made under the influence of powerful real estate interests, are not enforced, and often cannot be. There is no means of hauling absentee landlords before the courts as long as they remain outside the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

A rent strike, such as was proposed by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, and given the full backing of the New York labor movement could force city officials to act. Indignant editorials would then be translated into real measures to halt this murder by fire.

The worst crime of all, however, is committed by the City, State and Federal government. They permit the existence of such rotten, over-crowded slums. None of the government housing programs, authored by Democrats as well as Republicans, provide for a halt to the growth of slums in American cities.

Whether slowly by disease and poverty or quickly by the fire traps of the slums — "This is murder."

Setback to Red-Baiting Given in L.A. NAACP

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 20. — Red-baiting was given a resounding setback in last week's annual election of officers in the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Main interest in the campaign centered around the contest for the presidency, where a young attorney, Thomas G. Neusom, was pitted against a conservative, elderly dentist, Dr. H. Claude Hudson, member of the national executive committee of the NAACP. When the votes were counted, Neusom had won by a landslide — chalking up nearly a three-to-one victory over his opponent in the best attended and most controversial meeting of the branch in recent years.

Dr. Hudson had campaigned exclusively on a "keep-the-Communists-out platform." Statements he issued to the press claimed that he was "reluctant" to run, but that he had consented to do so because of pressure placed upon him to "save the organization" from "infiltration" by "Communists."

RED-BAITING LEAFLET

Attached to a mimeographed attack against Neusom which Hudson's supporters handed out at the meeting was a copy of the "Keep the Communists Out" printed leaflet that was distributed some six months ago up in San Francisco, in which the regional secretary - counsel, Franklin Williams, blacklisted various organizations and periodicals, including the Militant, branded them all "subversive" in the best witch-hunting style, and urged supporters of the NAACP to avoid them as they would be the plague. It was a leaflet of the type that could easily have been put out by a McCarthy, a Gerald L. K. Smith, or the red-baiting bureaucracy of the unions.

Although thousands of copies of the leaflet were sent to the

Los Angeles branch, they were not officially distributed. They were placed in the NAACP office, and anyone who so wished could take as many as he desired. Few people in Los Angeles were aware of their existence.

The stapling of these leaflets to Dr. Hudson's campaign literature, together with his statements about "saving" the organization from "Communist infiltration" clearly implied that if Neusom were elected, "Communists" would have a free hand, though Neusom was not directly accused of "subversive" sympathies.

In contrast to Dr. Hudson, Neusom, while rejecting the implied allegation that he is a Communist, refrained from red-baiting and campaigned consistently on a program designed to stimulate membership participation in branch meetings and activity, to awaken interest in the NAACP and to encourage increased membership in the organization.

The emphatic victory of Neusom must be considered a definite repudiation of Dr. Hudson and his policies.

It would be incorrect, however, to interpret Neusom's election solely as a conscious rejection by the membership of red-baiting.

Neusom is generally considered a liberal fighter for Negro rights. He is one of the attorneys who has been carrying on the struggle for integration of Negroes in the Los Angeles Fire Department and is best known in this capacity. The implied accusation that he is a "red" just didn't stick.

DO NOTHING POLICY

There are, however, additional factors which account for Neusom's popularity. The only effective work carried on by the local branch in the past period has been that of its legal committee. In practically all other spheres — membership, sale of Freedom seals, arousing community support on specific issues — the branch has been in the doldrums. There has been much grumbling and dissatisfaction among

members over what is generally regarded as a "do nothing" policy.

Dr. Hudson's preoccupation in his campaign with keeping various groups and individuals out of the organization rather than on a positive program of expansion undoubtedly was interpreted as a sign that if he were elected there would be a continuation of the stagnation of the branch.

The vote for Neusom must be considered a vote for a break with inactivity and a mandate for a dynamic and aggressive building of the organization, Neusom's pre-election attack on "lethargy, inactivity, lack of program and direction" met enthusiastic response.

The bitterness engendered during the campaign added to the accumulated stagnation of the past may make it difficult for the new administration to achieve noteworthy progress.

But every progressive step taken by the new leadership deserves and should receive the warm backing of both the community and the labor movement. If it gets that support the local branch can in the next 12 months become an important leader in the fight for full equality for Negroes.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

"Is 'Peaceful Coexistence' Possible?"

Speaker: Frank Lovell
Fri., Jan. 7, at 8 P. M.

"Big Business And Big Crime"
Speaker: Rita Shaw
Fri., Jan. 14, at 8 P. M.

at 3000 Grand River (Room 207)

Donation 25c.
Free to unemployed

Subscribe!

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

Name _____

Street _____ Zone _____

City _____ State _____

☐ \$1.50 Six months ☐ \$3.00 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal