

My Life In Stalin's Prison Camps

By Brigitte Gerland

(The author of the following series is a German writer who joined the Communist Party in the Soviet zone of East Germany, became disillusioned with Stalinism, and was sentenced by Moscow's secret police to 15 years imprisonment on a trumped up charge of being a "British spy." She was released in Malenkov's general amnesty in December 1953 after spending some eight years in Stalin's concentration camps, six of them in the Arctic Circle. The series has been translated from the French text published by La Verite, official newspaper of the Internationalist Communist Party, French section of The Fourth International. — Ed.)

Among the many widely spread and accepted legends about the Stalinist system is the legend, offered as beyond challenge, that forced labor is indispensable for the existence of the Soviet order. Repentant admirers, ex-enthusiastic friends of the USSR and ex-fellow travellers of all shades continue to pretend that Soviet economic successes couldn't have been achieved without resorting to labor at "bargain rates," in short, forced labor. From these false premises, an equally false conclusion is then drawn. The defenders of this notion, that forced labor is an alleged necessity, claim in effect that the mass arrests in the Soviet Union arise as a response to economic considerations; and that the MVD (secret police) is nothing more than an executive organ for the direction of the plan.

In the course of many discussions with "free world" politicians, I have been able to gather that they view the matter approximately as follows: There is a project to build a new canal, say in Turkestan; thereupon the Ministry in charge issues a directive to the MVD to supply forthwith,

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Western Powers Fear Asian-African Parley

By Art Preis

Although the U.S. State Department has been keeping mum about the momentous Asia-Africa Conference scheduled for the end of April in Indonesia, Wall Street's government is undoubtedly greatly perturbed about the forthcoming gathering called by the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon. We can expect Washington to make every effort to torpedo this unprecedented conference, to which 30 non-Western nations have been invited, including the governments of China and North Vietnam.

A hint of the real feelings of the American imperialists toward the Asia-Africa Conference is given in the Jan. 8 Business Week's "International Outlook" column, which reveals: "Despite official silence, Washington and London are in a flurry about the Afro-Asian Conference that the Colombo powers (India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia) have called. Except for South Korea, Formosa and South Africa, all the self-governing governments of Asia, Africa and the Middle East have been invited."

WHAT WALL ST. FEARS

It is conceded that at least 22 of the invited countries will participate. These countries contain well over half the world's population. What do the imperialists fear? "There is no danger that India's Nehru and Burma's U Nu will join in any military arrangement with Peking," admits Business Week. "It looks as though they plan to use the conference to force the Western powers to accept Red China as a member of the United Nations. And they may back this up with a threat to set up an exclusively Asian counterpart of the U.N.—some-

thing that would suit Peking just fine."

The fear of the big capitalist powers is that this conference will strengthen normal, peaceful relations among the people of

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Issue Weird Figures On Jobless

Something weird in employment and unemployment figures has again been cooked up by the Commerce and Labor Department in their latest joint report, covering the period from the second week in Nov. to the second week in Dec., 1954.

On Jan. 7, the two departments issued the "estimate" that civilian employment had dropped 1,043,000 within a month to bring the Dec. total to 60,688,000. This means there were 1,043,000 less people holding jobs than a month previously.

At the same time, the report claims that the number of unemployed also declined — that there were less people out of work although there were less people working. The unemployed were listed at 2,838,000 in Dec. compared to 2,893,000 for the same time in Nov.

Back in June there was a total civilian labor force, according to the government figures, of 65,445,000, including 3,347,000 unemployed. Six months later the total of the labor force is reported as 63,726,000, or a shrinkage of 1,719,000 in half a year. In that same brief period the country's population grew from 162,187,000 to 163,465,000.

Confusing? You bet. And that's what it's supposed to be.

While the Eisenhower administration was claiming a decline in the number of unemployed, it simultaneously admitted an increase in both unemployment compensation payments and initial claims for benefits. On Dec. 25, the number of those receiving benefits was 1,684,000 compared with 1,389,600 on Nov. 6. Initial claims rose from 266,400 on Nov. 6 to 303,500 on Dec. 25 and 388,800 on Jan. 1.

In the old Indian rope trick, the fakir or magician is supposed to make a boy climb a standing rope and disappear when he reaches the top. The government in Washington can do a lot bigger trick than that. It can make millions of unemployed disappear just by writing out a set of figures and issuing them as an "estimate." It can make a couple of million vanish from the labor force faster than you can say "statistics."

An Oklahoman sent postcards inviting people who had voted for Eisenhower to a convention where a "public kicking" would be administered to an animal which has the same name as a part of the human body. The Post Office banned the cards as "filthy and indecent." The sender charges political censorship.

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Eisenhower Message Filled With "New Deal" Demagogogy

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UN Chief in China



United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld (left), accompanied by his personal aide William Ranallo, of New York, is shown in Peking to negotiate for the release of 11 American prisoners held by the Chinese. Ranallo was the only U.S. citizen in the mission. (See editorial on Page 3.)

WIRE FLORIDA GOVERNOR TO SAVE IRVIN'S LIFE!

The United States Supreme Court on Jan. 10 dismissed the appeal of Walter Lee Irvin, framed-up Florida Negro. The death sentence which followed Irvin's conviction by a

prejudiced, lily-white jury will now be carried out unless Florida's Governor can be persuaded to commute his sentence.

The sentencing of Irvin, climax of the "Coveland" or "Little Scottsboro" case, is one of the most barbarous episodes in the long and barbarous history of Jim Crow justice in America.

WHITE MOB VIOLENCE

It began in 1949 when the white supremacists of Groveland, Florida, decided the time had come to teach the Negroes a lesson. The local paper mill workers — mostly Negro — had begun to grumble about wages and working conditions. The pretext came on July 16, 1949. A white woman claimed to have been raped by Negroes. Students of the case have come to the belief that no rape even took place. In subsequent trials the doctor who examined the woman soon after the alleged rape was never called to the stand by the state although the defense repeatedly requested that he testify.

As soon as the alleged rape was reported, white mobs raided the Negro district of town, beat Negroes, burned and looted Negro homes. A deputized mob shot to death one of the young Negroes accused of the crime. When the National Guard finally came to restore order its first act was to deport all Negroes out of town.

PRISONERS SHOT

At the first trial Walter Lee Irvin and Samuel Shepherd were

sentenced to death and a third defendant, because of his extreme youth, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court brought an order for a new trial. Sheriff Willis J. McCall, a notorious racist, undertook to overrule the Supreme Court with his revolver. He shot his two handcuffed prisoners, claiming they were trying to escape. Shepherd died. By a miracle Irvin recovered from his wounds.

A second trial of Irvin promptly brought another death sentence. Then a committee of Florida liberals and clergymen reached a "gentleman's agreement" with both candidates for governor. They agreed that if agitation and publicity about the injustice of the case ceased, whichever candidates was elected would commute Irvin's sentence to life imprisonment. No sooner had election day passed than Acting Governor Charles Johns set the nearest possible date for Irvin's electrocution.

YOU MUST ACT

The recent appeal to the Supreme Court caused the postponing of the execution. Now the Supreme Court has turned Irvin down. He will die unless his sentence is commuted. Send telegrams and letters personally, and have your unions and organizations send telegrams to Governor Leroy Collins, Tallahassee, Florida, demanding that Irving be saved.

DEMOS IN TUG OF WAR ON ANSWER TO SPEECH

By George Lavan

No sooner had the Democratic Senators and Congressmen finished telling reporters that Eisenhower's State of the Union message "wasn't bad," was in fact rather "New Dealish," than the Democratic National Committee feverishly got out a "confidential" analysis of the message criticizing it from all angles save those of the labor movement and the Negro people.

These contradictory reactions to the presidential program reflect the division in the Democratic Party between the South-erners, who now control Congress and who dictated the first reactions to the message, and the Democratic National Committee which is controlled by the Stevenson forces. The National Committee wants the Democrats in Congress to open up on the Eisenhower administration now so that by 1956 the voters will be in the right mood and the Democratic Party will have sufficient campaign issues.

DEMOCRATS' DILEMMA

The kind of statements that the Democrats on Capitol Hill issued at first — that Eisenhower was merely repeating things Truman had proposed — might convince people that Eisenhower isn't very original. But they aren't calculated to convince people that Eisenhower is a reactionary who has to be voted out of office. And it is this conviction that the Democratic Party must inculcate if it hopes to get out a massive working-class and lower middle-class vote in November 1956.

Republican strategists are aware of this problem facing the Democratic high command. That is why Eisenhower's program called for token legislation on a number of social issues — min-



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imum wage, social security, housing, health, etc. This puts the Democrats in a dilemma. After all, their highly-touted Fair Deal only consisted of similar token social legislation plus a lot of liberal talk. Hence their first statements that "Eisenhower has stolen our thunder."

DIFFERENT INTERESTS

It isn't that the National Committee Democrats are more far-sighted than the Southern leaders. They have different interests and so have different policies. There now is a struggle in Democratic top circles over whose policy shall prevail.

The National Committee went over the Southern leadership's head by sending its criticism of the Eisenhower message to each Democratic member of Congress. Had it been just a matter of "correcting" short-sighted statements, the National Committee could have done this by conferring with Rayburn of Texas, Democratic chief in the House, and Johnson of Texas, Democratic chief in the Senate.

CRITICISM FALLS

The Democratic National Committee's criticism of Eisenhower's message is detailed but it doesn't stand up from a labor point of view.

Point 1 is a criticism from a right-wing, militaristic position. It attacks Eisenhower "for cutting back U.S. armed strength." Then Point 6 attacks Eisenhower for keeping the military budget

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Follows Truman's Technique

By Joseph Keller

Eisenhower's "State of Union" message to Congress on Jan. 6 caused leading Democrats to insist that he was stealing their thunder. "On domestic matters, most of it might well be termed New Dealish," opined Rep. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, Democratic floor leader in the House. Senate Democratic whip Earl C. Clements of Kentucky said: "I am glad to see him (the President) embracing so many things that the Democrats have so long stood for..."

These leading Democrats in Congress were very likely unaware that what they intended as a grudging compliment to Eisenhower's proposals was a devastating commentary on their own program. If professional militarist Eisenhower, the hand-picked top political executive of America's most powerful financial circles, can advance a "New Dealish" program, we can conclude that the benefits offered by the Democratic program must indeed be paltry.

HEEDS POLITICAL SIGNS

The observations of Rep. McCormack and Sen. Clements are correct, of course. Eisenhower's message, in its general tone, the direction of its appeal and the type of its proposals, bore a rather startling resemblance to the sort of "State of the Union" message Truman used to deliver. This was deliberate and calculated.

Eisenhower's Republican advisers have not failed to heed the political weather signs. They have correctly observed that the political wind, as indicated by last November's election, is blowing in a more liberal direction. The more astute Republicans realize they can ride with that wind as well as the Democrats. Cheap social demagoguery really costs them nothing and may win them control of the White House again in 1956.

IMITATES TRUMAN

It is illuminating to examine the points of resemblance between Eisenhower's new message and Truman's last "peacetime" message in Jan., 1950.

Truman then boasted that the country had "met and reversed the first significant downturn in economic activity since the war" and promised that by the year 2000 A.D., through his program, the average American family would enjoy an annual income of \$12,000.

Eisenhower likewise boasts that the "economic outlook is good" and that "the transition to a peacetime economy" which had "brought unemployment and other difficulties to various localities" is now "largely behind us." The Republican President also offers "pie in the sky" — not 50 years but 10 years hence — in his prediction of a rise in the annual national output "within a decade, from its present level of about 360 billion to 500 billion, measured in dollars of stable buying power."

STRESS ON MILITARISM

In the meantime, however, like Truman, Eisenhower puts his chief emphasis on "the maintenance of our military strength." Truman in 1950 admitted that the "dominant factor in our fiscal policy" was war spending to the tune of 70 cents out of every federal tax dollar. Eisenhower devoted the first third of his message to the need for sustained arms spending of similar proportions which would preclude any cut in taxes.

The Republican press in 1950 dealt in a friendly and condescending fashion with the mild social legislative proposals made by Truman. A Scripps-Howard

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Eisenhower Chips Away at McKinley's Ramparts

By Joseph Hansen

Eisenhower's request to Congress Jan. 10 for new power to reduce foreign trade barriers is strangely out of keeping with the traditional position of the titular head of the Republican Party. Since the days of McKinley, a high tariff has been one of the fetishes of the GOP. To this day the right-wing considers a stiff duty on imports one of the elixirs of business.

Moreover, the implication of a turn toward free trade is that it will eventually include the Soviet bloc. How is that to be squared with the economic blockade that was a major feature of Truman's cold war and Dulles' even more bellicose doctrine of "massive retaliation"?

Eisenhower himself indicated the reasons for his unorthodox position in the message he sent to Congress: "The whole free world needs capital; America is its largest source. In that light, the flow of capital abroad from our country must be stimulated and in such a manner that it results in investment largely by individual or private enterprises

rather than by government. . . . It must be recognized, however, that when American private capital moves abroad, it properly expects to bring home its fair reward. . . . This authority would permit negotiations for reductions in those barriers that now limit the markets for our goods throughout the world."

That is the voice of the executive committee of the capitalist class, demanding that the particular interests of this or that manufacturer or section of the class be subordinated to the general interest of the class as a whole.

American imperialism will drown in its own capital if it does not succeed in opening up new fields for foreign investment. It will be buried in the goods it is capable of producing if it does not find fresh areas to dump them abroad. Eisenhower is asking for the power to act, and all indications are that he will get that power.

NO RETREAT

The turn toward the doctrine of free trade should not be interpreted as a retreat in foreign

policy so far as Wall Street is concerned. It is a registration in the world market of the enormous predominance of American capitalism.

England, too, was a high tariff country during the ascendancy of capitalism in the 17th and 18th centuries. When England emerged as the world's most powerful capitalist country with the defeat of Napoleon, a shift began toward free trade. By 1860 the last barriers were gone and for more than a half century she was "the stronghold of free trade," as the Encyclopedia Britannica puts it. "The system was suited to her industrial development during the period," says the same source, "enabling her manufacturers to develop at an extraordinary rate, while foot stuffs and raw materials were imported in ever increasing volume."

After World War I when it became clear to British capitalists that they had definitively lost world supremacy to their American cousins, they abandoned free trade. There could be no clearer admission that Britain's productive capacity could no

longer meet international competition without government protection.

"FOREIGN POLICY"

American capitalism long ago passed the stage where tariffs could play any role in accelerating its development. They have in effect retarded it. Now they are an embarrassing and even dangerous obstacle. How can Wall Street consistently demand that other countries lower their trade barriers to admit American goods on a competitive basis while McKinley's ramparts still stand?

As the authoritative N. Y. Times declared Jan. 10 in commenting on the need for Republicans and Democrats to rise above partisanship on this issue: "Tariff reform . . . is actually part of our foreign policy. The time has passed when our trade system could safely be left to haggling among groups of special interests. Now trade is one of the factors of survival."

In relation to the Soviet bloc, a number of restrictions on trade imposed by the State Department have already been lifted. It is

true that up to now the easing of restrictions has primarily affected the capitalist satellites of the dollar empire. However, if a West German or French or British concern is to be permitted to profit from trade with the Soviet bloc why should a good, loyal American concern be denied the same privilege? Even more, isn't it in the interests of American capitalism to engage the enemy directly on the trade front?

BOAT MISSED?

In the Dec. 30 Manchester Guardian Weekly, Ernest Thornton, a member of British parliament who recently visited China, says "it may be that we have 'missed the boat' by the whole course of forcing the Mao regime into Moscow's arms."

He reports that 75% of China's foreign trade today is with the Soviet Union and the Iron Curtain countries. Production "has easily reached an all-time record." And this "rehabilitation and expansion, perhaps one of the most spectacular the world has seen, has been achieved under conditions of trade embar-

goes by the Western world — without the participation of British, American, or German capital or 'know-how.' Is not this a matter of real significance at the commencement of the second half of the twentieth century? I am left with the thought that this successful effort towards industrialization of China, in the face of Western hostility, will have greater political repercussions on the rest of Asia than any Communist subversive activities."

Particularly alarming to Thornton was the enthusiasm for the Mao regime he noted among the "capitalist managers of so-called joint private-State factories." How, in any earthly way, does the economic blockade of China serve to draw these elements back into the orbit of Washington and London?

In view of Wall Street's decision to postpone a military effort to smash the Mao regime, it would seem that the motives for a different form of attack are powerful. These can be summed up under the banner of free trade which Eisenhower is cautiously lifting over the State Department.

The American Way of Life

Five Days in Jail

Recently Ammon Hennacy, an associate editor of the Catholic Worker and author of the "Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist," was sentenced to five days in a New York City jail. Hennacy has been fighting a freedom-of-the-press fight on East 43rd St. in Manhattan where police have been trying to prevent his selling the Catholic Worker. Although the law requires no license to sell newspapers, he was convicted of selling without a license. The American Civil Liberties Union backed his case. Hennacy could have paid a \$10 fine but refused on principle to do so. He is no amateur about jails, having served a sentence in Atlanta as a conscientious objector during World War I. From the December Catholic Worker we have taken the following excerpts of Hennacy's account of his five days in jail:

"Don't go away mad. Just go away." This is the sign as you enter and leave the cell block at Rikers Island, home of 3,500 prisoners of the Department of Correction, New York City. By the most visionary use of the word no one would ever suggest that anyone is ever "corrected" there. For from the time you are told not to smoke by a guard who takes a cigarette out of his mouth to tell you to get in the line until your fingerprint is taken the second time there is nothing but the assembly line of the "count" and the changing of guards and prisoners as different details are formed . . .

"In court groups of four or five came in and the clerk in a singsong manner asked them if they pled guilty to loitering, drinking, panhandling, or whatever the excuse might be for the cops to fill up their wagon. They all nodded and were given ten days, 30 days, etc. Several better dressed men said they had a job to go to and their sentences were suspended. Meanwhile the traffic cops who sold tickets for \$10 which exempted the buyer from a prosecution flourish and the police and the bookies are hand in hand.

"There were 17 of us in one cell. The one vacant place when I entered was next to two Catholic Irishmen who had been rolled and robbed of enough to keep them for several weeks, they said. When they discovered that I had been selling a radical paper they sang 'Don't bite the hand that's feeding you,' and wondered why I did not go back to Russia . . . One aged Jew got ten days for selling pretzels on Wall St. without a license. A fellow prisoner told me he ought to have had sense enough to pay off a cop and be free.

"We jostled in the prison wagon on up to the Tombs which is near the City Hall. I gave my meat

sandwich to my patriotic friend. After a time I was lodged in Lower D 12 with Dan who had bought a bottle of liquor when he cashed his \$55 Lackawanna check and had been rolled. Now he was picking up butts. I offered to buy him a package of cigarettes from the trusty but he said they charged 50 cents after lockup and it was better to buy Bull Durham when the regular wagon came around the next day . . . In the morning my name was called 'For Rikers.' As we lined up in the outside corridor a screw with cigar in his mouth yelled out our names, but his articulation was thus impeded, few could understand what he was saying. It seems he was an educated man for he used seven-lettered words instead of four-lettered ones as he shouted: 'Get in the line, you f---ing bums.'

"Again we were packed in the wagon and jostled to 134th St. where we were not permitted to leave our smoke-filled vehicle for the breeze on the ferry. About 150 of us sat on benches in the big receiving room at Rikers Island and were counted and recounted and finger printed . . . We all stood naked and all body openings were examined supposedly for dope which we might smuggle in.

"My number was 419237 and Emil had the number next to mine. He had done 30 days for drinking and had only been in a few days and by some miracle of police inefficiency only drew five days this time for being caught in a doorway drinking from a bottle. The law in its majesty also does not allow millionaires to stop in Bowery doorways and drink from bottles . . .

"In this dormitory there were single and double cots. I had a top cot, and as is the custom in these modern jails there were no mattresses, only springs and several blankets and sheets. The man on the bottom bunk told of bits he had done and of some of the inside corruption of the police and the payoff that is made to the police generally . . . Guards and trustees hovered over us in the dining hall ready to grab our utensils and make way for the next line of men. Doing time in this workhouse there was never a sign of a clock, but I surmised that we ate our meals in six minutes flat. We marched out and at the door each one deposited his spoon in a box where a screw looked gloomily at us . . . About 75 of us left on the ferry Tuesday morning with the usual seven-lettered word thrown at us by the screw . . .

Aunt Dora's Dog Jesse

By George Flint

For years now I've been coming up against the argument that socialism may sound good but it's not feasible because some people are born evil and human nature can't be changed. I started to feel that

way once myself when I was in the Army. It was because of the way we got bawled out for eating up the sardines.

In North Africa the company had been getting cases of sardines for a long time but we didn't get any forchow. We got tired of unloading those cans only to load them up again all across North Africa. A habit grew among us of ambling over to the kitchen and taking a can of sardines to go with what we called our dog biscuits. They were tasty.

The day the first sergeant discovered the sardines had disappeared he called the company together and gave us a sermon. I'll never forget it. We had violated his moral code and to him we were the lowest of the low. His face showed his contempt for us:

"I'm an old soldier and as any old soldier knows there is nothing wrong with stealing from somebody else's company. But any man who is so low that he steals from his own company!!! If I ever catch the man I'll put him before a firing squad and have him shot 16 times and then have him put in the guard house for 16 years."

The African sun was shining strong and everything looked a little hazy and I kept wondering — who did he remind me of? Who was it that barked that way with his right ear looking like it had been chewed up? Then it came to me. It was my Aunt Dora's dog Jesse.

It's lucky I thought of Jesse. For a moment I had thought

they were right — there's really some personalities born evil, the kind that no society could make human.

The scene when Jesse first arrived at Aunt Dora's in a little box came vividly to my mind. He was only a couple of weeks old and he was christened right off by my cousins. It was the christening that was the making of the dog. They named him out of respect for Jesse James, a hero known to be tough.

Jesse started out as affectionate as any pup, but my cousins would not stand for that. It wasn't in keeping with the character of his namesake. So every time he came up wagging his tail they cuffed him to teach him to behave like Jesse James. And he did. Even when he wasn't hungry he was capable of taking a bite out of anyone around.

Having seen Jesse's development I found it easier to understand why my first sergeant acted the way he did. He wasn't born that way. He was simply trained by the Army.

There's a new generation of young men going into the service who will undoubtedly come up against some first sergeants given to sermonizing like the one I had. They might reach the conclusion that some people are just born rotten and with people like that on earth you'll never be able to make socialism work.

It is to these young men about to get drafted that I wish to offer as an antidote against cynicism the memory of the sad upbringing of my Aunt Dora's dog Jesse.

CP Leaders Railroaded to Prison

By Daniel Roberts

The dictatorial procedure of jailing people in the U.S. merely for the political ideas they express was reinforced Jan. 12 when the government shipped 12 more leaders of the Communist Party to prison. The sentences took effect after the Supreme Court refused 7 to 1 even to review their cases.

The 12 are the second-line leaders convicted two years ago of "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." A thirteenth defendant in the trial, Louis Weinstein, is currently undergoing the ordeal of yet another trial in Washington, D. C. on a trumped-up perjury charge.

The 12 Stalinist leaders will have to serve sentences ranging from one to three years and pay fines ranging from \$2,000 to \$6,000. However, if the witch-

hunters have their way, that will not be the end of their victimization.

For instance, Irving Potash, immediately after completing his prison term under the Smith Act conviction in 1949, was rearrested and indicted under another Smith Act count of "conspiring to overthrow the government." Similar rearrest and new persecution faces all other Smith Act victims, although under the U.S. constitution this would be double jeopardy.

During the trial of the 13, as in all other Smith Act trials, the government based its case on the testimony of perjured witnesses and doctored excerpts from the literature of Marxism.

Contesting the convictions in the courts, civil liberties attorneys showed that the Smith Act and the convictions obtained under it violated the First Amendment of the Constitution. This amendment declares that "Con-

gress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech."

This clear constitutional ban on outlawing the expression of political ideas, was seriously infringed upon a few decades ago by the liberal justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who declared that neither Congress nor the states could curb political expression except in the case of a "clear and present danger" to the government.

This dictum, used not to jail but to free a political prisoner at the time, nevertheless placed a limitation on free thought. At the same time, Holmes sought to place restraints on government thought control. In upholding the Smith Act convictions of the 11 top CP leaders, the Supreme Court in 1951 did away with the "clear and present danger" restraints on the government by the simple expedient of reinterpreting its meaning.

According to the ruling hand-

ed down by Chief Justice Vinson, if the "evil" is "probable" it becomes "grave" enough to permit an invasion of free speech.

Dissenting from the majority opinion, Judge Black favored scrapping even the milder "clear and present danger" infringement as an unwarranted interference with the right of free speech. Justice Black had the right idea, but the witch-hunting majority would not hear of it. Instead they wrote a decision that places no bars whatever on railroadng individuals to prison for "dangerous" ideas.

All told there have been 79 individuals convicted under the Smith Act since its passage in 1940. This includes 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party — the first to be convicted — who were sent to prison by the Roosevelt administration for their socialist opposition to World War II. 49 others are currently under indictment.

Where in all previous Smith Act trials involving the Stalinists, the leaders alone were charged with having "conspired to advocate" the forcible overthrow of the government, the Eisenhower administration is now seeking to make mere membership in the Communist Party a crime. Previously, the Justice Department had maintained that members did not necessarily belong to the "conspiracy."

But in the trial of Claude Lightfoot, executive secretary of the Illinois CP, that began on Jan. 10 in Chicago, the government seeks to establish that every member of the Communist Party is a partner in the "conspiracy." Lightfoot, a Negro, was indicted under another section of the Smith Act which makes it a crime "to become a member or affiliate with" any group that allegedly teaches the violent overthrow of the government.

If Lightfoot is convicted, the government will have a ready instrument for railroadng any dissident to prison. Any militant unionist or fighter against Jim Crow can be indicted for "belonging" to the Communist Party and speedily convicted on the perjured "evidence" of two or three paid informers. The witch-hunters will be able to victimize opponents of thought control in wholesale lots.

This use of the Smith Act can become a major weapon in the witch hunt. It would give legal enactment to the McCarthyite smear method of branding even New Deal liberals as "communists" and sending them to jail.

Will Fast Pace Of Auto Output Last the Year?

A peak rate of production in the automobile industry is being heralded as the beginning of a big boom. But the swift pace set by the auto manufacturers does not mean

that large-scale output will continue steadily through the year.

The industry is piling up cars, for one thing, in the event of a strike following contract negotiations with the CIO United Automobile Workers in the spring. Lewis L. Schellback of Standard and Poors recently predicted that "inventories are likely to be built in anticipation of possible midyear strikes and cost increases . . ."

He foresaw that total production for the year would not average higher than 4% over 1954, but the current big production build-up will "allow for serious labor troubles or, if they are avoided, for a later slackening due to modification of inventory policy with the passing of the strike threat." (N.Y. World-Telegram, Dec. 18.)

OUTPUT VS. SALES

Automobile production, however, is running at a rate of 42% above the 1954 average. The Jan. 10 Wall Street Journal reported that 149,968 cars were produced in the previous week. This is at an annual rate of 7.8 million compared to the 5.5 million last year. No one in his right mind will say that the industry will find a market for 42% more cars this year.

A Dec. 22 Associated Press dispatch from Detroit says: "... the factories are rolling out more (auto) units than the dealers are selling . . . this trend will continue through much of

the three months immediately ahead." Their excuse for slow auto sales is that buyers are unable to make up their minds over the innumerable color combinations.

In order to make 1954 car sales figures appear more impressive, reveals the Jan. 8 Business Week, dealers cut some sharp corners by registering unsold cars. Sales volume of cars is customarily determined through registrations of new cars. But the competition between Chevrolet and Ford "led to a practice called packing, or padding," reports Business Week.

The dealer "takes some of the cars that he does not expect to sell within the year and registers them in his own name, or in those of his salesmen or friends . . . In Boston, dealers are alleged to have registered armadas of cars in the names of fictitious fleet owners."

One morose St. Louis dealer is reported to have said of a competitor: "We know that we out-sold them, but we may have been outregistered."

VIEW WITH CAUTION

All these facts should serve as an alert to the auto workers and to the labor movement generally to view with great caution the current high volume of auto output and not to see in it any guarantee of economic stability and high employment for an extended period.

Behind the Attempted Murder of Paul Hall

By James O'Hara

The recent attempted assassination of Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, climaxes a two-year guerrilla war inside this second largest seamen's union in the country.

Like his rival, Joseph Curran of the CIO National Maritime Union, Hall has led a small group to absolute control of his union. And like Curran's group, this small official family that seemed to have a life-time hold on the union's apparatus has begun to break up.

While it might appear that the internal stress is a result of personal friction, it is actually a reflection of deep-going changes that have taken place inside both the AFL and CIO seamen's movement.

The maritime organizations built up a strong position during the Thirties due to the tremendous surge of rank and file action that physically swept from the waterfront the old leaders and fakers.

The new seamen's unions were democratic outfits that corresponded to the wishes and feelings of the rank and file seamen. The SIU was a small rival of the NMU with dim prospects until the war. Then the influx of thousands of new seamen to man the war-time fleet gave the SIU a great push.

And a new leader elbowed forward to take advantage of the new opportunities. An ex-cheese salesman out of Florida, who had made a few trips to sea, came to New York to start a career that was nearly ended by a sawed-off shotgun the other day.

In the first part of his career, as an aggressive champion against the Stalinist-controlled NMU, Hall had wide support both inside and outside his union. Under his leadership the union made significant gains in membership and influence. As the leader of a young apparatus, his future seemed assured.

When the Stalinists lost the NMU and the Curran gang took over with a program differing little from that of Paul Hall, the latter lost his biggest selling point.

From then on his aggressiveness and initiative on the waterfront brought suspicion and hostility. The climax to his career seemed to come when the AFL General Council appointed him

go-leader with Dave Beck to take over the New York longshoremen. But this was a fight far different from his sorties against the Stalinists on the waterfront. Here he confronted men who had power and were not afraid to use it.

The appointment of Hall, as much as anything else, lost the AFL the confidence of the New York dockers. And for Hall it meant that he earned the hatred of some very determined men on the New York waterfront. This hostility found sympathy inside the SIU among the membership and also in Hall's own official family.

For the first time in Hall's career, he has been seriously opposed in an election of the SIU. One of his close supporters for years, Ray White, SIU Tampa agent, challenged him for the highest post of the union. In the midst of this election contest the assassination attempt was made.

The triggerman is said to have confessed being paid by Ray White with money secured from the IIA leadership. But the entire story is yet to be told. The coming trial of those accused of attempting murder will surely reveal an interesting picture of life inside the official apparatus of the SIU.

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Free for Unemployed

...Democrat Tug of War

(Continued from page 1)

"well above what it was at the height of the Korean fighting."

Point 17 criticizes Eisenhower's proposal for 35,000 public housing units in each of the next two years as hopelessly inadequate "since the 1950 census showed 15 million homes were classified 'substandard.'" The Democrats neglected to state that it was precisely in 1950 that President Truman, by executive order, slashed the public housing program down to the same penny-ante bracket that Eisenhower proposes.

While the Democratic National Committee's 20-point criticism dealt with many points such as farm policy, public power, taxes, postal increases and statehood for Hawaii, it was deafeningly silent on all Eisenhower's proposals concerning labor.

Eisenhower's proposal for a 90-cent minimum wage was not even mentioned, let alone criticized, as inadequate. Similarly with the piddling proposals for Taft-Hartley Law changes, social security extension and national health.

Equally significant was the fact that the analysis was absolutely silent on the lack of any civil rights or FEPC proposals in Eisenhower's program.

The absence of any mention of minimum wage standards and Taft-Hartley revision or repeal

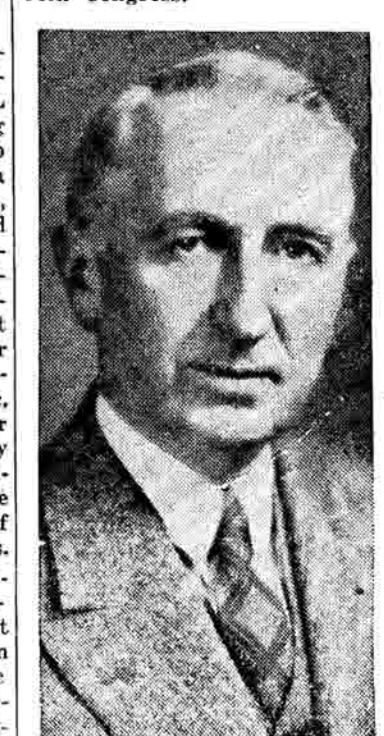
shows that while the Democratic National Committee is at loggerheads with the party's Dixie wing over strategy for the next two years, it is by no means championing the legislative demands of organized labor.

The cowardice of the Democrats on the minimum wage issue is most revealing. Both AFL and CIO have been demanding a \$1.25 minimum wage law. Up to the opening of Congress a number of liberal Democrats, elected with labor backing, had endorsed this demand. When Eisenhower proposed a 90-cent minimum wage, Senator Murray (D-Mont.) timidly suggested it should be upped to \$1. Senator Russell of Georgia, the real power in the Senate Southern bloc, quickly called Murray to order by telling reporters that any proposals for increasing the minimum wage would have to be very carefully studied to see if they would increase farm costs.

Since then the Democratic legislators and the Democratic National Committee have been quiet as clams about the minimum wage. To make the Democratic silence more resounding, reactionary Republican Senator Potter of Michigan has now come out for the \$1 minimum wage.

The silence of the Democratic National Committee on the civil rights and FEPC issues underlines the abject surrender made

by the northern and liberal wing of the party to the South. All the newspapers predict that there will be no attempt to pass any anti-Jim Crow legislation in the 84th Congress.



Sen. Walter F. George (D-Ga.), head of Senate Foreign Relations Comm., said he had no substantial differences with Eisenhower on foreign policy.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Brooklyn NAACP Elects Officers

Editor:

On Jan. 6 the first election in nine years for officers of the Brooklyn NAACP was held at Holy Rosary School Auditorium. It was more than just an election, however, because it represented the climax of a year-long struggle for control of the branch between liberal pro-labor elements on the one hand, and conservative, less liberal forces on the other.

The liberals supported Warren Bunn, CIO organizer of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers Union, for president, and Rev. O. D. Dempsey, youth leader, for vice-president. Conservative interests backed Norman Johnson, lawyer and alleged Republican Party errand boy, for president, and Jerome Myles Paige for vice-president.

Johnson also had the support of the Pioneer Civic Assn. of which he is a member. The "Pioneers" have insinuated themselves into Brooklyn politics during the last five years and have been lately noted for their consistent support of Republican Party candidates in local elections.

During the presidential elections of 1952, Pioneer petitions favoring Republicans running for office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area were conspicuously displayed at the branch, and Republican Party ward heeler were encouraged to meet there. The retiring president, James Powers, also an active member of the Pioneers, vigorously supported Johnson and his slate.

Despite an alliance of Young Adults and older liberal members in support of Bunn, Johnson's supporters were able to squeeze through a majority of 26 votes to take all elective offices and most of the Executive Board seats.

They were successful only because they managed to corral 45 new members just five weeks before the election date, and because many of the old members, disgusted with the tactics and policies of the old leadership, simply did not come out to vote.

(The vote was Warren Bunn, 55; and Norman Johnson, 31.)

Johnson was more than anxious to secure the position of president that carries considerable prestige in the area. Up to the last day, almost, he and his supporters scurried feverishly around town to get their "new" members out. Almost a dozen lawyers, Assistant DAs and detectives, some of whom hadn't seen the inside of the branch in 10 years, hustled themselves inside the hall with their membership cards. Members of Johnson's family, including in-laws, were pressed into service to assure the "people's choice" his majority.

That Bunn had the solid support of the proletarian elements of the branch was indisputable. The only trouble was that they were outnumbered by Johnson's new members.

In spite of their election defeat, Bunn's supporters were optimistic about the future of the branch. Their attitude was summed up by a spokesman for the liberal wing:

"After all, these people (who supported Johnson) came out only because they had a personal interest in seeing him elected. They have no principled interest in advancing the program of the branch, and less than 50% of his supporters will ever be seen at membership meetings — where organizational policy and program are made and voted upon. We controlled the Nominating Committee (which selected Bunn to run) and the Elections Committee (which drew up the ballot) precisely because our people attended membership meetings consistently and in large numbers.

