

Huge 1-Day Ruhr Strike Protests Rearming Pact

By Myra Tanner

The militant fighting power of the German workers was seen once again in the 24-hour protest strike of close to a million industrial Ruhr workers on Jan. 22. Despite government efforts to forestall the strike demonstration, the coal miners and steel workers of the Ruhr kept solid ranks and received pledges of support from the Railroad Workers Union and from hundreds of thousands of workers throughout West Germany.

Officially the strike demonstration was a protest against attempts to deny union representatives voting rights in the co-management holding companies set up in the coal and steel industries after World War II. The unions also protested the arrogant statement of the Ruhr industrialist, Herman Reusch, that the co-management concession won by the workers was obtained by "blackmail" when the government was too weak to resist.



ADENAUER

REARMAMENT FIGHT

While this protest was the immediate issue it was generally recognized that the strike was a part of the growing opposition to the Paris agreements for German rearmament that are now before the Bonn government for ratification.

The struggle against the rearmament program has been conducted under the leadership of the Social Democrats, the second largest political party in West Germany. The Social Democrats and the trade union leaders have fundamentally accepted the line of Adenauer who in turn is firmly allied to the U.S. State Department. Popular indignation at the preparations for a new war has forced the Social Democrats to stand at the head of the movement.

Adenauer, in a special national

broadcast, tried to reassure the Ruhr workers that their right to co-management of industry would not be infringed upon and disassociated the government from the statement of the industrialist, Reusch. However the bulk of his talk consisted of an appeal for support to the Paris agreements. He urged that West Germany spurn the dramatic Soviet offer to reunify Germany on the basis of elections to be held under international supervision.

West Germany figures prominently in the World War III plans of the U.S. State Department. Obviously they forgot to consult the real power in Germany — the industrial workers — when they drew up their plans. That oversight was brought sharply to their attention by the Ruhr strike and the support it received throughout West Germany.

'Pre-Dated' War Declaration Is Demanded by Eisenhower

Send Telegrams To Save Irvin!

Walter Lee Irvin, framed-up Negro youth, still waits in the Florida death house. The U.S. Supreme Court's refusal in Jan. to grant him a new trial means that his execution can be ordered any day now.

Irvin's conviction in the infamous Groveland or "Little Scottsboro" case is one of the worst mockeries of justice in the long history of Jim Crow frame-ups. Two of Irvin's fellow defendants are dead. One was killed by a deputized mob. The other, handcuffed at the time, was shot down in cold blood by racist Sheriff Willis McCall. He thought he had killed Irvin, too, at that time but somehow Irvin survived his wounds.

No execution date has yet been set. To save Irvin's life send telegrams, and have your unions and other organizations do likewise, to Governor Leroy Collins, Tallahassee, Florida.

Otis Elevator Terms Aim to Break Union

Take a big slice in wages and give up your seniority rights — or the plant moves! This is the labor-robbering, union-busting ultimatum issued on Jan. 21 by the Otis Elevator Co. in Yonkers, N. Y., to 2,100 employees, members of Local 453, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers.

These 2,100 union workers and 1,700 others at a non-union plant in Harrison, N.J., had previously been called to mass meetings addressed by Otis' president Le Roy A. Peterson. The meetings had been closed — by invitation only. Peterson had refused to answer questions.

BOASTS BIG PROFITS

He had arrogantly told the workers that if they did not "co-operate" in cutting costs in line with company demands, the plants would be moved to one single plant in some unspecified town in the "midwest."

Is the company losing money? Not on your life. Peterson boasted that the company is in a highly favorable economic position. "These statements," he said, "should not be interpreted as indicating that the Otis Elevator Company has ceased to be a profitable company or is on the verge of becoming an unprofitable one. On the contrary, it is anticipated that... the annual report for 1954 will show an increase over the previous year in sales and earnings. In addition, it is believed that our backlog will assure a profitable level of operations in 1955."

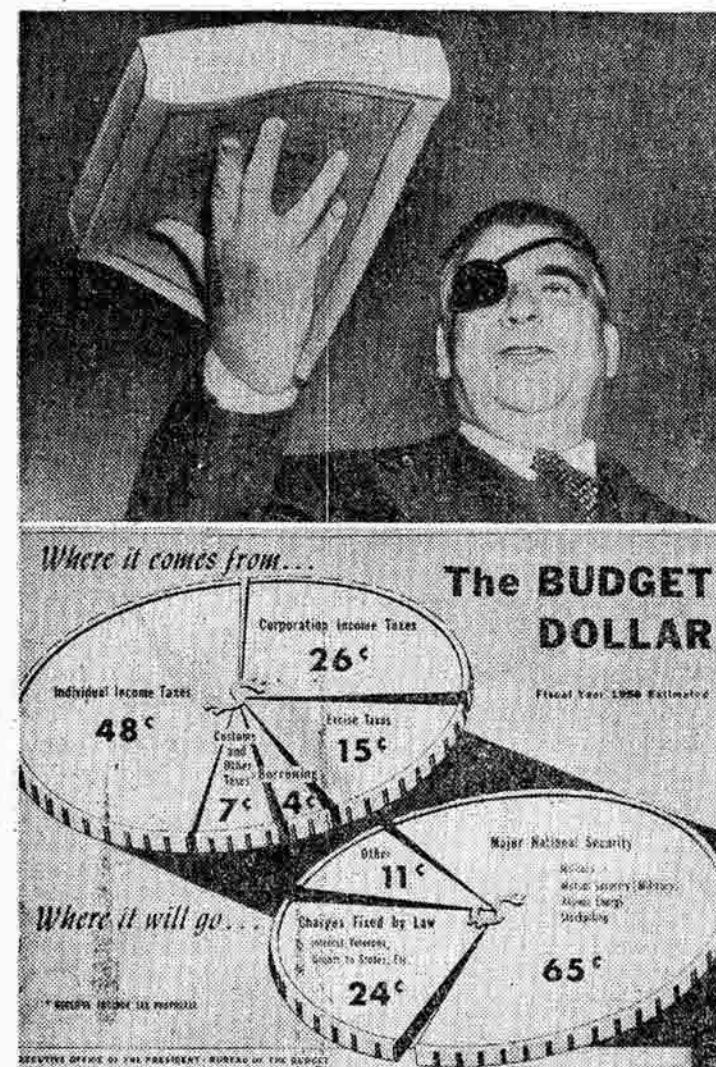
COMPANY'S TERMS

The conditions for remaining in Yonkers, which company president Peterson disclosed to the union several days later, include: (1) drastic revision of piecework incentive standards; (2) elimination of the day-work bonus for production above the normal schedule; (3) the right to transfer non-union workers from the Harrison plant to the Yonkers plant without regard for the seniority system as embodied in the contract with Local 453.

Otis Elevator has been living off the labor of Yonkers workers for more than a hundred years. It is bitterly anti-union. The threat to move to a low-wage, non-union area follows growing unionization efforts at Harrison.

Ironically, the IUE-CIO, now threatened with plant runaway, had short-sightedly refused to aid the recent battle of the independent United Electrical Workers to stop the runaway of the American Safety Razor plant in Brooklyn.

Where Your Money Goes



That huge volume being held up by U.S. Budget Director Rowland Hughes is Eisenhower's proposed 1956 federal budget. The chart below shows how each budget dollar will be spent. Direct war costs will take 65 cents; interest on war debts, veterans, etc., take 24 cents; all the rest, including government operations, will receive only 11 cents.

PIE-IN-THE-SKY IN '65, BUT JOBLESS RISE NOW

Eisenhower's Economic Report of Jan. 20 was tinted with the usual rosy-colored optimism, if it was vague about the next two years, it made up for this by a precise long-term forecast for "a glorious economic future" in 1965, when Eisenhower is not likely to be in the White House.

In case you can't wait for his promise of a \$500 billion "gross national product" ten years from now, you might take note of the fact that he admits the production decline that followed the end of the Korean War has been made up only 50% so far.

On the most important economic factor, unemployment, Eisenhower's crystal ball became murky. He skipped the preview. This was strange because his own Labor Department had in hand a report that 44 major areas of the country are now on the "substantial" unemployment list, compared to 20 a year ago and that increased unemployment is expected in the next three months in such major industrial areas as Chicago, Ill.; Pittsburgh, Johnstown and York, Pa.; Youngstown, Cincinnati, Canton and Columbus, Ohio; Detroit and Grand Rapids, Mich.; Los Angeles; Baltimore; Seattle, Wash.; and Tulsa, Okla. The report further says that unemployment will rise as much as a million in two months.

New housing starts will not reach the previous peak figure set in 1950, according to the National Association of Home Builders. Auto production is also expected to fall below the figure of five years ago.

Why is Eisenhower "optimistic" about the economy? It was indicated in his real economic report — his budget message. Government war spending, continued at a virtual Korean war level, will rise this year to more than \$40.5 billion. The war machine remains the one solid prop of U.S. capitalism.

Risks Another Korea To Gain Formosa as U.S. Military Base

By Joseph Hansen

JAN. 26 — When the House voted yesterday 409 to 3 to back Eisenhower in using U.S. armed forces, if necessary, to protect dictator Chiang Kai-shek from being flushed out of his island rat hole by the Chinese people, it voted to take the risk of plunging America into another Korea, possibly into World War III.

For the truth — openly conceded by the most authoritative capitalist voices — is that the proposed joint resolution of Congress approving Eisenhower's use of military force in "whatever measures as he judges to be required or appropriate for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores" could mean war with China.

Dulles himself admitted it Jan. 24 when Sen. Barkley (D-Ky.) specifically demanded of the head of the State Department, "I ask you again if this resolution is not, in effect, a predated declaration of war."

"Yes, it would be construed in that way," Dulles confessed. (Reported by columnist Robert S. Allen.)

Today's Wall Street Journal grants editorially that the resolution is "in effect, a prior 'declaration of war,' and then brazenly asks, '... is it a bad thing to say that if other nations do certain things the United States will immediately respond?'"

Is it a bad thing to risk a war of atomic annihilation, the destruction of civilization, for the sake of Chiang Kai-shek's neck?

THE FACTS

Before the bar of world opinion, the Eisenhower administration is in an untenable position.

(1) The Chinese people, some 600,000,000 of them, exercised their right to put a government of their own choice in office. The bloody dictator Chiang Kai-shek resisted their will and backed by American guns and dollars, plunged the country into civil war. He lost in this war and fled to Formosa. But he could not last there two weeks without the support of U.S. military power. This support clearly constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese people.

Truman, of course, had already involved the United States in China's internal affairs, and at the time of his statement U.S. military figures were advising and aiding Chiang on Formosa. But that makes Truman's statement all the more significant. He felt forced to recognize the principle the U.S. Government should follow even while in practice he was doing the contrary.

CHOU'S POSITION

Thus when Chou En-lai, Premier of China, broadcast a statement Jan. 24, stating the position of his government, he stood on grounds acknowledged by the (Continued on page 2)

French Trotskyists Persecuted For Defending Colonial People

The French imperialist government of Mendes-France has launched a full-fledged witch hunt against all French workers who support the Algerian struggle for national independence. Here are the facts as reported by the January issues of La Verite, French Trotskyist paper:

1. The December issues of La Verite were suppressed in Algeria. Also Liberte, anarchist paper. The French Trotskyists, the anarchist Libertarian Communist Federations and several other organizations collaborate in the Committee of Struggle Against Colonial Repression.

2. A meeting called by this committee for December 9 in Paris, with the noted writer Daniel Guerin as chairman, was banned. The meeting was to hear a written message from Messali Hadj, Algerian nationalist leader held incommunicado in France.

3. French Minister of Interior Mitterand has launched a police "investigation" of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International (Trotskyists) because of its Political Bureau's declaration on Algeria, published in issue No. 343 of La Verite. This issue also contained a statement by Messali Hadj smuggled past his French guards. (The statement was reprinted from La Verite in The Militant, Nov. 22.)

"NO MORE DIRTY WAR." The Trotskyist statement declared "Remember Indo-China!"

No dirty war in Algeria! It urged the French working class to solidarize itself with the struggle of the Moslem masses in Algeria. It called on the working class organizations to struggle for an end to repressive measures against the Algerians and for removal of all French troops.

The French police have also launched an investigation of Daniel Renard, prominent Trotskyist militant, because of two articles he wrote in La Verite giving the facts on the brutal French policy in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The articles charged the Mendes-France government with wanting to launch a Korea-like police action in the mountains of Aures, where Fellagha troops are operating against the French repressive forces.

The government has taken all these witch-hunt measures under Article 80 of the 1947 Algerian statute which permits the imprisonment of thousands of Algerian patriots.

4. Mitterand has taken action against Gilles Martinet, editor of the left-wing publication, France-Observateur, "guilty" of having informed his readers of the true military situation in Indo-China last summer. Recently, France-Observateur published articles exposing French rule in Algeria.

The French Trotskyists link these violations of freedom of speech and press to French imperialist policy, summed up by Mitterand as follows: "The only

negotiation (with the Algerians) is war."

45,000 VICTIMS

In Algeria, the French imperialists are visiting savage persecutions on militants of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, Algerian nationalist organization. La Verite reports that Moulay-Merbah, a prominent leader, and thousands of others have been arrested and tortured with the aim of extracting "confessions." The right of habeas corpus and all other democratic safeguards of justice have been brazenly flouted by the police.

La Verite recalls in this connection the bloody repressions of May 1945 when the French imperialists massacred 45,000 Algerians.

Although he persecutes Algerian nationalists and their French defenders, Mitterand states that he wants to bring "reforms" to the African colonies. The French Trotskyists reply: the only genuine reform is independence for Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.

THE WOMEN OF HONDURAS

The small Central American country, have just won the right to vote and hold office on an equal basis with men.

The Secret Weapon of the Southern Democrats

By George Lavan

Early in this century John Hay, a Republican bigwig with a literary background gave a definition of the Democratic Party which became celebrated because of all the \$2 words in it. He said: "The Democratic Party is a fortuitous concourse of unrelated prejudices."

Bringing this down to earth it meant that the Democratic Party had no unifying principle but was a hedgehog coalition of groups opposed to the Republicans. There were the Southern Democrats who opposed the Republican Party because it had led the North during the Civil War; then came the big city machines who opposed the Republicans because they wanted — by graft and patronage — to cut themselves into the wealth Big Business was squeezing out of the people; next came the labor vote

which was opposed to the Republican Party as the avowed party of Big Business.

Today the Democratic Party still remains "a fortuitous concourse of unrelated" elements, though the roster has changed somewhat. The Democratic Party today still has the Southern Democrats, stronger than ever; the big city machines, somewhat weaker; the labor movement, immensely stronger; and the Negro people, who in John Hay's day voted solidly Republican but who since the thirties vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

Statesmanship in the Democratic Party consists in winning elections by not losing any of the disparate elements in the coalition. This is no easy task today. If it could be done by giving each group something, the task would be easy. But this can't be done. For example, the Negro people want legislation for equal rights. But the Democratic chiefs

can't give that (even if they wished to, which is dubious) because it would alienate the South.

Similarly the labor movement can't be given much, if anything, because that too would alienate the "right-to-scare" Southern bloc and the Big Business interests who dominate the city and state machines.

The most easily paid off element in the Party are the big city machines — which after all are in politics for only one reason — money — in the form of jobs, "honest" graft and (shhh!) good old-fashioned dishonest boodle.

SOUTH RIDES HIGH

Today no political observer has any doubt about who is getting what in the Democratic Party. The South is riding high. It controls Congress, stock and barrel. Inside the Democratic national machine it is getting what it demands as was shown in the

recent New Orleans confab of the party leadership. The bosses and ward-healers of the city and state machines are already getting city, state and Congressional patronage and their hopes and appetites are being whetted by thoughts of federal loot if they take over the presidency in 1956.

On the other hand the Negro people — who voted about 80% Democratic in the last two elections — are getting absolutely nothing. The opening day of the 84th Congress made that clear. What about labor? It is still doubtful whether the Democratic congress will give it anything more than Eisenhower has offered. That is in deeds. It may get more in the way of Democratic words and promises, although it appears that the Southern wing of the Democratic Party is even rationing the amount of sweet talk that Northern liberal Democrats want to make with an eye to the labor vote.

Why is this? Why does the South wield so much power in the Democratic Party, while labor wields so little, and the Negro none at all? Why do the Northern liberal Democrats go along with this? Why do they fall all over themselves appeasing the Dixiecrats? Aren't they afraid of losing the labor and Negro vote? The answer is no, they aren't.

They feel that these votes are in the bag no matter what they do. They figure that labor and the Negro people have no other place to go. Vote Republican? Not a chance, they tell themselves. On the other hand they have fears about the Southern Democrats. Not only are these claghorns independent and stubborn, but they have a place to go.

The Southern Democrats showed this in the last two presidential elections. In 1948 the Dixiecrats split the ticket. J. Strom Thurmond and the anti-labor

white-supremacist States Rights Party took the Democratic machines and the electoral votes of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina out of the Democratic column on election day.

In 1952 Southern Democrats again split the party, delivering the electoral votes of Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia to Eisenhower. It is interesting to note that J. Strom Thurmond, leader of the 1948 Dixiecrat movement (now Democratic Senator from South Carolina) and the pro-Eisenhower Democrats of the 1952 campaign are being assiduously wooed by Stevenson and the other northern liberal Democrats.

CAGEY ON EISENHOWER

It is not only this past record of the Southern Democrats that causes the leaders of the party nationally to give them every (Continued on page 2)

2 Cops in Phony Rape Case Given Citations

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, Jan. 25 — Last weekend a citation for "meritorious police duty" was awarded to two city cops, Sergeant William P. Carboy and Patrolman Edward M. Caffrey. It reads as follows:

"At about 2:10 A.M., June 25, 1954, while on radio patrol, heard cries of 'help' coming from the vicinity of a wooded area at 88th Street, west of West Drive, Manhattan. Upon arriving at the location, they observed two men who had assaulted and were in the act of raping a woman at the point of a knife. They pursued and captured the two thugs, disarming one of a knife. Both prisoners were under the influence of narcotics."

The truth was that the woman was in a drunken state and had accosted the witness. When her advances were rejected the witness (Continued on page 2)

gave his story the case against Santa and Caban blew up completely. The witness confronted the "victim" and she was forced to admit that she had falsely accused the two youths and that the charge of rape was only "what she imagined had happened."

The truth was that the woman was in a drunken state and had accosted the witness. When her advances were rejected the witness (Continued on page 2)

FBI Funds Hiked In '56 Budget

Eighty-eight million dollars is earmarked for the FBI in Eisenhower's budget for the 1956 fiscal year. This represents a 12% increase over last year in the costs of the "Secret Political Police," as Emil Rieve of the CIO correctly termed them.

Part of the increased cost is due to the fact that the FBI agents will now be paid for overtime and holiday pay on the American people in the search for political dissenters.

The American Way of Life

They Wanted a Ray of Hope

When I was a kid in Boston we used to drive by the Charlestown prison a lot. You go through Charlestown to go to the beach and an overpass takes you within a few hundred feet of the prison. On the hot summer day you could look right into some of the cage-like cells at the prisoners. The prison was an oppressive looking, ancient structure. I see by the papers that it was built in 1803, condemned as unfit for human habitation in 1885, but nevertheless kept in use to this day.

I remember one time when we drove past the prison some grown-up in the car remarked that anyone sent there was not only condemned to serve a sentence but to get tuberculosis as well. Another time I recall going past the prison on a hot August night. There was a lot of traffic going through Charlestown to the beaches. Some people ran between the cars crying (and some were literally crying): "They're murdering Sacco and Vanzetti."

I was surprised to see grown men running between the cars with cops chasing them. I had vaguely heard of Sacco and Vanzetti. In later years I learned about the long imprisonment of those great and noble spirits in Charlestown prison and their execution there for the crime of being radicals and foreigners.

Now again Charlestown prison is in the news. Four desperate convicts there forced an indifferent world to take notice of their plight by seizing five guards as hostages and holding the police at bay. This was the seventeenth uprising of one kind or another in this prison in the last few years.

When the four convicts saw they could not escape they bargained for an improvement in prison conditions and procedure. Their complaints are very illuminating. First under Massachusetts' law prisoners can be given such long terms that they cannot hope by good behaviour or parole to get out.

Another complaint was the confinement of prisoners in solitary confinement for minor infractions of the regulations. Also men awaiting trial, and such trials were usually long delayed, were kept in solitary.

In Charlestown the average cell has no toilet, only a slop bucket. There is no dining hall. The men eat alone in their cells. There are no recreation facilities. The small, dark solitary cells have no beds or blankets and the diet there is bread and water.

Warden J. J. O'Brien, who the Boston papers sympathetically report is resting under sedatives after his "harrowing experiences" in putting down the revolt, described the convicts as "psychotics." If that is so why aren't they in a mental hospital instead of a medieval prison? In 1803 insane people were kept in prisons. In 1955 apparently the same is being done.

The committee of prominent citizens who negotiated the peaceful surrender attributed their success to their giving the four desperate men "a ray of hope." A day later preparations were underway for a speedy trial which can add 20 years to their sentences.

George Lavan

The True Lenin -- An Answer to the Stalinist Lies

By Carl Goodman

Vladimir Lenin died 31 years ago on Jan. 21, 1924. He stood at the head of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian workers and the peasants to victory over the landlord and capitalist classes in the world-shaking revolution of November 1917. He piloted the Soviet Union through its most difficult years.

Lenin's name and memory is constantly slandered and vilified in the capitalist press. The biggest lie told about him is that he is responsible for the Stalinist dictatorship that now rules the Soviet Union. The truth is that Stalin came to power only by overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist principles and by destroying the workers' democracy of Lenin's time. Lenin, himself, spent the last months of his life waging a struggle against growing domination of the country, the working class movement and the Bolshevik Party by a privilege-seeking bureaucracy.

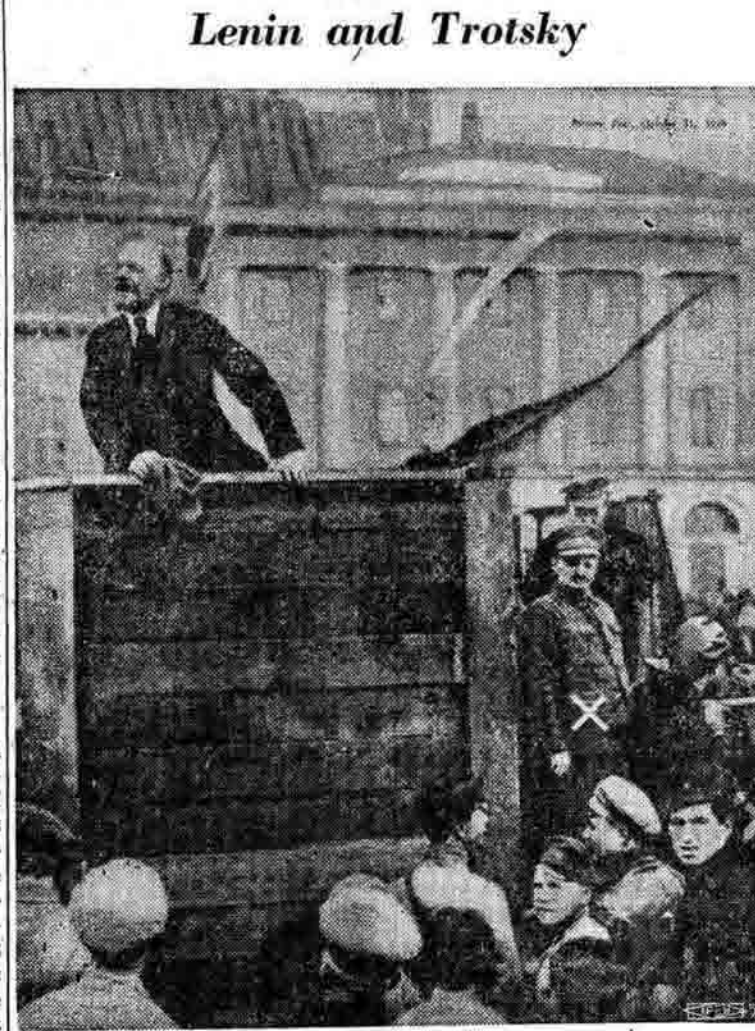
"HARMLESS ICONS"

Lenin's last testament, written Jan. 4, 1923, called for the removal of Stalin from his post of General Secretary because of his "rude and disloyal" abuse of power. In the last days of his life he broke off all personal relations with Stalin as a demonstration from his death bed against the Stalinist faction which was already beginning to strangle the party. Only the stroke that killed him prevented Lenin from leading an open fight against the Stalinist usurpers. The leadership of this historic fight fell to Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the November revolution.

After the death of great revolutionaries, Lenin once wrote, "attempts are made to turn them into harmless icons, canonize them, and surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge."

What the Stalinists did to Lenin after he died follows exactly this pattern. He has been turned into an icon. His physical body has been preserved in a glass case and kept in a shrine. But his ideas have been completely mangled by the Stalinist overlords of the Soviet Union and their agents in the Communist parties throughout the world.

For instance, this is how Political Affairs, "theoretical" publi-



V. I. Lenin, founder and chief leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party, shown addressing open-air crowd of workers and soldiers in the 1917 revolution. Waiting his turn to speak is Leon Trotsky (cross-mark), co-leader of the revolution and organizer of the Red Army.

cation of the U.S. Communist Party, falsifies Leninist teaching on how to achieve world peace: "Lenin . . . is the originator of the idea of the co-existence of capitalist and socialist states, which is the basis today for maintaining the peace of the world," says an editorial in the Jan. 1955 issue. "Lenin's projection of the theory of peaceful co-existence is based upon the Leninist teaching of the possibility of building Socialism in one country."

Stalin, not Lenin, is the author of these ideas. The truth is that Lenin taught the exact opposite both on the question of peaceful co-existence and Socialism in one country. Here is what he really said in March 1919 when the Soviet Union was fighting for its life against intervention from all major capitalist powers including the U.S.: "The existence of the

Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph."

In November 1920, when these wars had ended, Lenin said: "We have now passed from the arena of war to the arena of peace and we have not forgotten that war will come again. As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully — the one or the other will be the victor in the end."

Denying the possibility of building Socialism in one country, Lenin said: "Having begun with brilliant success in one country, (a revolution) may have to pass through painful periods; for final victory is possible only on a world scale, and only as a result of the joint efforts of the workers of all countries." These

quotations are only a sample among a wealth of such declarations and explanations they represent Lenin's authentic teachings.

That does not mean that Lenin favored sending Soviet troops out to revolutionize neighboring countries or that he organized a Moscow-directed "world conspiracy" to overthrow capitalism. What Lenin did teach was that we are living in an epoch of wars and revolutions. This is the period of the death agony of capitalism, he said.

It is a period of turmoil when the capitalist class seeks to preserve its rule by wars of conquest and brutal counter-revolutionary ventures, while the working people seek to get out of the capitalist madhouse by building the new harmonious order of Socialism. A solution of the mortal crisis of capitalism through peaceful co-existence? Lenin flayed people who preached that this was possible as the worst deceivers of the working people.

The only way to put an end to the death agony of capitalism with its wars, depressions and fascist dictatorships is to extend the socialist revolution to all countries. Lenin taught this openly without resort to "conspiracy" as a truth he wanted all workers to know.

Lenin, Trotsky and other prominent revolutionaries of the day organized the Third International. The purpose of the World Communist Party was to arm the workers' vanguard in every country with a class struggle program and tactics around which to rally the majority of the working people. The task of the Communist parties was to lead the workers and farmers in the struggle for socialism in every land.

REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMACY

The Soviet regime in Lenin and Trotsky's day did engage in diplomatic bargains with the capitalist states, but Soviet diplomacy never cut across the independent struggles of the working people of other countries. It was always subordinated to the needs of world revolution. The Comintern never even advised a CP to abandon the class struggle for the sake of a diplomatic deal.

The Stalinist bureaucracy changed all that. Concerned solely with maintaining itself in power as the privileged ruling caste in the Soviet Union, it traded off revolutionary developments wholesale for the sake of its

deals with capitalist powers designed to maintain the status quo. The Communist parties, now dictatorially controlled by the Kremlin became mere instruments of Stalinist diplomacy. The Stalinists justified these acts of treachery by preaching "the possibility of building Socialism in one country" and the necessity to achieve "peaceful co-existence."

We have witnessed the recent turn of American capitalism toward its own version of co-existence. With an unfavorable world relation of forces confronting them, the billionaire ruling clique

is desirous of a period in which they will maneuver for a better opening to launch World War III. But even such a period is punctuated by one outbreak of belligerence after another. The aggressive maneuvers for the "defense of Formosa," the drive to prevent the unification of Korea, Indochina and Germany, all point to the nature of Washington's co-existence strategy as a technique for war preparation. The worldwide victory of socialism alone can end the death agony of capitalism and bring lasting peace to the world.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Unique Planter

Editor:

I am enclosing a clipping about the death of Thad Snow, that unique planter who actually was for the sharecroppers when they put on their sit-down demonstration in Southeast Missouri in 1939.

In From Missouri, the book he recently published, Snow described the changes in Southeast Missouri beginning in 1924

when, because of the boll weevil, cotton planting was moved into that part of the state and along with it Negro farm labor and feudalistic farming methods. He soon learned that the humble, reputedly stupid sharecroppers understood their masters better than their masters understood them.

Snow, after being accused of being a Trotskyist, visited Trotsky shortly before his murder. He had this to say about the revolutionary leader in his book:

"A year later Trotsky was murdered at the big flat-desk where we had laughed and chatted. I was grieved when I heard what happened. To me he was just a friendly and somewhat appealing human being, who had had a full share of life's buffetings."

In his book Snow came out strongly against the present foreign policy which is being forced on the American people.

Southeast Missouri is still a spot where trouble may break out during any cotton season. It is not too well organized now, but there is much dissatisfaction.

D. C.
St. Louis, Mo.

Comments on Our Editorial

Editor:

It is true as you say in the Jan. 10 editorial, "Why Soviet Union is Catching Up," that the Soviet Union is able to maintain full employment on a planned basis. I also agree that when there is a cut in war production, employment in the U.S. drops.

But isn't it true that a great deal of the work in the Soviet Union is done by forced labor? Even when not actually prisoners, the people have to work long hours under pretty grim conditions and can't change jobs. The bureaucracy takes such a huge portion of the production, that the people still live at a low level. I should think that a worker reading your editorial would think to himself that he was well off compared to the Russian worker even though the latter doesn't have to fear unemployment.

What does a person work for? Man strives to satisfy his fundamental needs. After this, he wants pleasure. Pleasure is a

mighty positive drive, and the more advanced culturally are man's surroundings, the richer will be his pleasure. Knowledge is one of the greatest pleasures, the arts and sciences, etc. It is in this kind of work that man should be free to engage. Socialists know that this is possible only when the fundamental needs are taken care of from birth to death.

It is sad to think that most people today have been so psychologized from babyhood that they want security more than they want pleasure. A dull civil service job which is stultifying is preferred to one where the risk of unemployment is greater, for instance. The miserable pensions that come at the end of life condemn the recipients to retirement before they have started to live, and their knowledge of how to live has been stunted. Thus you see in Florida people who are living the dullest possible lives, completely outside the normal life of the country. They are part of nothing, and in a despairing way they realize it.

However, today it is true, the biggest fear is of unemployment, and corollary to that, of debt hopelessly mounting. These two problems absorb much of man's energies. But I don't think it is very comforting to say, "You're worried about unemployment. There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union," because that just opens up the door to an even worse hell than the one already perceived in the U.S. Socialists have to address both the Soviet and the U.S. workers simultaneously, pointing out what you have said so well in your editorial about the economic conquest that could be made under socialist production, and then point out that even under deformed planned economy (in the Soviet Union) tremendous strides were made, but not losing sight of the fundamental striving, which is for man's pleasure in this life.

C. F.
New York, N. Y.

Cleveland Militant Forum

presents
George Breitman
speaking on:

"Lessons of Negro History for 1955"

8 P. M. 10609 Superior Ave.
Sat., Feb. 12 3rd Floor

Donation 25c.
Unemployed Free Refreshments

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Socialism — What It Is
And What It Isn't
Fri., Feb. 4, at 8 P. M.

Detroit Celebration
Of Negro History Week
Fri., Feb. 11, at 8 P. M.

What's Ahead for America?
Speaker: Farrell Dobbs
Fri., Feb. 18, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

NEW YORK "What's Ahead For American Labor"

FARRELL DOBBS

Nat'l. Sec'y. SWP

8 P. M. Adelphi Hall
Fri. Feb. 4 74 Fifth Ave.

Hear: "The Investigator" —
Recorded Anti-McCarthy satire.

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

A thorough scientific analysis of the social bases of fascism — fascist strategy on the march to power — and fascism in power.

Long out-of-print — but a very few copies still available at \$4 per copy

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N.Y.

...Southern Democrats... 'Pre-Dated' War Declaration

(Continued from page 1)

thing they ask for and their present policy as well. The Southern Democrats are reactionary. They abhor pro-labor and social legislation. Here they see eye-to-eye with the Republican Party. The Democratic high command wants to start a barrage against Eisenhower now so the chances of beating him in 1956 will be better. The Southern Democrats, who determine what the Senate and House will do, are cagey about opening up on Eisenhower.

