

Reuther Voices Alarm at Defense Plant Witch Hunt

By Myra Tanner

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

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

ANTI-UNION WEAPON
"Even as limited, however," Reuther reported to the CIO, "many employees will find the questionnaire impossible to fill out and abhorrent in principle. Your officers are also particularly concerned lest the information on these questionnaires come into the hands of employers who might utilize the 'derogatory' information thus gained by them against militant union men."

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

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

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

By Art Sharon

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

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

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

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

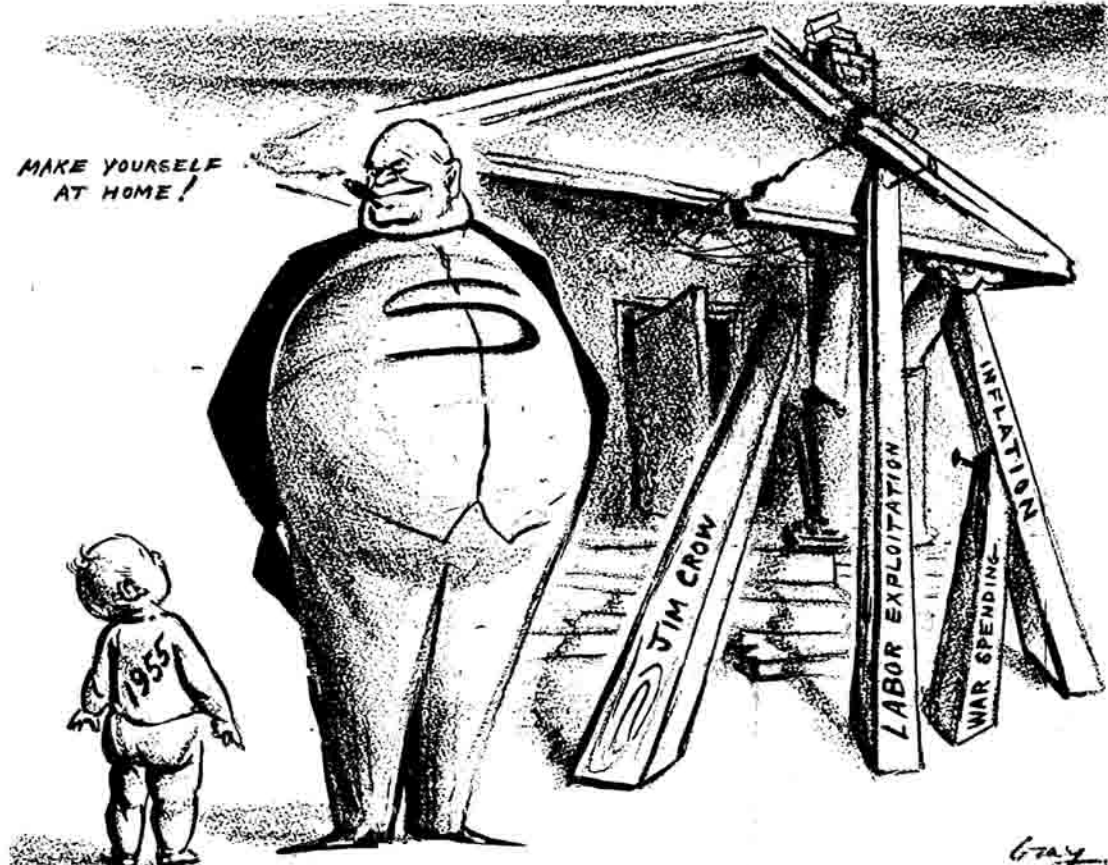
RELY ON THEIR POWER

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

(Continued on page 3)

Hammaraskjold Trip Brings China Closer to Entry in UN

The House of Capitalism



Pass Racist Amendment To Junk Miss. Schools

By George Lavan

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

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

MORE AMENDMENTS

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

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

Also passed in the current flood of anti-Negro legislation in the Deep South was another amendment to the Mississippi constitution last November. This may eliminate Negro voting in the state. Of 500,000 Negroes eligible to vote only 22,000 have been able to get registered in Mississippi (in many Mississippi counties the indication of a desire to vote by a Negro is an indication of a desire to be murdered). The new amendment, strictly enforced, can prevent even lawyers and college graduates, who are Negro, from qualifying as voters.

Passage of these amendments in Mississippi shows the effectiveness of the new vigilante groups — the Citizens Committees. These "uptown Ku Klux Klans" campaigned vigorously for the amendments. Thus, the voter qualification amendment, which was defeated at the polls a few years ago, passed by over 4 to 1 this year.

COUNTER MEASURE

The first counter measure to the Citizens Committees' economic

coercion of Negroes favoring school integration was announced Dec. 16 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP informed Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, that it is approaching organizations and individuals about providing credit facilities for Negro businessmen, farmers, homeowners and others who are being denied credit by Mississippi bankers and merchants because of their support of school integration.

This is an excellent step. However, most at the mercy of the Citizens Committees' economic campaign are Negro workers and sharecroppers. Plans should be laid by Negro and labor organizations for economic aid to workers and sharecroppers when necessary thus preventing thousands of Negroes in Mississippi from being starved into silence on the school segregation issue.

Another possible measure, hinted at by the NAACP, is a retaliatory boycott. This would give the Mississippi bankers, merchants and plantation owners, who started the economic reign of terror, a taste of their own medicine.

Will Use A-Bombs In Europe, NATO Council Threatens

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

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

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

The Council announced that its generals would not have authority to use atomic weapons. The order for actual use is left to the heads of the governments; that is, humanitarians like Eisenhower and Churchill.

"50 YEARS"

The decisions taken by the Council do not signify that World War III is just around the corner. As a matter of fact, Eisenhower's declaration Dec. 15 about "50 years" of armed tension, was simply a way of saying that there is no probability of immediate conflict.

In the light of this, the open announcement that the Allied powers intend to use atomic weapons in the war toward which they are heading as a strategic objective, must be taken as a diplomatic threat — Dulles' way of countering the denunciations issued by Moscow over the rearming of Germany. But if it is no more than a counter-threat, so far as the immediate period is concerned, it is a grim warning nevertheless of what to expect if capitalism is not replaced by the only system that can guarantee enduring peace; that is, the scientifically planned order of socialism.

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

By Joseph Hansen

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

Tokyo Seeks China Trade

Plans to send a top-level, government-sponsored trade delegation to China were announced in Japan Dec. 18. The delegation is to be headed by Shozo Murata, president of an amalgamation of several Japanese business syndicates formed the past month.

Murata is not a leftist. In fact his outlook would stand the scrutiny of the National Association of Manufacturers. He is an old-time Japanese shipping company president, a former ambassador to the Philippines during the Japanese occupation, and adviser to the Japanese Army Command in the Philippines, a Class-A war criminal, and more recently a top-level adviser to the Yoshida administration.

The announcement of the Japanese effort to normalize relations with China followed a foreign-policy statement Dec. 12 by Foreign Minister Shigemitsu indicating willingness to resume full-scale trade with the Soviet bloc if it would not prejudice Japanese-American relations.

Moscow responded Dec. 14 with a special broadcast beamed to Japan, welcoming the statement and promising that there would be no pressure from the Kremlin to disrupt relations between Tokyo and Washington.

Earlier this year, advocacy by the Yoshida government of recognition of China was denounced by the Eisenhower administration. The current move was met by silence, indicating State Department approval.

A reactionary Japanese spokesman reportedly declared that it is expected the U.S. will drop present trade restrictions with the Soviet bloc as it moves towards "coexistence," that China will be recognized "within the next two or three years," and that Japan wants to be in on the "ground floor" when this happens.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The imprisonment of U.S. airmen by China contrasts with the Kremlin's recent release of Allied prisoners and hostages, the latest being Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary. These concessions reflect Moscow's desire to win "coexistence" through appeasement of Wall Street as much as possible.

Mazey Explains Why He Joined the "Elders"

By Murry Weiss

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

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

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

WHY NO LABOR PARTY

Mazey's stated reason for opposing Quill's moderate proposal for steps in the direction of a Labor Party was: "I don't believe, despite the maturity and the progress we have made, that we have done sufficient planting and harrowing and harvesting to be able to launch a political party of our own at the present time."