"Johnson and Powers (the former president) may control the Executive Board, but if they don't bring those 26 votes to meetings every first and third Thursday in the month, we'll run them right back across the street to the Pioneer club. What we have to do now is recruit more members from the ranks of organized labor and pro-labor organizations."

R. S. New York

...Eisenhower Speech

(Continued from page 1)

commentator said he had "stuck to his guns on the Fair Deal program — but they weren't very blazing guns." The liberal Democrats might, with equal correctness, say that Eisenhower has done the same thing. He larded his message with promises of legislation to raise the minimum wage, sugar-cane a couple of the more conspicuously anti-labor features of the Taft-Hartley Act, expand public works to take up the slack in employment, aid public education and health services, etc.

Eisenhower could make all these proposals, just as Truman made similar ones before him, knowing that the conservative forces in Congress, both Democratic and Republican, could block them. Truman and Roosevelt were adept in making social demagogic promises that would give them the reputation for being "liberals" and "friends of labor" while well aware that Congress would throw these promises into the waste basket. This was the basis of CIO President Walter Reuther's recent complaint that not a single piece of new social legislation has been passed since 1938. Eisenhower has adopted a bit of the New Deal-Fair Deal technique of demagoguery.

The most outstanding "New Dealish" proposals made by Eisenhower were for an increase in the minimum wage standards from the present 75 cents an hour to 90 cents and for a public work program, including an expanded roads project to cost the federal government about \$2.6 billion annually for the next ten years.

Eisenhower can make the expansive gesture of a "generous" increase of 20% over the present minimum wage because the wage fixed by the previous Democratic administrations and Congress is so low. A 20% increase would bring the minimum wage merely to a level, in purchasing power, of the WPA work-relief wage scale of 50 cents for common labor back in 1936. Even at 90 cents, the minimum would be less than half the average wage actually being paid in this country and would benefit, at best, a mere 1,300,000 wage-earners. Almost half the American wage-earners are not even included under the minimum wage law. Eisenhower played up strong-

ly his public works program, which he said would mean an expenditure of \$12 billion a year. Compared to Roosevelt's much-vaunted public works spending of about \$6 billion in the first four years of the New Deal, when unemployment averaged between 10 and 11 million, Eisenhower might almost seem to be incredibly lavish. But Eisenhower's proposed public works program — much of it military in nature — is only a third of what he proposes to spend for direct war preparations — in the neighborhood of \$35 billion a year.

Nothing in Eisenhower's program, of course, would touch in the slightest the interests of the big money groups. He repeated his intentions to favor the private power moguls in the matter of exploitation of water-power sites and atomic energy. His amputated public low-cost housing program (35,000 units a year) corresponds directly to the demands of the building contractors and real estate corporations.

Nevertheless, Eisenhower's program is couched in terms intended to outflank the Democrats from the left and to invite support of workers and liberals for his re-election in 1956. Thus, John O'Donnell, ultra-reactionary Washington commentator of the N.Y. Daily News, has advised Democrats to "keep to the left" if they want to defeat Eisenhower next time. We do not venture to speculate on the effectiveness of Eisenhower's tactics; but they tend to further confirm the shift in popular sentiment away from the openly anti-labor, witch-hunt, giveaway policies of the Republican administration. Eisenhower has noted the signs and is adapting his tactics accordingly.

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Pensions When You're Dead

The suggestion is being put forward by so-called public health authorities that the retirement age, now fixed by law at 65 years, be changed to 70. This opinion was voiced by Leonard W. Mayo, chairman of the Commission on Chronic Illness founded six years ago by a group of hospital and medical organizations, including the ultra-conservative American Medical Association.

According to Mr. Mayo, retirement should be made on a "selective basis" so that those "who are able, competent and in good health could spend a few more years in a productive capacity." He claims this must be done "in the face of rapidly increasing populations in the Communist nations."

What this proposal would mean is that so long as the employers could grind profits out of elderly workers they would not be permitted to retire on adequate pensions. When they got too feeble they would be weeded out on a "selective basis" and retired on a hunger-level basis.

Mayo claims that "it would seem sensible, if not essential, to review and revise our retirement policies which were established in large part during the depression and in a shrinking rather than an expanding economy."

This argument is false on the face of it. There is no labor shortage in America. On the contrary, since the end of the Korean war there has been what the bosses call a "labor surplus" — unemployment to you and us. Much of this unemployment is in the age range of 45 to 65 — too young for pensions.

The problem is not that the pension age is too low, but that it is too high. Moreover, pensions are generally inadequate to take care of

even elementary needs of the retired aged. The treatment of many of the needy aged in America smells of the Dark Ages.

Thus, Paul Phelan reported in the Jan. 11 New York World-Telegram, that "thousands of sane aged persons in this city have been or will be sent to mental hospitals because there aren't proper facilities or well-trained personnel anywhere else to take care of them. That's the sad, bad, unbelievable situation in the world's richest city."

The stumbling block to removing from "the lives of our helpless aged the specter of being committed to a mental hospital with the searing blight and stigma attached to such surroundings" is "lack of money," according to the New York City authorities whom Phelan interviewed.

Mayo's proposal would permit the employers to squeeze the last ounce of profitable labor out of the aged and reduce to a minimum the number of years during which those in the old-age group can retire on a pension.

Capitalism would deny elderly workers even a few years of rest and retirement at enjoyed leisure. If the aged can be made to produce profits, then work them straight through to the grave; if they become too feeble to work but still persist in clinging to life, send them to the insane asylums.

By eliminating private profit and producing for the benefit of the entire society, the planned economy of socialism will end the barbarous treatment of the aged and make the latter years of life a time for rewarding leisure to pursue the interesting avocations most of us dream of following "some day," but are cheated of under capitalism.

Hammar skjold's Mission to Peking

What did Dag Hammar skjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, take up with Chou En-lai in the four discussions that added up to a solid 13 hours?

When the head of the UN was sent to Peking, he announced that he was empowered only to negotiate for the release of 11 American airmen condemned by the Chinese government as "spies." But the big diplomatic stir his mission created throughout the world indicated that more than that was involved.

A dispatch from Hong Kong, where Hammar skjold stopped on the way back, reports that he was given a set of conditions under which Peking would agree to reconsider the case of the imprisoned airmen. The dispatch also indicated that Chou took up the possibility of admitting China to the United Nations, of helping to ease world tensions, and discussed relaxation of the trade restrictions imposed at present on the world's most populous country.

The well-informed Joseph C. Hirsch, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, indicated that as an "exploratory adventure" the mission was a success. In his opinion it would be no surprise at all if Hammar skjold did not secure the promise of "immediate" release of the airmen. But what was "interesting" and "really surprising" was the series of "long, quiet talks" that turned out to be "useful," to quote the UN's envoy.

The joint declaration of Hammar skjold and Chou that they "hope to be able to continue the contact established in these meetings," was

taken by Hirsch as a further favorable indication that Hammar skjold was not sent back empty-handed.

Whatever the immediate results of the UN's diplomatic move, which was obviously taken on decision of the leading powers that stand behind the UN, the mere fact that Hammar skjold had to fly to Peking constitutes a big victory for the Chinese government. It constitutes de facto recognition of the Mao regime.

In fact it never occurred to anyone to wonder why Hammar skjold did not stop off at Formosa to pay his respects to Chiang Kai-shek who is supposed to be the official government of China — according to State Department legend — and who has a seat in the UN itself.

While Chou graciously received the envoy of Western imperialism and calmly presented to him China's position on the questions at issue, Dulles, the diplomatic chieftain of the mighty Allied coalition was apparently quietly biting his nails in Washington. To queries from reporters, the State Department issued brusque "no comment" statements. That was understandable because Dulles is standing in the shambles of the whole post-war policy of the U.S. toward the revolutionary people of China.

Once again we ask, if on no other grounds than the dignity of America, isn't it about time to recognize the fact that China's 500,000,000 people have dumped Chiang Kai-shek and put a new government in power?

In Stalin's Footsteps

In the choruses of praise to Stalin that appeared in the Soviet press on the 75th anniversary of the hated dictator's birth, an ominous chord was sounded. For the first time since the generalissimo died and Malenkov-Beria-Molotov vowed to carry on in his "footsteps," the press recalled the "blood purges" of the late Thirties.

The sinister reference, which appeared on a wide scale, was associated with the methods by which Stalin maintained the "steel unity" of the Communist Party; that is, periodically decimated its ranks by dragging actual opponents, alleged opponents and potential opponents of the police dictatorship before the firing squads.

The Dec. 21 Pravda carried a six-column editorial that twice lauded Stalin's "service" in ridding the party of heretics.

Twice the word "Trotskyists" was mentioned. This word the most fearsome a Stalinist bureaucrat can utter, has only too often

signaled a new purge when it appeared in the press in contexts similar to the current one. Besides belaboring "Trotskyists," the editorial included "right capitalists," "right opportunists," "bourgeois nationalists," and similar "enemies of the people."