The bigwigs of the Northern Democrats are alarmed by this because it is a hint that the Southern Democratic support is not in the bag for 1956. The Dixiecrats may be toying with the idea of switching to Eisenhower in 1956. If so, why should they go out on a limb with harsh criticism of Eisenhower now? This mere possibility keeps the Northern Democrats subservient to the Southern bloc.

GOP IN SOUTH

To add to the consternation of the Northern Democratic bigwigs Eisenhower is doing some suspicious things to the Republican machine in the South. In the guise of clearing out former supporters of the late Senator Taft he is purging the Republican machine of Negro leaders. Thus Perry W. Howard of Mississippi, who has the greatest seniority on the Republican National Committee and is its only Negro member, has been cut off from all federal patronage in his state. Similar starvations out of the Republican Negroes by Eisenhower is taking place in other parts of the South.

The purpose appears to be to create a lily-white Republican machine. This could indicate Republican hopes of winning over the bulk of the white supremacist southerners sometime in the future. But immediately it would make a switch of Dixiecrats to the Republican column in 1956 a lot easier.

All of this underlines the uniquely favorable position of the Southern Democratic politicians. They are wooed by the Northern

Democrats. They are wooed by the Republicans. They run Congress. They have a one-party system in the South. Whether Democrats or Republicans win nationally they always win in their states. Thus they are always in office. When the Democrats win the presidency they get federal patronage. They are now in a position to make a deal with Eisenhower so that, in return for full support, they get full patronage from him and, in return for half-hearted support or partial sabotage of the Democratic Party, they get partial patronage.

"HARD TO GET"

This then is the secret of the paramount position of the Southern wing of the Democratic Party today. To the query — why can't labor and the Negro get more by playing hard to get, the answer is you can't just play hard to get, you've got to be hard to get. And to be that you must have an alternative party to cast your votes for.

Labor and the Negro people can't threaten to give their votes to the Republicans. Even if the leaders of these two powerful segments of the population threatened to do so, the Democratic politicians would laugh it off. They know the rank and file would never vote Republican even on order from the union bureaucrats and Negro leaders.

The only possible alternative is a Labor Party. But this can't be just talk either. The politicians may not be honest but they are clever. They can tell the real thing from empty talk. That is why Mike Quill's fake threat of forming a Labor Party didn't scare one Southern Senator or one Northern ward-heeler.

When the American people start seriously to build their own party — a Labor Party — then there will be an alternative to the Democratic Party. But a Labor Party will have far more profound consequences than merely raising the bargaining power of the labor movement. Such a party will be so attractive, and so much can be gained for the working people by putting it in office, that despite all the attractive offers made by desperate Democrats the workers, farmers and Negro people will rally around a Labor Party as an alternative to both capitalist parties.

(Continued from page 1)

U.S. Government itself in the past; namely, that the conflict with Chiang is an internal affair of the Chinese people and Formosa and the other islands are an integral part of Chinese territory.

His demand that the "United States must stop intervening in China's internal affairs and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan (Formosa) and the Taiwan Straits" thus flows consistently from the premises acknowledged by two Presidents of the United States (Roosevelt and Truman).

(Since the end of World War II, the Militant has consistently demanded the withdrawal of American troops from abroad. In contrast, the Stalinist position, particularly in Korea was for a "cease-fire." With Eisenhower himself now calling for a cease-fire in Formosa, we are given another example of how Stalinist slogans play into the hands of reaction. How can they consistently reject in the case of Formosa a slogan they insisted was correct for Korea? Yet Chou in his statement scored Eisenhower for "engineering a conspiracy for a so-called cease-fire through the United Nations . . .")

How acute is the danger that World War III will actually be sparked by the crisis over Formosa? To answer this, we must study the fast-moving events of the past few weeks and see how they fit into the over-all pattern of Eisenhower's cautious steps toward a balance of power deal with Moscow.

First, we must note the Hammarstrand mission to Peking. Ostensibly arranged to negotiate for the release of American fliers convicted as "spies" by the Mao government, in reality it was a big step toward establishing normal relations with China, toward bringing the United Nations to bear as an arbiter in China's relations, particularly with the United States. The main topic of discussion was undoubtedly the problem of easing the tension, especially over Formosa.

It was not until after the Hammarstrand mission, he it noted, that the Chinese government launched the attack on the Tachen Islands.

Then in face of the vociferous reaction of the China lobby in America, both Dulles and Eisen-

hower, instead of utilizing the attack to beat the war drums, called for patience.

On Jan. 19, in his first televised press interview, Eisenhower followed up with a most significant diplomatic move. For the first time, an American government official — none other than the President himself — suggested that the U.S. might be interested in seeing "two Chinas."

The reaction in Chiang Kai-shek's circles was immediate. They took this — correctly it would seem — as public acknowledgment that the Eisenhower administration had given up hope of "unleashing" Chiang, of restoring his rule on the mainland. Recognition of "two Chinas" meant in effect recognition of the Mao regime.

Neal Stanford reported that "some quarters" in Washington insisted Eisenhower's move "was part of a well-laid-out plan by the administration to cut itself loose from General Chiang's wide-ranging ambitions and their embarrassments to the administration." (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 19.)

In the same interview, Eisenhower indicated his "sympathy" for a cease-fire effort by the United Nations, and indicated that his administration was committed only to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

What was the meaning of this? Clearly it is a big retreat from 1952 when the Republicans were demanding the restoration of Chiang as dictator of China. Yet paradoxically this retreat by Eisenhower was at once followed by a big increase in tension over Formosa and the outbreak of fighting. This, of course, would follow from the perspective of a cease-fire. For before it went into effect, both Mao and Chiang would naturally seek to establish maximum gains. The same kind of sharp increase in fighting occurred in Korea when the cease-fire there was about to take effect.

More than a cease-fire proposal was involved in Eisenhower's statement. It signified an offer to the Mao government: If you will concede Formosa and the Pescadores to Chiang as an American puppet, then we are prepared to move toward normalization of relations.

If the Mao government agreed to this it could proceed in two

steps: (1) Go ahead and take the islands along the coast. The U.S. will even facilitate this by helping to evacuate Chiang's troops. (2) Permit the United Nations then to arrange a cease-fire which would (a) establish two Chinas and (b) establish the authority and refurbish the reputation of the United Nations preliminary to granting China membership.

This solution, while it would mean recognizing the Mao government, would actually constitute a victory for American imperialism, for it would mean legalization of U.S. efforts to convert Formosa and the Pescadores into a powerful military base directly off the coast of China. It would mean that the Mao government would give up any attempt to push Chiang off his precarious perch into the sea. It would provide that saving of "face" so essential to American imperialism in taking a step its own interests call for and its allies have long cried for — re-

cognition of the new government in China. It would also help Eisenhower save face in relation to the belligerent Knowland wing of the GOP.

But the question still remains open — will the Mao regime accept this "generous" offer? Can it agree to apply to China itself the formula it agreed to in Korea and Indochina? Does it have the power to take the Pescadores and Formosa in any case? And if it decides to act in its own interests along this line will the Eisenhower administration really take the plunge into war? Or is Eisenhower bluffing?

These questions cannot be answered as of now. The dangerous thing is that the Eisenhower administration has decided to take what the Scripps-Howard press calls "Our Gigantic Calculated Risk," that is, risk World War III on the chance that the Mao regime under threat of the pistol at its head, will accept the kind of settlement Wall Street would prefer.

...Rape Case Cops

(Continued from page 1)

ness saw her invite the two boys into the park.

The citation also falsely claims that the police had to disarm the boys. They merely found a closed peckknife in one of their pockets. In addition, no evidence was introduced showing that the boys were under the influence of narcotics as was charged at the time of their arrest.

When Santa and Caban were released they received no apology from the police department or the District Attorney's office. On the contrary, District Attorney Hogan tried to whitewash the frame-up by referring to the "apparent respectability" of the woman and the "suspicious and indecent" appearance of the boys.

Even the N.Y. Post, which regards Hogan as a fine District Attorney, was forced to declare that these statements revealed "deeprooted prejudice."

It is impossible to pass off this episode as an unfortunate miscarriage of justice. The record of the Police Department is one long list of violations of the basic rights of the Puerto Rican and Negro people. This list grows from day to day.

At this moment three Puerto Rican boys, Estrada Corea, 17; Henry Matthews, 17; and Pedro Rios, 22; face electrocution at Sing Sing. They were convicted of murder. Their trial was conducted in an atmosphere of hysteria following the shooting in Congress last February by Puerto Rican nationalists. The New York Police Department was highly instrumental in whipping up this hysteria. There was not one Negro or Puerto Rican on the jury.

During the trial the boys testified that confessions had been beaten and tortured out of them. But on Jan. 4, the Court of Appeals upheld the conviction by a vote of four to three. The minority opinion held that "several erroneous statements" had been made by the trial judge, and that only a new trial could determine whether the defendants' rights had been "seriously prejudiced by these errors."

The case of Corea, Matthews and Rios has aroused a movement of protest. Such a movement deserves the unqualified support of every labor and minority organization.

Subscription \$3 per year:
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6
months. Canadian: \$3.00 per
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.
Single Copies: 5 or more
copies 6c each in U.S., 10c
each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily re-
present The Militant's policy.
These are expressed in the
editorial.

"Entered as second class
matter March 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N.Y., under the act of March
3, 1879."

Vol. XIX — No. 5

Monday, January 31, 1955

Will Automation Benefit the Workers?

Will automation benefit the workers? Whatever reasons the industrialists have for instituting the new and revolutionary productive processes called automation, these reasons have nothing to do with the welfare of the workers. A management official, cited in the CIO United Automobile Workers Report on Automation, summarized the big capitalists' point of view at a Fortune magazine round-table conference. He said: "I don't think we are consciously trying to ease the burden of our workers, nor consciously trying to improve their living standards. These things take care of themselves."

If improving living standards through the production of more goods is not the "conscious" purpose of automation, what is its aim? We can answer this question best by considering an outstanding example of automation in the auto industry, General Motors.

By next fall, General Motors has announced, it will complete modernization and expansion of its plants that will increase its total output capacity by 15%. This 15% increase will have been added in just a year and a half — a rate several hundred per cent higher than normal. It will include 74 separate projects in 54 cities in 25 states.

Does General Motors see a 15% increase in the market for cars? Not at all. Harlow Curtice, GM president, said on Jan. 17 that he foresaw an increase in the country's total output of goods and services of only 3% over the estimated 1954 level. He expected the automobile industry to produce 6,800,000 passenger cars and trucks, or about 600,000 more than last year, a rise of only 8.8% — if we accept Curtice's highly optimistic figures.

What does GM expect to do with the extra capacity? It does not anticipate new markets, therefore it must seek a bigger share of the existing markets. It intends to "out-

compete" the smaller auto firms and push them to the wall. It will destroy the jobs of scores of thousands of auto workers in other firms, if it can. It will also eliminate all the jobs it can in its own plants.