But Quill wasn't proposing a Labor Party right now. Actually Quill was merely proposing an orientation, a policy, heading towards a Labor Party: "I am not talking about a political party that would nominate its own candidate for President," said Quill, "but I am talking about a party that would be strong enough to

have something to say about that nomination." He even scaled this down: "If we are not ready for a national Labor Party in this country, then we should at least give consideration to forming Labor Parties in the states throughout this country where it is impossible for us to walk with the existing Democratic Party."

But Mazey wouldn't even associate himself with this limited proposal to merely "give consideration" to such state Labor Party organization.

EMBARRASSED

Now why was Mazey embarrassed by his convention speech? The reason is that he has no logical or principled basis for not supporting Quill's proposal. He had no basis for abandoning his longstanding advocacy of an independent Labor Party in the first place. If Mazey felt that now is not the moment to take a particular action for the principle of independent class politics, why didn't he say so openly, state

the reasons — and not be "embarrassed"? But it is not a question of timing and tactics. It is a question of working class principles.

The truth is that Mazey has abandoned the militancy and class struggle policies he advocated in his "youth." He has capitulated to the "elders" — the stodgy, conservative, self-serving capitalist-minded labor bureaucracy which today rules the CIO.

Mazey is a tragic symbol of what happened to the whole generation of trade union militants who rose up in the Thirties. They were softened by the life and habits of trade union officials in a period of drawn-out capitalist war prosperity and this made them easy marks for the poison class-collaboration politics peddled by the Social Democrats and Stalinists.

Mazey is a more tragic figure than some of the others because his militant class-struggle position was maintained for a longer period. During World War II, he

led the fight against the no-strike pledge at the 1943 UAW-CIO convention and introduced a resolution for a Labor Party. Later as a sergeant in the U.S. Army Mazey was elected by a delegated convention, representing 139,000 rank and file troops in Manila, to membership on the top central committee which headed a giant "Go home" demonstration. Thus Mazey in action opposed capitalism in war and peace. He refused to become a creature of Wall Street's foreign policy either at home or abroad.

AN ELDER

All that is gone. Mazey is now one of the "elders." He has seen the light and become a labor statesman. He supports American capitalism in its foreign policy, and he serves it domestically. Advocacy of a Labor Party can now be filed by Mazey in his folder marked, "My Youthful Follies."

There is a lot of "planting"



MAZEY

Washington, Moscow Indicate Deal Dividing World in Power Spheres

EISENHOWER

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

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



MALENKOV

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

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

"among young people, and to a lesser extent among old people and women," and of more of the same ahead. Neither the young nor the aged are slighted; neither males nor females.

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

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

Take the chief hired man — pardon! — chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce one

By labor, perhaps? Hardly. For the workers, 1954 was marked by the continuation of the Eisen-

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

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

McCarthyite Movement Checked; Trend Shown Toward Democrats

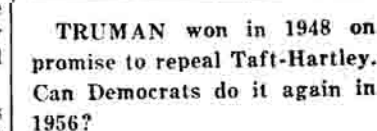
By March, McCarthy had become a detriment to the ruling capitalist circles. Writing in the Militant on March 22 just before the Army-McCarthy hearings Joseph Hansen said: "The calculated attempt to McCarthyize the army forced a section of the capitalist class primarily the Eastern section, to ask itself: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

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

PERSPECTIVE FOR 1956

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

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



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

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

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

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

The defensive nature of labor's



But the Democrats — liberals included — showed their colors when they voted for the Communist control Act last August. One-third of the Democratic majority in Congress is composed of representatives of the Jim Crow open shop Southern capitalists. The next year will not bring a solution to the problems of the labor movement through support of the Democratic Party.

However, all indications point to the determination of the workers to make a decisive attempt to realize their objectives through the road of a Labor-Democratic coalition. Meanwhile, every new experience in the class struggle will supply fresh evidence of the hopelessness of this course and the need to turn to independent working class politics.

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

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Velde Group Hits Avowed Fascists

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

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

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

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

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

lution on "The Capitalist Witch Hunt" Feb. 1950:

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

"Under conditions of a capitalist regime," Trotsky once wrote, "all curtailment of political rights and freedoms, no matter against whom they may be originally directed, in the end inevitably fall with all their weight on the working class — especially on its most advanced elements."