The last time such references were made on a big scale in the Russian Stalinist press was after the "doctors' plot" of January, 1953, when prominent Jewish doctors were accused of conspiring to assassinate a selected list of government figures. The denunciations of "Trotskyists" as on previous occasions, constituted the preparatory build-up for another purge.

That particular purge was by-passed, for the time being at least, because of the sudden death of Stalin. The new regime even admitted the frame-up and, with Beria in charge of the action, purged at least some of the alleged authors of the frame-up. Later Beria himself was purged and his name ripped out of official Stalinist history. Thus Malenkov carried on in Stalin's manner.

As in Stalin's time, the Soviet oligarchy lives in constant fear of the masses they oppress. They fear any oppositional trends that might give birth to a revolutionary socialist party that could restore workers' democracy to the Soviet Union. In the fashion of all dictatorial regimes, their answer is terror and that includes repeated purges of the bureaucracy itself.

The Malenkov regime, when it took over, sought to ease the fear of new purges; and its sycophants, partisans and dupes publicized the change as a big departure from the notorious methods of Stalin.

The character of the prelude for Stalin that filled the press on his birthday indicates that their assurances that Stalinism died with Stalin were somewhat premature to say the least.

A Cynic Admits the Truth About New China

The transformation taking place in China is so great that the American press, which up till now has carried only propaganda stories about how terrible things are there, is reluctantly beginning to give glimpses of the truth.

An example of this appeared in the Jan. 9 N.Y. Times magazine section. James Cameron, an English journalist, writes from China a cynical article, filled with nostalgia for the good

old days, which nevertheless is an impressive account of what the new regime has already accomplished.

Describing the amount of new building in the capital, Cameron says, "The pace of building is, unless you have watched it yourself, unbelievable. The Chinese delegates who went to Geneva returned to find that four new hospitals, six factories and eleven full-scale Ministerial blocks had been laid out, started, completed and inhabited during the time it took them to divide Vietnam."

POSITION OF WOMEN

The new position of women strikes the eye of an old China hand: "The great red Hungarian street-car is driven by a pig-tailed tomboy who a generation ago would have been sold into concubinage..."

"There is the cult of sexual virtue; prostitution was abolished, almost overnight..." The girls were accommodated in a special Reform and Educational Academy and provided with a special badge of which they were inordinately proud.

Cameron describes how the Marriage Reform Law and the emancipation of Chinese women has meant that "love" is now officially encouraged and an atmosphere of "purity" regarding extra-marital sexual relations reigns. If the official encouragement of love and marriage seems odd to westerners it must be remembered that before the Revolution, Chinese young people had no choice of marriage partners and that the women were usually in the position of serfs. Moreover, prostitution and the selling of girl children as concubines was widespread.

The dirtiness of Chinese cities — as of all the insanitary cities

of Asia — used to shock western visitors. As a result of the new government's efforts and the new civic pride and co-operation of the whole population, this has all been changed. Cameron observes: "And the stark facts of the case are that this is indeed so; the place is clean — in a scrupulous and self-conscious and almost unreal way; the place is swept and brushed and dusted, people are forever scuttering about the streets picking up odds and ends, dusting things off, tidying things away..."

Similarly, and as part of the same mystique, the flies have disappeared; this was a by-product of the germ-warfare story...

Cameron relates how in a remote little town he came across a "startling sight," a market place swarming with flies as in the old days. "I marked that down," he says, "as the last outpost of the persecuted flies of China, the refugee center, headquarters of the Free Flies Committee — a sort of biological Formosa."

Another manifestation of the "purity" of the new China is "the cult of honesty." "It appears," says the N.Y. Times article, "to be impossible to get your pocket picked; a hotel room-boy who lifted a cigarette would find himself in the People's Court in half an hour."

RELAXED ATMOSPHERE

Cameron is surprised that the total effect of the new "purity" does not give life a somber, inhibited tone. Rather he finds that "the prevailing atmosphere in the streets of Peking is of relaxation and amusement." Moreover the Chinese, far from being hostile to foreigners, are extremely friendly. He attributes this to the assumption by the Chinese that any foreigners vis-

iting the country are sympathetic to their revolution.

Commenting on the decline of high social life Cameron states: "Outside this, there is legation life. The old Legation Quarter is not what it was (and a good job too, it is generally agreed, when one recalls the bizarre conditions of the past, with guns and garisons on the walls, and a compulsory open space before the quarter and the Gate of Heaven-ly Peace, to provide a field of fire)..."

Thus out of the mouths of people, who, if not enemies of the Chinese Revolution, are certainly not its friends, is emerging a picture of the new China where 500 million people are pulling themselves up by their bootstraps from the mire and backwardness of feudalism and imperialist subjugation.

... Fear Asian Parley

(Continued from page 1)

Asia and Africa and unite them against western exploitation, discrimination and domination.

On the other hand, the U.S., Britain and France, world's major imperialist powers, have called their own conference of the eight Manila. Pact governments aligned in the so-called South East Asia Treaty Organization. This conference will be held in February. What is its main purpose? Business Week reports: "How to coordinate Western military strength in Southeast Asia, something that was left in the air at the Manila conference last September."

The contrast of objectives of the two conferences is glaring. Western imperialism, which has no right in Asia or Africa to begin with, is conducting an ominous war conference. It is claiming, however, because its victims of over two centuries of vile colonial slavery are admittedly preparing a peace conference. This is viewed as a "threat."

WILL MEET AS JUDGES

Walter Lippman, who frequently reflects the thinking going on in the highest U.S. ruling circles, calls the Asia-Africa Conference announcement one of the three big stories at the year's end and "probably the biggest of all." In his Jan. 3 syndicate column, Lippman says:

"Let us have no illusions about the fact that the United States and its leading allies in Western Europe are going to be the judged and not the judges at this April conference."

Furthermore, Lippman points out, "There appear to have been two main criteria of non-admission" to the April conference. "One is to be now a satellite or colony of the West. Formosa and Korea are not treated as 'independent governments.' The sec-

ond criterion is not to be of Asian stock, as the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand are not..." What this is, to put it plainly, is the most formidable and ambitious move yet made in this generation to apply the principle of Asia for the Asians."

Well, why shouldn't Asia be for the Asians? Isn't that better than Asia for the Western imperialists? Besides, Lippman brushes aside one important aspect of the conference — it is an African conference, too. It is, in short, a gathering of the colored peoples who want to sweep away rule and exploitation by the white imperialist racists.

U.S. IS VULNERABLE

Since the U.S. and its allies are "on the defensive," Lippman warns, "they had better not lose much time seeing to it that the positions they are going to defend are, in fact, defensible." He adds the admission: "So far as we are concerned, Formosa is the place of greatest vulnerability. It is vulnerable not perhaps because there is danger of war but because of the danger of our finding ourselves isolated from and at odds with the massive sentiment of all of Asia."

"Indeed, it appears that it is being done by the dubious device of secret clauses attached to open treaties."

The imperialist apologists may keep repeating that "old-style colonialism" and "imperialism" are a thing of the past, but what Asian country, newly freed by its own revolutionary struggle from Western control, can believe it is safe from re-enslavement so long as the U.S. protects the counter-revolutionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa? What do philanthropic protestations of "humanitarian intent" mean in the face of such "secret clauses attached to open treaties"?

World Events

NO WAR BEFORE 1960. Leaders of Britain's armed forces consider a major war before 1960 "unlikely," according to a Jan. 10 London dispatch. But if World War III does break out, the first 20 to 30 hours would be "decisive" for the British isles. In that time Britain might lose half her population under an H-bomb attack.

FRENCH ANTI-COLONIAL MEETING BANNED. A meeting planned Dec. 21 to protest the role of French imperialism in Algeria was banned by the Mendes-France government. As crowds of workers appeared at the hall in Paris, they were informed by police that they could not enter. The protest rally was organized by the Libertarian Communist Federation and the Internationalist Communist Party (Trotskyists). The well-known writer Daniel Guerin was to be chairman. A declaration hailing the gathering and protesting French repressive measures in Algeria was sent by Messali Hadj, revolutionary Algerian leader.

TUNISIAN REPRESENTATIVES met with French Premier Mendes-France to negotiate the question of who should control police and other internal agencies in Tunisia. The Tunisian nationalist demand has been for turning complete control over to Tunisia, while Mendes-France wants to maintain French control. In the midst of the negotiations, Saleh ben Youssef, exiled secretary of the nationalist Neo-Destour Party, threw consternation into French imperialist circles by demanding a national army for Tunisia. Speaking from Geneva, Jan. 3, he insisted on the immediate and unconditional transfer of the police, schools and the courts to the control of Tunisians. A N.Y. Times dispatch from Tunis, Jan. 4, said Saleh ben Youssef "Accused the French of using wadswel-words and all kinds of pressure to deprive Tunisian home rule of all its substance." The Times reported that "In French circles the reaction to Mr. ben Youssef's statement was one of exasperation."

YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER Koca Popovic, now in Calcutta with Marshal Tito,

said on Jan. 3 that the charges against Milovan Djilas and Vladimir Dedijer were made "without consultation" with President Tito. Djilas and Dedijer are subject to criminal prosecution because they granted interviews to foreign correspondents criticizing the lack of democracy in the Yugoslav-Communist Party and calling for the right to form an opposition.