Peculiarly enough, even with all their automation, the big auto corporations don't expect to match the record output in 1950 — five years ago. A large part of capacity will remain idle. CIO and UAW President Walter Reuther said recently that the industry actually could have produced twice as many autos as it did last year — 11,000,000 instead of 5,500,000 cars — if all facilities of the major companies and independents had been used.

They were not used because their use is dependent, under capitalism, on the possibilities for profits, not the needs of the workers. The latter "can take care of themselves," according to the monopolistic private owners.

The conception that "things can take care of themselves" permeates the whole anarchistic, chaotic, planless profit system. That is why GM can enormously expand its capacity without consideration for the workers or for the industry as a whole and despite the existing ability to produce far in excess of the market.

It is precisely this senseless, crazy, wasteful and anti-social economic setup that socialism will eliminate. It will use every new device and method for increasing production, but within the framework of a carefully drawn-up national plan, formulated by the workers' organizations, that will coordinate production and distribution on a national and international scale. Socialist expansion in productivity will automatically bring reduced working hours and increased goods and services for the workers. Automation will not be a "competitive" weapon to cut labor costs and grab more of the shrinking market for fewer companies; it will be the means to greater abundance and leisure for all.

The Six GI "Mutineers"

On the morning of Dec. 29, 6:30 A.M. at Fort Bragg, N. C., six young GIs were ordered to fall out for a work detail. They were in the stockade for being AWOL or as insubordinates. Instead of obeying the order by reflex action as soldiers are supposed to do, they just sat on their beds and refused to move. The non-com called the captain. When the captain entered, the boys didn't even stand up and salute. They were told that they could get the death penalty for such insubordination. But not even this threat moved them. Nor could they later explain their behavior.

Five of the six boys are only 18 years old. The sixth, 21 years of age, is a veteran of the Korean war. They were charged with "mutiny" and sentenced to seven years of hard labor.

A liberal New York newspaper expressed outrage at the sentence. Several Congressmen are "investigating" the case in behalf of their constituents. Seven years of hard labor and a dishonorable discharge is shocking punishment for teen-aged youths who just couldn't respond to an officer's threats in a stockade.

Why this sullen and reckless rebellion? Why this demonstration of utter disgust, lack of hope and defiance?

Now It's the "Yonkers Plan"

Last August, the Studebaker corporation, prior to its merger with Packard, had threatened to shut down its South Bend plant unless the workers, members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 5, took a wage cut of approximately 15%. At first the workers had rejected this demand, but under pressure of the top UAW leadership they finally submitted.

Five months later, on Jan. 21, the Local 5 membership voted 7,188 to 806 to strike unless the Studebaker plant management cease its violations of the union contract on production standards. That same day the Studebaker workers received a letter from James J. Nance, head of the Studebaker-Packard Corp., complaining that the company was "still losing money" and calling for additional "improvements in work standards." That means more output for less pay. The Studebaker letter ends ominously: "Our company can't keep on losing money as it has been doing for a year now, and stay in business."

At the time of the first Studebaker threat to close down if the workers didn't accept a big pay cut, we warned that if this move succeeded it would not give the Studebaker workers security. It would just inspire other companies to make similar demands. The Studebaker workers are now learning through bitter experience that they can't yield a finger to the company without being asked for an arm. Moreover, the Studebaker Plan, as we dubbed it last August, spread to hundreds of plants throughout the country where workers

The fact is, the U.S. army can't inspire genuine discipline and high morale. It must exact obedience through force. The youth are drafted and drilled by a Prussianized military caste that must compensate for lack of morale with severe punishment.

Before a youth gets a chance to plan his future, he is forced into military service — with what prospect? All he can realistically see before him is an endless series of Koreans, Indo-Chinese, Formosans — battling the people of those countries in order to keep them enslaved to landlords and despots.

The majority of GIs may not understand much about politics and their reading may be limited to the propaganda of the American capitalist press. But the reality breaks through to them nonetheless.

Korea is still 7,000 miles away. It is still a small and poor colonial country. Formosa and China are a long way off too. What business does the U.S. have trying to tell the Chinese people they should be ruled by Chiang Kai-shek?

There is nothing in these projects of the U.S. military to inspire, instruct, and ennoble American youth. And this makes the hardship of army life a thousand times more difficult to endure.

The six GIs were not guilty of "mutiny." They were only guilty of despair.

have been faced with the ultimatum: Take pay cuts or we close down or move.

The Studebaker formula has been "improved," however. Some companies no longer plead "poverty" in demanding wage cuts or else — Companies which openly boast of making big profits are adopting the Studebaker Plan. This is the case with the Otis Elevator Co. in Yonkers, N. Y., which threatens to close down and throw 2,100 out of jobs as an open wage-cutting, union-busting device. Thus, the Studebaker Plan has evolved into the Yonkers Plan.

The Yonkers Plan is undisguised labor-hating capitalist greed. Made brazen and arrogant by the fact of the numerous states with open shop "right-to-work" laws and by the "floating pool" of unemployed, the corporations are putting the squeeze on the unions and seeking to tear down union standards. They don't even hide behind the pretext of "losing money."

The runaway of the Otis Elevator plant would be the second terrible economic blow to Yonkers workers within a year. Previously, the Alexander Smith Carpet Co. had gone down to open-shop Mississippi leaving more than 5,000 workers and their families stranded.

We see in the Yonkers Plan the real evil face of capitalism, its cold indifference toward the workers who have made the capitalists rich. We see how the capitalists unhesitatingly tread underfoot thousands of human beings where this offers the slightest profit advantage.

By Art Preis

American imperialism is playing a very slippery role in Indo-China. There is evidence that Washington is moving to blow up the general elections scheduled for the whole of divided Vietnam next year under the terms of the Geneva agreement. There is further evidence that Wall Street's government is seeking to take over control of South Vietnam through a puppet government and to permanently divide the country in the Korean pattern.

Only a few weeks ago leading U.S. pro-imperialist newspapers and magazines set up a hue and cry that "we" were going to "lose" South Vietnam, as well as North Vietnam, to the Ho Chi Minh regime. American correspondents on the scene painted a vivid contrast of conditions in the two sections of Vietnam.

CONDITIONS CONTRASTED

They admitted that in North Vietnam, despite terrible obstacles, the economy was being organized, land was being distributed to the poor peasants, the government was held in popular esteem and the Ho Chi Minh regime would win any popular election in both South and North Vietnam. The South Vietnam government, on the contrary, was disclosed as utterly corrupt and inefficient, incapable of maintaining itself without the prop of French troops and U.S. arms.

Now, like a well-drilled army squad, the same papers and magazines that cried "all is lost" are performing a right-about-face. As if the State Department had barked a command, these publications are wheeling in a different direction. "All is not lost" after all, we are told.

The Reporter magazine, for instance, which carried in its Dec. 30 issue a graphic detail report showing the true state of affairs in North and South Vietnam, on Jan. 27 published a further report, by Joseph Buttinger, who claims that "the information about the hopeless situation of the Vietnamese situation was of French origin." And he gives the tip-off on what Washington will

aim for in attempting to maintain the capitalist-landlord regime headed by South Vietnam Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, the appointee of ex-emperor and Riviera playboy Bao Dai.

STALL OFF ELECTIONS

Buttinger says that "it is difficult to see how elections in the Communist-dominated north can be free. If elections are to be free, we must reconsider the Geneva agreement, which did not insist on U.S. supervision or any other guarantee. Time would be needed for that, but time is exactly what the consolidation of freedom and the firm establishment of a democratic order would require."

Scrap the Geneva agreement and stall off elections until they can be "free" — that is, until they can be held under the control of U.S. agents.

This policy is described in more detailed and authoritative terms by C. L. Sulzberger, foreign correspondent of the N. Y. Times. This paper reflects the line of the chief capitalist circles in America and frequently gives advance notice of U.S. foreign policy turns and tactics.

In a dispatch from Paris in the Jan. 17 Times, Sulzberger announces in his opening sentence: "The American Government is now taking over from France responsibility for maintaining independence in rump Indo-China." This enormous step of moving into Indo-China on the heels of the retreating French is made known to the American people via a newspaper column on the editorial page of the Morgan-controlled Times.

We are further informed that Washington is "gambling whole hog on the Ngo Dinh Diem program. At present only the United States consider Ngo Dinh Diem's regime efficient or representative."

This "representative" regime, originally installed by the French and held up by French bayonets, has shown its "independence" by inviting the dictation of a new imperialist master, Wall Street. So now, Sulzberger says, the French "make no secret of their dislike of the little Catholic statesman who was extricated from a Belgian monastery and

flown to Saigon. Ngo Dinh Diem has not yet demonstrated any political sex appeal. Foreign observers report with uniformity that he is neither popular nor yet of apparent use to the cause we advocate."

But, reveals Sulzberger, "the United States has decided it must take a calculated risk in Indo-China and replace absence of policy with something positive." What does the "calculated risk" involve? Sulzberger points out: "It is recognized that in July, 1956, elections throughout Vietnam, including the populous Communist North, are scheduled under the Geneva agreement. Therefore desperate efforts must be made during the intervening period to check Ho Chi Minh's advance."

"A GLASS WINDSHIELD"

The U.S. will try to bolster the flimsy South Vietnam regime and "develop an establishment (military) big enough only to maintain internal security and to serve as a glass windshield that would have to be broken if an outside invader sought to conquer South Vietnam. The act of breaking would be sufficiently visible to touch off international reaction."

The "free democratic" regime of the "little Catholic statesman . . . extricated from a Belgian monastery" would be a "glass windshield" against the Indo-Chinese people putting their own government into control and would provide a pretext for U.S. intervention, like in Korea, if they try. But what of the Geneva agreement and the elections in 1956?

THE NEW FORMULA

"Neither the United States nor the Ngo Dinh Diem Government signed the Geneva agreements. Therefore, if they so desire, they may declare they are not bound when the time for all-Vietnam elections rolls around," Sulzberger observes.

Here is the formula under which American imperialism hopes to deprive the Vietnamese people of the right to pick their own government and plans to maintain South Vietnam as another U.S. military base in the Far East.

World Events

ELECTIONS IN JAMAICA. British West Indies, has toppled Prime Minister Bustamante, who for ten years dominated Jamaica politics with demagoguery and red-baiting. He will be succeeded by Norman W. Manley, head of the People's National Party, which is considered "socialist" and more radical than Bustamante's Labor Party. The 1 1/4 million population of Jamaica depends upon the sugar industry, the island's main crop. Sugar has been in a slump in recent months and unemployment has become very serious. This is one cause of the increased emigration of Jamaicans to England, where they are encountering Jim Crow attitudes condoned by the Tory government.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU has paid an official visit to Pondichery, the French colony on India's east coast. The visit symbolizes the conclusion of an agreement whereby the five French ports — an area of 198 square miles and a population of 286,000 — will be ceded to India proper. The only foreign held territory in India now are the Portuguese ports which comprise an area of 1,461 square miles and over half a million population.

JAPANESE SOCIALISTS DISCUSS UNITY. The two powerful socialist parties — right-wing and left-wing — are discussing merger before the national elections which are tentatively scheduled for Feb. 27. The leadership of the two parties — each of which has a large representation in the Diet (Japanese parliament) — have drawn up a statement to be submitted to their approaching party conventions. The statement proposes joint slogans and candidates in the coming election, the aim of "overthrowing capitalism" but rejecting "Communism," opposition to rearmament, and a foreign policy independent of U.S. imperialism. The split in the once united Socialist Party of Japan came in 1951 with the left-wing refusing to accept the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The Japanese unions are also split with the bulk of the workers led by the left-wing socialists.