"Class-conscious workers should not fall into the trap of demanding infringement of anyone's civil rights, including those of the fascists. At the same time they should recognize the real situation and make it plain to others. The civil rights of the fascists is not being threatened; the authorities are in league with them. They are in no danger of persecution or need of defense. They are not the victims but the sponsors and beneficiaries of the current repressions."

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

Eisenhower and "Right to Work" Laws

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

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

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

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

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

But there is an important political reason

why Eisenhower doesn't want to weaken the union-busting, white-supremacist Democratic South. It is one of the firmest pillars of Big Business political rule in the U.S. today, precisely because of the role the Southerners play in the Democratic Party. That is the party to which the labor movement is attached. It is the party of New Deal reform demagoguery. The Southern Democrats provide one of the main safety devices for keeping the Labor-Democratic Party coalition safely in line for Big Business.

Some 12 to 15 states have kept down the electorate to as little as six per cent of the adult population. The unions exercise virtually no influence on their politics. The employers and their agents rule without need of making concessions to the workers.

These states name nearly one-third of the U.S. Senators — a majority of the Democratic side of the Senate. In the 84th Congress their representatives will control the key committee posts in both houses.

Eisenhower, a faithful Wall Street servant, knows that although Big Business prefers to rule openly through the Republican Party it now has to adapt itself to a revival of the Labor-Democratic Party coalition. Should the labor movement make big headway in the South, this would blow up the whole present political structure in the country. By knocking down one of Big Business' most important political props it would force an entire political realignment in the country. The workers and farmers would take huge strides forward toward building a political party of their own.

That is why Eisenhower sets partisan considerations aside and, like the Democratic bosses, does nothing to undermine the stability of the Southern Democrats.

"Made in Germany"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I can see nothing but a Volkswagen in the Cuban motorist's future."

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

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

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

"Thrill-Killers" of the "Silent" Generation

By Joyce Cowley

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

The startling case of the four Brooklyn boys who killed for the fun of it shocked many people into an awareness of the profound crisis of young people today.

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

The trial itself was a legal absurdity which certainly did not

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

AVOID MAIN ISSUE

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

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

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

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

WHAT NOW?

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

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

satisfactory "adjustment" to society.

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

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

"SILENT GENERATION"

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

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

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

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

Witch Hunt Victim



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

World Events

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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How Rough and Tough Must Red-Catchers Be?

By Patricia Stall

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

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

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

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

"If this sort of thing is allowed to continue, if whispered evidence, anonymous charges and secret witnesses are accepted at face value, then neither your own reputation nor any other man's is secure in the United States."

Three cheers to that statement! But why isn't such a fine sentiment put to work when newspapers report "facts" about labor disputes? Why did every paper in Detroit hurl the accusation "Red-inspired strike" at the Square D workers when the slightest investigation would have proven the simple fact that the Square D workers were fighting to keep their union, not trying to take over the country for Moscow?

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

REAL CRIMINALS

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

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

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

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

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

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

... ILA Contract

(Continued from page 1)

work. But the dockers see these in their true light as legal reflections of their own day-to-day pressure and struggle.

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

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

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

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

New Orleans Story

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No Problems, He Says!

By Roy Gale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Democrats Cook Up Plans



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

Detainees Still Kept in Prison

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

N.Y. State CIO Insists Harriman Keep Pledges

By Carl Goodman

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

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

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

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

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

ANGRY AT DEMO BOSSES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Buffalo Students Weigh 'Leftism'

By A. Ritchie

BUFFALO, Dec. 15 — A meeting at the State Teachers College here last week, called by the Student Congress to discuss "Leftist attitudes as they affect our campus,"

marked a break in the long political silence among students locally and indicated growth of resistance to the witch hunt. The meeting was attended by 70 students and members of the faculty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K. R.
Scranton, Penna.

10-Year Old English Girl Wants Pen Pal

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

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

Aileen Shaw
Nottingham, England

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

Our Readers Take the Floor

Lieutenant Defies Army's Witch Hunt

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

SUBJECT: DD Form 98, Loyalty Certificate
FROM: Thomas J. Barrett, 2nd Lt. Infantry USAR
TO: Headquarters Washington Military District, Fort Lawton, Washington

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Workers' Views on Election Results

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

Nottingham, England