WEST GERMAN SHIPYARDS ARE BOOMING AGAIN nine years after the end of World War II. The Korean War is credited with the rapid growth of German shipyards — the only one capable of rapid expansion. In 1953 West German yards turned out 240 vessels for a total of 724,354 gross tons; employed 70,000 persons and had a turnover of about \$310 million. Estimates for 1954 indicate a record 920,000 gross tons. Foreign customers, mostly Panamanian, will buy one third of the tonnage, but it is assumed that the real buyers are the United States, Norway and Greece.

GUATEMALA RECEIVED ITS FIRST "AID" from the U.S. on Dec. 15. This was in the form of an armament shipment to modernize the army.

ITALIAN STALINISTS SNUB Togliatti. Differences among the leaders of the Italian Communist Party became apparent at the fourth conference of the organization Jan. 9 when Pietro Secchia and Luigi Longo publicly indicated their utter boredom at a three-hour speech by the titular leader Palmiro Togliatti, according to the N.Y. Times. Secchia and Longo have long been known as leaders of the more militant sections of the party and are said to be critical over recent losses of membership due to the abandonment of a policy of class-struggle. Secchia twiddled his thumbs during Togliatti's speech and Longo wrote letters. They brought their hands together exactly twice in listless and inaudible applause at the end of the oration. Togliatti indicated his awareness of opposition currents in the party by declaring in his speech that there was no truth in reports that he was becoming addle-brained.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

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The Negro Struggle

By Daniel Roberts

The Triumph of Marian Anderson

Last week the great contralto singer, Marian Anderson, made her debut at the Metropolitan Opera. All the capitalist newspapers hailed it as a great triumph for the Negro people and a sign that American society is solving the Negro question in yet another field.

It was a triumph, but a modest one — one which the Negro people should look at critically, gratified though they rightfully feel at breaking down the absolute barrier that so long excluded their artists from the stage of the Metropolitan Opera. For when Marian Anderson, whom Arturo Toscanini called the greatest voice of the century, was signed as the first Negro artist at the Met, she was given just one minor part for the entire season. She was automatically restricted to a role that portrays a Negro. That is why she only drew the one minor part and was excluded from all the magnificent contralto parts that she could have sung.

There are very few roles in opera that portray Negroes. The only major part I know of is that of Othello for bass voice. So that if the rule is going to be maintained that Ne-

groes can only portray Negroes, there will be very few colored singers — no matter how talented — breaking into top flight opera.

When Marian Anderson was signed for the Metropolitan a few months ago, several commentators likened it to the Brooklyn Dodgers signing up Jackie Robinson in 1948. The difference is that neither the Dodgers nor any other ball club ever decreed that Negroes could only play a certain position. Otherwise there would be even fewer Negroes in major league baseball than there are today.

It is pure prejudice and discrimination to confine colored singers to Negro parts.

In Seattle a small opera company was formed a few years ago on a completely integrated basis. Parts were awarded on the basis of the quality of the voice and musical and dramatic ability without regard to skin color. This resulted in highly satisfactory performances.

Music and opera lovers have only one desire — to hear and see the best performance possible. For my money, I'll take Marian Anderson any day in any role suited to her voice, not the color of her skin.

Two at a Desk

By Joyce Cowley

The schools are crowded now. Almost a million school kids are on part-time shifts. Others are sitting two at a desk in classes so large that the teacher spends half her time just taking attendance. The shortage of schools and teachers has been getting more acute year after year and it's going to be a lot worse. In the next five years, approximately seven and a half million children will be added to the school population.

That's a substantial figure and President Eisenhower apparently feels it's time for some action. After two years of delay, his Committee on Improvement in Education has called an emergency conference. The date of this conference is November 1955!

An impartial chairman has been chosen to head the presidential commission, Neil H. McElroy, a leading soap company executive. McElroy is not waiting until next November to give his opinion on what the federal government should do for schools. His program can be summed up briefly — do nothing. Education, he says, is a problem that the states and cities ought to solve.

An emergency conference to discuss federal aid for schools, to be held in ten months, un-

der the leadership of a man resolutely committed to the idea that federal aid for schools is bad! That's a pretty good example of the kind of action you can expect from government officials who consider the welfare of our children a fifth-rate issue.

President Eisenhower calls juvenile delinquency a proof of parental failure. He blames parents for not living up to their responsibilities but has nothing to say about the failure of our society to provide the schools, housing and health facilities which children need for normal physical growth.

It's not realistic to expect aid for education from Eisenhower or any phony conference that he may call. Working people, whose children are most severely deprived by the shameful neglect of our schools, are the only ones who really want to do something about it.

We can do something about it if we make ourselves heard. Over a hundred years ago the labor movement led the struggle for free public education in America. Today only united action by the unions, the PTA and other parent organizations, can save our schools and force city, state and federal governments to take real emergency action.

Notes from the News

THE CENTRAL STATES DRIVERS COUNCIL, which covers 12 midwest states and the Tulsa, Okla., and Louisville, Ky., area, won a 26-cent-an-hour wage increase. The new rates will be paid in three installments: 10 cents on Feb. 1, 8 cents on Feb. 1, 1956, and 8 cents on Feb. 1, 1957. The new wage scales go to 54,000 long-distance truck drivers.

"ARE YOU PREGNANT LADY?" That question will be asked of all women seeking jobs in Washington, D. C., after Jan. 1, 1955. Labor's Daily reported Dec. 29 that one unemployment compensation official cited the 1954 law which "forbids the payment of unemployment benefits six weeks prior to and six weeks after the expected date of childbirth, and how are we to know unless we ask?"

BUSINESS FAILURES again increased for the third straight year. According to Dun and Bradstreet, 1954 business casualties amounted to 11,220 compared with 9,058 in 1953 and 7,638 in 1952.

ALFRED HASSLER reports in a letter to the Jan. 8 Nation that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has launched a campaign to induce President Eisenhower to make available surplus food for the victims of last summer's record-breaking floods in China. The Fellowship is urging that local Food for China Committees be organized and that no political conditions be attached to the offer.

THE NAACP SENT A TELEGRAM to President Eisenhower Dec. 20 demanding that he investigate and take action to prevent the "undisguised economic intimidation" of Negro businessmen, farmers, and homeowners in Mississippi.

"DON'T TAKE THE BAIT" was the warning sounded by Rowland Jones Jr., president of the American Retail Federation. He spoke before the annual convention of the American Retail Association Executives in New York's Statler Hotel Jan. 10. The "bait" he was talking about was an administration offer of a lower minimum wage for retail stores than the national standard. Retail stores are not now covered by minimum wage laws. Another piece of "bait" that Jones advised his colleagues to reject was the exemption from the requirement to pay time-and-a-half for overtime. He said that retail associations stand in unqualified opposition to any elimination of retailing's exemptions.

THE UNITED STATES WILL PAY JAPAN \$2,000,000 compensation for damages caused by the radioactive fallout from the hydrogen bomb tests conducted at Bikini last March.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has asked Congress to raise postal employees pay rates by 5%. Last year he vetoed a bill that granted this same inadequate raise to postal workers on the grounds that the post office was losing money. He is now seeking to get a boost in letter mail rates to cover the "deficit" that he claims the post office would suffer if pay boosts were granted without hikes in mail rates.

ONE OUT OF EVERY TWO EMPLOYERS violates federal laws covering child labor, minimum wages or overtime according to an investigation made by the U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hours Division, in the New York-New Jersey area.

ONLY 1.3 MILLION WORKERS would get any benefit from Eisenhower's proposal to increase the minimum wage to 90 cents. When the first law was passed in 1938 the minimum wage was pegged at 25 cents. It was increased to 40 cents in 1945 and 75 cents in 1949. Both the AFL and the CIO are demanding \$1.25 an hour.

A FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ORDINANCE was passed in Hamtramck, Mich., last month. Dodge Local 3 of the UAW-CIO sparked the campaign which finally passed the law through. Hamtramck is the fourth Michigan city and the 34th city in the country to outlaw discriminatory employment practices.

SURPLUS FARM PRODUCTS continued to move into government storage at record-breaking rates, according to the Jan. 12 Wall Street Journal. The commodity Credit Corporation now holds \$6.9 billion in surplus products compared to \$5.2 billion on Nov. 30, 1953. The surpluses are moving into storage faster than they can be sold abroad, given away (under present policies), or bartered for strategic material. In an editorial Jan. 12, the Wall Street Journal said: "The disposers would have to run very much faster to stand still." Disposals totaled \$800 million last year but only \$150 million has been distributed free to welfare agencies here and abroad. While food was rotting in the warehouses nearly 1.5 million workers used up all their unemployment benefits.

NEARLY 6.6 MILLION WORKERS collected one or more unemployment compensation benefit checks during 1954 according to Jan. 5 Labor's Daily. An average of 1.6 million workers received payments each week.

IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, A NEGRO MINISTER, the Rev. William Holmes, delivered the eulogy at the last rites for William H. Crawford, a white CIO leader. It was Crawford's request that Rev. Holmes speak at his funeral.