260,000 BRITISH RAILWAY MEN have won weekly pay increases of 98 cents to \$1.82. This means they have been awarded practically all the demands they raised when they scheduled their general strike against the nationalized railroad system. The strike was canceled after the authorities made a partial settlement of 70 cents to \$1.12 increase a week for 60,000 of the men.

SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES so far have shown little interest in more trade with the U.S., Commerce Secretary Weeks has revealed. This despite the fact that the U.S. has already eased regulations concerning trade with the USSR and allied countries. Heretofore Washington had imposed a virtual embargo on trade with the Soviet bloc and China.

WEST EUROPEAN BANKERS and industrialists now feel strong enough to resist further encroachments by U.S. capital. In secret meetings in Switzerland they have decided to try to divert large-scale U.S. investments away from Europe to Latin America, Africa and Asia. It was also revealed, according to the financial section of the Jan. 24 N.Y. Times, that in the post-war period, when European capitalists had to accept American capital for recovery purposes, they were terrified "that American capital would flood into Europe, picking off all the best investment opportunities and driving European competition to the wall."

A NAZI RALLY in Hamburg on Jan. 18 was protected by West German police. The rally, called to consolidate about 20 neo-Nazi groups was addressed by a German General who called for annexation of the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia. A protest demonstration was called by the German Federation of Labor. Thousands of workers marching in the protest parade in freezing weather were drenched when police turned fire hoses on them. German unionists and socialists claim that government offices are filled with former Nazis who are sympathetic to the neo-Nazis.

My Life in Stalin's Prison Camps

How Ukrainian Prisoners Joined the Struggle

By Brigitte Gerland

(The author is a German writer who spent eight years in Stalin's concentration camps, six of them in the Arctic Circle. After she became disillusioned with Stalinism in East Germany, she was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by Moscow's secret police. She was released in Malenkov's general amnesty in December 1953. Her articles have been translated from the French Trotskyist newspaper La Verite.)

In 1939, at a time when Stalin and Hitler agreed to divide Eastern Europe between them, the Soviet army entered Volhynia, Galicia, Bukovina and Bessarabia. Beginning thus with the two Polish provinces, Volhynia and Galicia, and the two Rumanian provinces, the Soviet Republic of West Ukraine came into being; and the curtain rose on a new act of the Ukrainian drama, the most tragic and bloody in history.

It would go far beyond the scope of a newspaper article to enter into details about the many wars, uprisings and desperate conspiracies which comprise West Ukraine's past. Suffice it to recall here that 15 million Ukrainians of Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia were always an exploited minority, without any social and economic rights within these capitalist states. Whenever they fought for the most elementary rights, they invariably suffered every sort of persecution.

This is why the poor Ukrainian peasants, who had never submitted without gritting their teeth to their enemies and oppressors, the Polish and Rumanian nobles and landlords ("Pans" and "Domnuls" respectively), greeted the Soviet soldiers as liberators, showering them with garlands of flowers and treating them with food and vodka. But the first flush of enthusiasm was soon dissipated.

Instead of the division of big estates hoped for by the Ukrainians, who owned only tiny landstrips, they were faced with forced collectivization. This collectivization was carried out — without any ideological preparation — by incapable and ignorant bureaucrats, unable to provide the necessary technical and organizational premises for the collective farms then created overnight. The population reacted with unexpected violence to these measures. Buildings were burned down, the torch was set to crops, cattle were slaughtered; and the peasants took to the

impassable swampy forests of the old Russo-Polish frontier.

That is how the partisan movement was born in the West Ukraine, which to this day keeps a Soviet army busy. After the first embarrassed attempts to report the story of "kulak" sabotage, the Stalinist bureaucrats drew a curtain of silence around the fierce resistance of a sister people, disappointed in their liberation.

As the struggle against collectivization, enforced with feverish haste, grew more and more desperate, the bureaucracy resorted to ever harsher methods to extend its power over the newly conquered lands. Finally they resorted to deportations to the Siberian taiga on a big scale. Entire villages were uprooted, insofar that is, as it was possible to round up the inhabitants. In most cases only the grandparents, the sick and the newly born could be found; every able-bodied individual had already left to join the partisans.

RIFLE REPLACES PLOW

Into this atmosphere, amid the blood-red glare of burning huts, the Germans launched their invasion, after Hitler had torn up the friendship pact with Stalin like a scrap of paper. The Ukrainian peasants left their forest hide-outs to greet the new liberators, omitting this time the flowers, not to mention the food and vodka. But once again, full of hope, they expected, no longer the division of big estates, but the dismemberment of the hastily formed collectives that lacked machines, cattle and, above all, workers.

But they awaited with an even greater impatience the formation of an independent Ukrainian state which the Germans had promised in return for economic assistance. To their disappointment this state was never created; on the contrary, the comrades and allies found themselves suddenly branded as "sub-human Orientals," fit only to eke out a miserable slave existence in the factories of the Master-Nation conducting a victorious war. An era opened up of arrests, concentration camps and forced labor on the territories of the German state.

All those who were able once again took to the forests, taking along some of the youth who had no desire to choose between the Ukrainian SS (storm troopers) and the German labor camps.

The struggle continued; all that changed was the face of the

enemy, while the Polish and Rumanian oppressors had now become allies. Nevertheless the collapse of Germany once more rekindled hopes for an independent West Ukrainian state. The peasants were convinced that the Western powers would keep the promises they made over the radio and through their secret emissaries; and that, at long last, the eternal minority would become a nation.

But nothing came of it. The victorious Soviet army made its second entry. This time no one met them with flowers, and it wasn't just because the tanks and armored cars had destroyed everything. For the West Ukrainians liberated from "the yoke," the war was not over. The partisans had suffered great losses, but meanwhile new generations had grown up and the disintegrating German army left behind large stocks of weapons and munitions. At least this problem of arms seemed solved for a number of years.

Soviet soldiers now swarmed in the West Ukrainian villages, just as previously did the German soldiers. But the peasants continued to live as before in the holes they had dug amid the vast marshes, having forever discarded the plow in exchange for a rifle. For them there was no road back. To surrender meant a 25-year term in the camps. So they preferred a hopeless struggle for freedom. Their women came along and gave birth to their babies on the rotting leaves in the marshes. At night the grandparents brought milk and bread until they, too, were caught by the soldiers and sent together with the grandmothers to the North Pole or the remotest corners of Asia.

Year after year this whole people was engaged in desperate combat, even the children participated, serving as scouts and messengers. They were likewise arrested, clapped in prison and later sent to a camp. Bridges were blown up, warehouses pillaged, munition depots raided by surprise, small groups of soldiers killed in ambush. The enemy took revenge by burning half-abandoned and half-ruined villages, and by deporting the inhabitants, at any rate, those unable to hide. New punitive expeditions were sent without cease, only to get lost in most cases in the merciless countryside before attaining their goal. From time to time a "nest of bandits" is uncovered — those who do not fall in battle are shipped to Siberia for life.

So the insolvable tragedy goes on and on, simply because several

million Ukrainians refuse at any price to become collective-farm workers and prefer to remain independent peasants. Are they backward, incorrigible petty bourgeois? Perhaps so. But the punitive expeditions, arrests of hostages, burning of villages — are these the just and correct methods for "converting" them? It is hard to answer such a question in the affirmative. The right of nations to self-determination was ever a part of the Bolshevik program. The bureaucratic pigones try to get around this by claiming that West Ukraine is merely an appendage to East Ukraine. But one might with equal justification claim that Holland, or the Flemish sector of Belgium are a part of Germany, or that Normandy and Brittany are part of England.

As late as summer, 1953 the Soviet government had still not succeeded in establishing tranquility and order in the Ukraine, not even the peace of a cemetery. Each month new victims of endless waves of arrest and of unending punitive expeditions keep arriving in the camps. Despite this, despite huge losses, not from battles alone but also from cold, hunger and disease, the partisan movement has not been wiped out.

UKRAINIANS IN CAMPS

The Ukrainian guerrillas, in their stubborn resistance, have no precise ideas about the future state for which they are waging so bitter a struggle. They ought to have independence and the interests of the small peasant should be protected — these are their sole watchwords. They do not worry about the form of government. Ideologies, doctrines, questions of party policy scarcely interest them. They regard the Russians as their most dangerous enemies.

In their eyes all Russians are communists and therefore especially hateful. Communism to them means — expropriations and forced collectivization accompanied by chaos and anarchy.

In camps where West Ukrainians play an important role by force of numbers, they lived of their own choice apart from the Russian prisoners whom they regard as enemies. This was one of the most difficult problems which confronted the communist resistance groups seeking to organize a common struggle of all the prisoners against the Soviet bureaucracy. The difficulty lay in establishing contact with the West Ukrainians, because they looked upon other nationals as spies and because they refused

to engage in political discussions. Besides, they held that all resistance in the camp was void of meaning, because of their fanatic clinging to the notion that a war would set them free in the near future.

This terrible illusion was quite understandable. Burned by bitter experience, they saw too clearly to believe in a reform of the Soviet bureaucracy; while hope in a political revolution by the Soviet people, which would bring them freedom as well, was completely beyond their comprehension. Their political activity was thus limited to reading newspapers, listening to the radio, and concluding from every bit of news that the Americans were already marching against the East. And anyone who dared to contradict them was treated as a communist, if they didn't disdain to reply altogether.

One question, however, did provoke almost daily heated discussions, which sometimes led to fist fights. Should the norms be fulfilled or should all the prisoners resort to passive resistance on every occasion? The West Ukrainians sabotaged openly the program formulated and urged by members of the communist resistance movement. This program was: Work as little as possible; organize "Do Virtually Nothing" groups. Despite their guerrilla past, these former partisans took the view that only utter submission could ease their lot and assure their survival, until the day when the Western powers brought them liberty, so anxiously awaited.

Hard reality kept proving the contrary. Because the camp administration was interested exclusively in maintaining order behind the barbed wire fences, it loaded extra work upon those who were passive or unprotesting; but it yielded to all energetic pressures so long as these remained within reasonable limits.

The Vorkuta strike was decided and organized against the wishes of the Ukrainians who, in many instances, comprised half of the prisoners. And it was only toward the very last moments that among most of them the feeling of solidarity of the oppressed, against the common enemy hated by all, was finally awakened. In common action one saw tumbling down the barriers of blind nationalist sentiments, of prejudice and bitterness which they had erected between themselves and their only allies.

(Third of a series. Watch for the next installment.)

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Federal Officials Aid White Citizens Councils

Mississippi leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have charged that federal officials have joined in the campaign of economic terrorism against supporters of school integration.

Already affidavits have been submitted to the White House naming two officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. These men, it is claimed, are collaborating with the White Citizens Councils in preventing Mississippi Negroes, who support school desegregation, from getting or holding jobs, credit, farm loans or mortgage renewals.

The two Agriculture Department officials are Walter E. Strider and S. O'Neal of the Jackson, Miss., office of the Farmers Home Administration, which is administering loans for the drought-stricken areas of Mississippi.

The affidavit of one Mississippi farmer states: "Because of my activities in bringing in about 25 members in the NAACP branch, economic pressure is being exerted on me." This man owns a 73-acre farm in good delta soil, a seven-room house, a barn and tractor. His farm has a record of high cotton production — a bale and a half an acre, but he is unable to get a loan such as the government is making on similar farms. "Anyone belonging to the NAACP," he declares is not deemed "worthy of financial assistance and is termed a troublemaker." Without the customary federal farm assistance he is in danger of losing his farm.

Another Negro farmer in the drought-stricken area testifies that federal officials O'Neal and Strider denied her a "disaster loan" stating, "It is generally believed that Mr. Strider refuses some loans to NAACP members because of local activities."

A local NAACP leader testifies: "Because of my mere membership in the NAACP and my presence in the community, there exists a feeling of dislike for me by some white men who are in federal authority (FHA) and who have attempted to make my presence in the

community impossible." He tells how his white neighbors have been able to obtain the federal credit assistance which Agricultural Dept. Strider has refused him.

A Negro businessman, who is president of the NAACP in a Mississippi city, tells how the City Council and the police have conspired to stop customers from patronizing his business.

This is part of the openly avowed policy of the White Citizens Councils to prevent any Negro who favors school integration, from getting or holding a job, obtaining credit, renewing a mortgage or remaining in business in Mississippi.

The NAACP has started a campaign to prevent the economic annihilation of anti-segregationists in Mississippi. It has already arranged for the deposit of \$40,000 in the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, Tennessee. This bank has agreed to make credit available on a business basis to Mississippi farm owners and business men in danger of ruin by the credit squeeze of the Mississippi banks in their campaign to drive out militant Negroes.

While this is a good first step the sum is still quite small. Therefore the NAACP is appealing to all Negro insurance companies, banks, fraternal organizations and sympathetic individuals to make substantial deposits in the Tri-State Bank to handle loans to Mississippi Negroes. A minimum of \$500,000 is being sought.

Credit, however, will assist only Negro farm owners and businessmen. It will not help Negro workers and sharecroppers, who comprise 99% of Mississippi Negroes. These brave people must be helped by the Negro organizations and the labor movement. Otherwise the White Citizens Councils can terrorize them into silence or impose upon them and their families unemployment, eviction and starvation for the crime of demanding in reality what the U.S. Supreme Court has given in words.

After 45?

By Roy Gale

I got a shock last week when I went to collect my unemployment check. It seemed like any other day, but I learned that my youth had suddenly slipped away. I don't mean that I got old all at once. But it was driven home to me that I was no longer one of the up and coming bright young men of the future.

As I was waiting in line I saw a man turn away from the counter, walk to an ash-tray and punch out his cigarette with a hard bitter twist. He then walked over to the window and slouched down in a chair with a defeated look on his face. After I had collected my check and been told there was no work in my line, I wandered over to where he still sat. We got to shooting the bull and he told me his troubles.

He was 46 years old. That was his trouble. Just one year over that razor edge where no boss wants to hire a man. A couple of years ago he said he had no trouble getting work. Now, although he is still a good worker, no one will hire him. The kids out of school get the breaks first. At the last place he applied the personnel man told him that he would like to hire him because of his experience. But the company had a policy not to hire over 45 because of their insurance and pension plan.

Right then was when I got the shock. He looked at me and asked how much luck I was having at finding a job. Then I realized that it would not be many years until I would be over the hill on the wrong side of 45. Maybe I was already in danger! I am premature grey-haired so maybe he thought he was talking to some one with problems like his.

We walked out together and he went his way and I went mine. But he started me thinking. I remembered a visit that my wife and I had made a few nights before to a friend's house. I was working then and the unemployed were just so many government statistics. It got closer when I heard our friend's wife had lost her job. He doesn't make very much and they need her income to help take care of the three kids. She apologized because she had just washed her hair and wanted to rest. Her problem was that she had to convince the prospective employer that she was still young. I don't know her age but she must be under 40 and I would say about 35. In any case she was desperately concerned with looking young for her interview with a personnel man the next morning.

I recall an article I read the other day that said the average age of the Senators and Congressmen was 54.4 years. The President's Cabinet averaged 58 years old. If an ordinary worker is old at 45, the government must be a hotbed of senility.

It is probably true that the younger workers can produce more, particularly on the assembly line. But the older worker has his points too. There is a place for both young and old. The youth have their problems too. But it isn't the problem of being tossed on the junk heap because of age.

I look forward to many more years of productive work. That is if I can find a job and keep it before I cross over that dividing line marked — 45 years old.

Notes from the News

AT A SPECIAL CONVENTION the independent Fur and Leather Workers voted to merge with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen AFL. The merger still has to be approved in a referendum vote of the membership. Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated said that he was sure the merger would go through despite opposition from the Executive Council of the AFL.

A VETERAN SUBWAY CONDUCTOR, Max Lerner, was fired Nov. 20 by the New York City Transit Authority for refusal to answer questions about "suspected Communist affiliations." Superior Court Justice Benjamin Brenner upheld the State's Security Risk Law of 1951 under which Brenner was fired.

MRS. ANNIE LEE MOSS has her job back in the Defense Department but the sword still hangs over her head. Secretary of Defense C. E. Wilson wrote a curious letter in which he said the record "does not support the conclusion that she is actually subversive or disloyal to the United States," but added that there was "certain derogatory information," about Mrs. Moss prior to 1946.

A NEGRO SOPRANO, Leontyne Price, made history on Jan. 23 when she sang the lead role in Puccini's "La Tosca" in an otherwise all white cast. NBC Opera Theatre produced the two-hour English version.

DOES FEAR HANDICAP the work of American college and high school teachers? A Fund for the Republic study was announced to assess "the degree of fear among teachers in such areas as the handling of controversial subjects in the classroom; their relationships with students, fellow-teachers and administrative superiors;

their feeling about expressing unpopular opinions in professional publications; their willingness to take part in extracurricular and community affairs, and the influence of tenure on academic freedom."

THE LOCAL DRAFT BOARD of Mound Bayou, Miss., has ordered Dr. T. R. M. Howard, 47, President of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, to state reasons why he should not be reclassified into I-A. He has been subjected to constant pressure because of his efforts to promote civil rights in Mississippi.

MICHAEL J. QUILL, president of Transport Workers Union, CIO, demanded on Jan. 22 that the New York Transit Authority open its books. The union plans to ask for a 17-cent hourly wage increase when the contract is opened next month. The union wants to know how the transit authority can operate the system in the red and still salt away a treasure of \$38,000,000.

THE TEXAS CIO COUNCIL moved its annual convention from the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio to a hotel in Austin because of discrimination against a Negro union officer. All delegates were allowed to use the meeting rooms and attend the convention banquet with no segregation. But Negroes were not allowed to sleep in the Hotel or use the coffee shop.

A ONE QUARTER-OF A MILLION DOLLAR grant by the Fund for the Republic, a Ford Foundation subsidiary, was announced on Jan. 13, for a four-year study of the "effects of communism on American life." Last Dec. 22 the fund reported that it was granting \$100,000 for an "independent" study of the government's "loyalty-security" program.

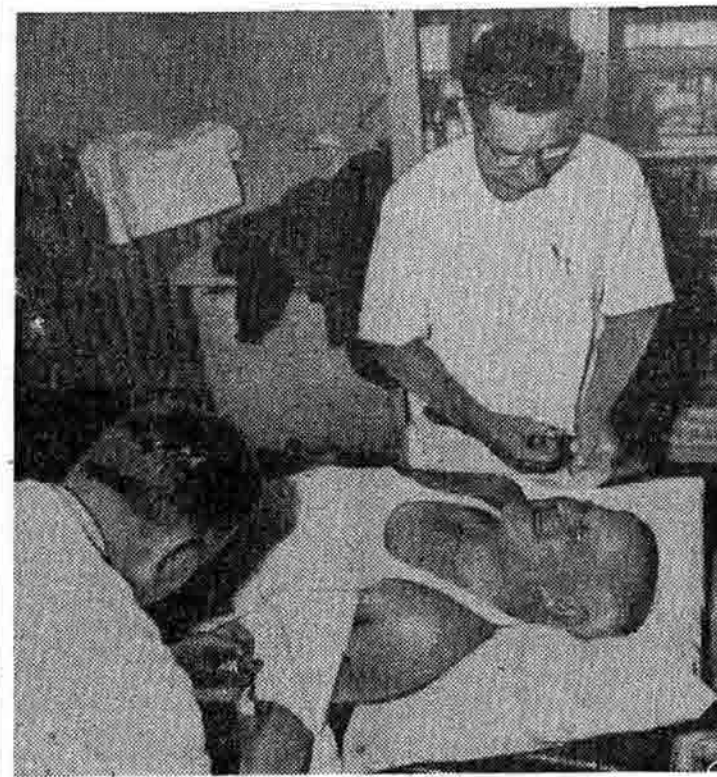
THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1955

NUMBER 5

Can't Live with Himself



David Brown, who recently confessed to being an FBI stoopigee while serving as Los Angeles leader of the Civil Rights Congress, is treated at a Los Angeles hospital after police say he slashed his arms and wrists with a razor. Brown had previously disappeared, later claimed he was kidnapped and finally admitted his story was a hoax.

Akron Workers Fight For Right to Picket

AKRON, Jan. 19 — Recent Anti-Labor Court decisions against the smaller AFL craft unions has resulted in a call to action by labor leaders of Summit County. The right to

strike and picket are being seriously endangered by these Court decisions. The banning of pickets against AFL Retail Clerks Union 698 at West Point Market, fired up the move. Common Pleas Judge, Steven Colopy, issued a temporary injunction ordering the Clerk's pickets away from the store.

FREE SPEECH PICKETS

Following the injunction pickets were again seen in front of the store. AFL Meat Cutters Local Union 427 posted what it calls a free-speech picket at the store. The picket is carrying a sign saying this store does not employ members of Local 427 and asking that customers patronize stores which employ union help.

The Clerks Union began picketing the market after the employer refused to sign a new contract. Judge Colopy ruled that there was a strike at the West Point Market but that picketing would not be allowed because the action of the Union was causing irreparable damage to the employer.

The attorney representing the union asked the Judge: wouldn't the injunction against the Union cause irreparable damage to the members who are on strike and would find themselves without a job? The Judge replied: the employer could have discharged the workers at any time, therefore the damage to the employees was not irreparable.

In another case employees of Fairlawn Meats Inc. requested the Meat Cutters Local to repre-

sent them. When it came time to negotiate a contract the employer refused to recognize the union. A picket line was then formed in front of the employer's three places of business. As is the established pattern, the employer rushed to the courts to get an injunction against the union. Upon hearing the case the Judge ruled that no labor dispute existed. He also accused the striking workers of a conspiracy.

This ruling of a conspiracy was first used in the year 1806 against the Philadelphia Boot and Shoe-maker Union. Their crime being that they had organized a union for the purpose of raising their wages.

WATCH-DOG COMMITTEES

At a meeting of the Akron Federation of Labor, Sam Pollock AFL President of Meat Cutters Local 427 called for the establishment of a watch dog committee.