THE LABOR DEPARTMENT reported on Dec. 29 that 1954 was "one of the most tranquil years in post World War II labor-management relations." A survey showed an estimated 3,450 strikes started in 1954 compared to 5,117 in 1952. The strikes involved 1,500,000 workers for an estimated 22,000,000 man days, the smallest number since the end of the War. 1946 was the post-war high when 4,600,000 workers were on strike and 116,000,000 man days were lost. "1954 saw fewer big strikes than did 1953 and 1952," the report said.

A LICENSE TO SELL PIANOS was denied a young music teacher in Washington, D. C. because he had pleaded the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee, (reported in IF Stone's Weekly.)

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McCarthy in Final Hearing



Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.) smirks as he conducts his final hearing in Washington as head of the Senate investigating subcommittee. McCarthy, aided by Democratic Senator McClellan, interrogated a number of industrial workers on their political views and threatened to have them fired. Lawrence Parrish (right) of Quincy, Mass., who was fired from Bethlehem Steel Corp. after a previous appearance, again balked at McCarthy's tricky questions.

"Right-to-Wreck" Laws Scored in AFL Pamphlet

By Walt Newsome

The American Federation of Labor has issued a pamphlet on the misnamed "right-to-work" laws that correctly characterizes them as "right-to-wreck" laws.

Seventeen states now have such union-busting laws on the books and there is a concerted drive on by employers to push through similar ones in more states this year.

The Jan. 4 Wall Street Journal reports that "Businessmen backing the laws are forming a so-called secret organization to promote the laws' passage in the 31 states that still allow 'union security' contracts that make union membership a condition of employment."

The AFL pamphlet says, "These laws are short, simple, and to the point. They contain one basic ingredient . . . they outlaw all forms of union security arrangements worked out in collective bargaining by labor and management. In states with these laws any agreement between workers and their employers under which any worker is required to join a union is illegal."

In the first four years of the Taft-Hartley law, workers voted for the union shop in 46,146 elections covering 5,548,982 men and women. "Over 91 percent of the votes favored the union shop and the negotiation of a union shop clause was authorized in over 97 percent of the cases," says the pamphlet. Those provisions of the Taft-Hartley law providing for union shop elections were repealed in 1951.

Under the "right-to-work" laws, all form of union security — the union shop, maintenance of membership, etc. — are prohibited. "Even though the workers want it . . . Even though the employer is willing to grant it . . . Even though the workers are already union members."

The most Reverend Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Or-

Tresca Memorial Ceremony Held

At noon Jan. 8 the Carlo Tresca Memorial Committee held its annual flower-laying ceremony on the N. Y. street-corner where the beloved editor of the anarchist newspaper, Il Martello, was murdered in 1943.

The ceremony is held not only to honor Tresca's memory but to remind public and police that the case remains unsolved. It also included two short speeches and the reading of a letter by Norman Thomas to the District Attorney urging a re-opening of the investigation. Numerous leads in the case were never adequately followed up by the police.

Why Stalinists Published Those Speeches

By Carl Goodman

The Communist Party leaders in the U.S. have taken on the unenviable task of defending the labor bureaucracy's line of support for the Democratic Party before the more politically advanced workers.

The Jan. 9 issue of the Daily Worker reprints major excerpts from speeches on the question of the labor party delivered at the recent CIO convention by Quill, Mazy and Reuther. In an article, "Why We Publish These Speeches," George Morris, labor editor of the Daily Worker, sets forth the Stalinist position.

"As far as we are concerned there is much in each of the three speeches we agree with and much we don't agree with," Morris declares. "We agree with Reuther that in the next immediate period the stress should be on coalition with other forces within the old parties. But we emphatically reject his view that America is a classless country and will never have a base for a labor party."

Although the Stalinists endorse Reuther's conclusions, they cannot defend Reuther's idea that there are no rigid class lines in the U.S. They don't want to run the risk of cutting themselves off from those workers who are becoming radicalized or are already socialist minded.

These workers know, either from their own experience or from study of Marxist ideas, that in the U.S. as in any other cap-

italist country there are two main classes opposing each other: the workers and the capitalists. They know that the capitalists rule to the workers' detriment. If the Stalinists were to follow Reuther in denying this social fact, they would immediately lose any chance of influencing these vanguard workers.

"We agree with Mazy," Morris says further, "that there is not enough basic support in evidence for a labor party to make its launching now an issue, but that does not preclude education and work towards a labor party possibly even formation of parties in certain states as Quill proposes, or we will never reach the point when conditions for a labor party would be mature."

Here again Morris balances support for the labor bureaucracy's policy of staying with the Democratic Party with a stand designed to appeal to more advanced workers.

WHAT WILL THEY SAY?

Support for the Democrats "does not preclude education and work towards a labor party," says Morris in effect. Doesn't it? What kind of arguments are the Stalinists then going to advance in educating for a labor party?

Are they going to tell the working people that the Democratic Party is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the same Wall Street plunder gang that runs the Republican Party? Are

they going to expose the liberals as reform demagogues who manage the country for the benefit of entrenched wealth when the naked rule of Big Business by the Republicans no longer enjoys popular support? Are they going to educate the working people in the basic Marxist principle that Big Business and the working people have no interests in common?

Are they going to teach that labor can not win and hold its Negro, farmer and middle class allies as long as it is politically subservient to Big Business? That labor needs to act independently in politics if it is to rally these allies? Are they going to explain that it is utopian to expect the working people to take over control of the Democratic Party or even win major influence within it?

These are indispensable arguments — basic principled ones — in demonstrating the need for independent political action by labor. These arguments lead straight to one conclusion: The Democrats are the enemies of labor and labor should be the enemy of the Democratic Party. Any labor leader who endorses that party — or the Republican party — is a traitor to the cause of the working people.

WINDOW DRESSING

When it comes to choosing between support for Reuther-Mazy-Quill's policy of staying with

state, a similar mutilation of the franchise and the ballot is taking place.

"There is now a measure under study by a legislative committee in Lansing which would definitely abridge the rights of the voter. This measure, if enacted, would make it impossible for a minority party to obtain a place on the Michigan ballot."

CAN NOT BE JUSTIFIED

"The absence of minority parties from the ballot can not be justified by any of the reasons given by advocates of the measure. The usual argument is that the expense of including minority parties on the ballot is not justified in view of the small following."

"No party or movement ever started large. Every major party started as a minority. The Mich-

igan electorate cannot form conclusions and arrive at proper decisions unless all sides of important questions are heard and considered.

"The suppression of minorities at the ballot box means the suppression of principles and information that may be vital to the welfare of the American people."

"Restrictions of the ballot, once begun, like restrictions of speech and the press, do not stop with one act. If enacted, this measure could be another deliberate step toward a one party system."

"Thus is the course from political democracy to political autocracy. As much as you oppose abridgement of the press and speech, you should oppose abridgement of political rights of our citizens."

Fight Opened in Detroit To Save Right to Ballot

Labor News

Hard Coal Miners Feel Unemployment

Skidding coal production, especially in the anthracite areas, has upset the "normal" pattern of family life. Wives and daughters of jobless miners are now the main source of family income, "according to the Jan. 8 Business Week. The women have been able to find some employment in the needle trades and textile mills which have moved into mining areas seeking cheap labor. The jobless miner has little chance of finding other employment and is reduced to seeking odd jobs after his unemployment benefits run out.

Anthracite production has been on the skids since 1944 when production reached a peak of 62.1 million tons. In 1950 it had dropped to 43 million tons and since then has slumped to 29.7 million tons in 1953 and an estimated 20 to 22 million tons in 1954.

Supreme Court Takes T-H Case

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to rule on whether the Taft-Hartley Law allows employees to strike without giving 60 days notice when protesting against their employers' unfair practices. The ruling involves Mastro Plastics Corp. and French-American Reeds Mfg. Co., who fired a man for refusing to transfer from the Carpenters Union to Paper Workers. The other employees walked out in protest. Both the NLRB and the Appeals Court ruled that the 60-day "waiting period" did not apply in this case. They also held that a "no-strike" clause in the agreement didn't prohibit the walkout to protest unfair practices on the part of the employer.

To Investigate Kohler Company

The strike-bound Kohler Co. of Kohler, Wis., has agreed to a Senate Labor Committee investigation. Local 833 UAW-CIO, on strike since last April 5, has charged that Kohler Co. maintains an "industrial munitions arsenal," including tear gas, and that the company is using tax rebates to cover losses during the strike. Sen. James E. Murray (D-Mont.) said the Labor Committee, of which he is a member, "will most certainly want to investigate the situation at Kohler" if the union charges are substantiated.

Gain Recognition

Local 1370 of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, won union recognition for 300 workers at Monument Mills, Inc., Housatonic, Mass. Last June the company imposed an 8-cent-an-hour pay cut. This is the first time in the mill's 104-year history that workers have had union protection. Included in the settlement were grievance and seniority procedures and, most important, the restoration of the 8 cents which the company cut from the workers' pay last June.

Win Pay Boost

Pay raises of 35 to 66 cents an hour were gained by seven locals of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, in Philadelphia, Morristown and Chester, Pa., Wilmington, Del., and Camden and Atlantic City, N. J. Nearly 20,000 members will get the pay boosts.

NEW YORK Socialist Forum Will "Coexistence" Bring Lasting Peace?

Speaker:
Daniel Roberts
State Chairman Socialist Workers Party, New Jersey
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