This committee would act as a watch dog of Labor's interests, especially in the use of injunction in strikes. Pollock said, "The committee is needed to bring together the full power of a trade union movement to safeguard the right to strike and peacefully picket."

Pollock went on to say, "Without the right to picket labor has no economic power. . . If we fail to make a fight to establish the right to peaceful picketing, then we are letting the door open to the establishment of the old jungle law of a great deal of violence and racketeering."

Wedge Driven into L. A. Fire Dept. Segregation

By Thelma Clyde

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 17 — Race-hating chief of the Los Angeles Fire Department, John Alderson, is showing what he meant by his promise to begin a gradual transfer of Negro firemen from Jim Crow stations 14 and 30 — with serious consideration for the "welfare of the city as a whole," and "the welfare of the Fire Department as a unit of the city government" taking care that "as little harm

Ex-FBI Agent Heads Attack on Calif. Jobless

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 23 — California employers are waging a ruthless campaign to undermine the State Unemployment Compensation system and to bar thousands of lower paid and temporary workers from its benefits.

This drive to starve the unemployed was launched in the summer of 1953 under a poisonous barrage of slander against California's unemployed. Smoke-screen charges of wholesale chiseling were raised, and an ex-FBI agent, William A. Burkett was hired by an employer group to snoop among the unemployed and uncover some scandals.

The Ex-Secret Police Agent came up with charges that amazed and delighted the employers. He declared that 4 out of 10 claims were fraudulent and that close to \$24,000,000 had been "chiseled" by the unemployed in 1953. No proof of these fantastic charges was offered, nor were the alleged chiselers brought to court where the libelous statements would have to be substantiated.

SLANDER JOBLESS

Gov. Goodwin Knight responded to these outrageous charges by appointing Burkett State Director of Employment. As Director Burkett has proposed 77 Amendments to the State Employment Law. The more important of these would raise the amount of money earned to qualify for benefits; eliminate temporary workers; make it impossible to collect if a worker quits a job; and doubles the penalties on a worker who violates any of the involved rules of the system.

In making these proposals to the legislature, Burkett revealed his personal opinion of the unemployed worker by describing the main San Francisco center as a "Skid Row office."

Aroused by this attack the San Francisco Central Labor Council has demanded that Burkett resign or be fired by Knight. Knight is unlikely to heed this demand unless more pressure than this single action is exerted.

Unfortunately the State AFL declined to entertain motions of censure against Burkett at the State Convention last summer. At that time the state leaders of the AFL were extolling Knight as a "friend of Labor" and urging his election as Governor.

or inconvenience be done to individual members of this department as possible."

John R. Rhetta, 44, a fireman for 17 years, formerly of Station 14, and George Winchester, 37, with the department for 13 years, formerly of Station 30, were transferred to Station 75 in Studio City on Dec. 29 and 30 respectively. This is the first time that Negro firemen have served from the same station as white firemen in Los Angeles. While both men will work from the same station, they will be serving on alternate shifts.

A week following these historic appointments the California Eagle, Los Angeles weekly published by Loren Miller, prominent in L. A. Fire Department fight, revealed that Station 78 in Studio City is "entirely manned with new personnel — the two Negro transfers, plus white firemen who were selected from a 'Spite List' compiled by the chief from those who had indicated their opposition to his racial segregation policies." Changing the entire personnel of a fire station is unprecedented, according to old timers here.

Chief Alderson explained this action to the Board of Fire Commissioners at its Dec. 30 hearing: "We made a specific effort to transfer the men so the colored lads are surrounded by a friendly atmosphere."

According to the California Eagle, "The white transferees

came primarily from a list of those who refused to kick in with two bucks a piece to finance a 'study' of integration in other departments." This "study" was carried out by a Fact Finding Committee of the Firemen's Local. They brought in a report defending the department's 20-year-old Jim Crow policy, and acted as the organizer of anti-integration sentiment among white firemen during the period of greatest tension over the segregation issue last fall.

The California Eagle further reports, "Although some of the firemen (assigned to Station 78) must travel long distances to their work all of them made it plain that they were willing to practice the democracy they preach. Complete harmony reigns at the station and the men believe it will set an example that will prove that the integration the chief feared will work."

Chief Alderson, on the other hand, shows no inclination to make such proof easily come by. In his report to the Fire Commission, he added: "I intend a gradual integration, and according to Webster, that means step by step."

Nevertheless, a step toward integration has been made. Furthermore, it represents partial submission of the Fire Department, as well as the City and State Attorneys, to the pressure from the Negro community, brought to bear in this case through the NAACP and supported by the local Negro press, for an end to segregation in the Los Angeles Fire Department.

From Detroit

WHAT FORD WORKERS THINK OF GAW

Eleven of 15 Ford and GM workers interviewed by the Free Press on Jan. 17 "said they'd be willing to strike for a guaranteed annual wage." But many of the Ford workers were quoted as feeling a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay "might be a better union objective." Ford worker Keith Moore, 34, said he'd strike for GAW, but: "I don't think a guaranteed annual wage would create any more jobs. In fact, with automation coming on, it may eliminate them. A guaranteed annual wage isn't a solution to our problems. I'd much rather fight for a 30-hour week."

Speedup demands at the big Dodge Main Plant are running as high as 100% of established production standards, charge UAW Local 3 president Joe Cheal and vice president C. Pat Quinn. In October company officials agreed to make available to the workers "how they arrived at the production figures they want . . . The company (now) takes the position that we will give

you the information you want sometime in the future but meanwhile raise the production to the amount we want. Some of these fantastic requests for more production have been raised to 100% of the present standards which have been in effect for the past 10 years. This type of 'bargaining' . . . takes place in every department of Dodge Main Plant."

School segregation has to be fought in Michigan as well as the South. In Benton Harbor the school board has revised district boundaries to make one school lily-white and the other all-Negro. Negro parents, protesting this Jim Crow setup with the aid of the NAACP, keep taking their children to the other school, where they are denied admittance.

Officers of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law have written Gov. Williams a letter asking his new administration to introduce legislation to repeal the Trucks Law, which they say is "a needless step to police state rule in Michigan and is of highly questionable constitutionality." Democrat Williams signed the law when it was passed in 1952.

Famous Lockett, 31 year old civilian clerk suspended by the Navy as a "security risk" last November, has been cleared and reinstated to his job with back pay. He was dismissed on an unsupported charge that he joined American Youth for Democracy at Wayne University in 1946. This is the third successful appeal won in the last year by Lockett's lawyer, Charles C. Lockwood, who also represented Lt. Milo Radulovich and Carroll and Ethel McIntyre.

Reuther and the UAW executive board will propose that the Cleveland convention in March amend the union constitution to create two new vice-presidencies. Sentiment among local union presidents is mixed. Some distrust the proposition as a tendency toward further bureaucratization. Others, hoping for a berth on the executive board themselves, don't think it's a bad idea.

The 30th anniversary of Negro History Week will be celebrated in Detroit on Feb. 11 by the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3000 Grand River, with an impressive list of guest speakers: Rev. Robert L. Bradley Jr., minister of the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church; Chester A. Higgins, reporter for the Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier; and George Breitman, former editor of the Militant. Times: 8 P.M. sharp.

The Plight of Juveniles in Delinquent Society

By Joyce Cowley

The Saturday Evening Post has just started The Shame of America, a series of five articles on the investigations conducted by the Senate Committee on Delinquency. The current Colliers features an article by Bill Meuldin, Tenn-Agers — What Gives? In the American Magazine, J. Edgar Hoover tells us what to do about juvenile crime. In recent months hundreds of other newspaper stories, magazine articles and full-length books have asked: "What's wrong with American youth?" It's getting monotonous.

A great many different theories are advanced to explain why youth goes wrong, but experts and amateurs alike are agreed on the cure. Home, church and school can fix things up. A kid is sure to turn out O.K. if you give him a good home, a good education and teach him the fear of God. This fails to explain why many young murderers, dope addicts, sadists and gunmen are well educated, religious kids from good homes.

RELIGION AND DELINQUENCY

Milton Barron, in an interesting book on the subject "The Juvenile in Delinquent Society," points out that far from preventing delinquency, the home, church and school may be major factors in bringing it about.

Religious convictions have not proved much of a check on violent crime. Delinquent teenagers interviewed by social workers were more devout, and attended church more regularly, than non-delinquents. Juvenile gangs are frequently racial or religious groups organized for the purpose of combatting other gangs of a different race or religion.

The prejudices which foster this type of gang conflict are obviously nothing the youngsters themselves dreamed up, and I don't think I have to point out where they got these attitudes of discrimination and intolerance.

What parents expect their children to achieve is also vitally important in the development of delinquent behavior. Parents naturally urge their children to go after the things they themselves wanted and frequently did not get. In this age of high pressure advertising, it's not difficult to figure out what these things are — cars, homes, television sets, deep freezers, fur coats and thousands of other items enticingly offered on the pages of every newspaper and magazine.

A great many young people have no realistic prospect of getting all this stuff. In the face of continuous pressure to acquire some of the highly publicized material advantages of American culture, they may look for short cuts — short cuts suggested by the activities of adults whom they are watching closely.

In school, too, there is an insistent emphasis on competition

and achievement. Kids who have difficulty fitting into the set patterns of our schools are likely to play truant and look for more interesting activities and associates. Habitual truancy is considered an early symptom of delinquency. It is certainly the first emphatic protest against crowded schools, inadequate teachers and the rigid conformity of our educational methods.

SEX PROBLEM

Authorities who write about teen-age crime don't say much about sex. Either they believe this is an age of sex freedom and it's not much of a problem, or they think that such questions arise later when young people reach their early twenties. No adolescent subjected to the high-grade erotic stimulation of our mass entertainment media could avoid an early consciousness of sex. This comes naturally, of course — movies, television and comic books merely provide a hopped-up version of sex which exerts a continuous pressure resembling the appeal of advertisers to buy unobtainable merchandise. The adolescent's normal interest in this subject is aggravated while no satisfactory outlet is offered. In spite of Kinsey and a lot of talk about freedom, this situation hasn't changed much since the Victorian age. A teen-ager, as he reaches physical maturity, is not in a position to marry and activities regarded as normal for

adults are a serious crime at the teen-age level.

A few months ago two youngsters 15 and 16, who wanted to marry but couldn't get their parents' consent, ran away from home. They were discovered in an upstate hotel and arrested as juvenile delinquents. This could mean a sentence of several years in a reform school. Kinsey pointed out that most of the famous lovers of history were teen-agers who would wind up behind bars in modern America.

The toughest problem that an adolescent faces in our society is his indeterminate age status. He's no longer a child but he's not an adult. He is held responsible for his actions, he can be drafted into the army or sent to the electric chair, but he can't vote and is not entitled to most of the privileges of adults. What kids are trying to do is grow up. Consequently they model their conduct on the adult world they see around them. If this results in murder, rape, dope addiction, sadism, sex perversion and other undesirable forms of behavior, it's a pretty accurate picture of what they see.

When apologists for our present social system, who are trying to pass off wars, depressions, racial antagonism and the witch hunt as a normal democratic culture, wonder what's happened to our young people, I feel like asking — what the hell did they expect?