Kutcher's Case Heard by U.S. Appeals Court

THE MILITANT

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Gov't Attorneys Fail to Specify Cause of Firing

By George Lavan

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 11 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran, was in court here yesterday as his long legal battle to regain his job as clerk in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration again reached the second highest court in the land.

Kutcher flew in from Chicago where he is addressing a series of meetings and flew back there to speak at a meeting the same night. The legal battle took place in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals — the court directly below the U.S. Supreme Court. It began at 11:30 A.M. and ended at 1 P.M. Defending Kutcher was the noted civil liberties attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., who also defended him at the recent pension board hearing in this same city.

OPPONENTS AND JUDGES

Opposing Kutcher's appeal for restoration of his job were a Mr. Forman of the Department of Justice and a colleague. Entering the courtroom behind them was a contingent of a dozen Department of Justice lawyers. They sat in a row of chairs ringing the back of the court enclosure proper. Apparently they were there as observers. At the press tables were reporters from the big news syndicates.

Who the judges would be was not known since it is the practice of the Court of Appeals not to divulge their names in advance. Since there are about two dozen judges on the panel of this court there can be wide variations of outlook in the sets of three chosen to hear cases.

Finally, order was called in the court and Judges E. Barrett Prettyman, Wilbur K. Miller and John A. Danaher filed in and took their places on the bench. Washington observers consider the composition of this particular panel of judges to be quite conservative.

THE ARGUMENT BEGINS

Joseph L. Rauh began the oral argument on the appeal by stating that "the appellant [Kutcher], joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and continued in membership through the war and while an employe of the Veterans Administration, as he has proudly affirmed, and as he sits here in this courtroom today."

He further pointed out that "the charges against him now are identical with what they were the last time when the case was before you." At this point the judges indicated that they remem-

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Chicago Meeting And Union Locals Hear Legless Vet

FEB. 15 — James Kutcher returned yesterday to New York after a week's visit to Chicago, interrupted one day for a flight to Washington, D. C., for a hearing on his job case.

The big event in Kutcher's Chicago stay was a mass meeting held, Feb. 10, at the Hamilton Hotel. The meeting was attended by about 125 people. The principal speakers in addition to Kutcher were: Robert Hunt, a national officer of the American Veterans Committee who chaired the meeting; Kenneth Douty, Ill., Director of the American Civil Liberties Union and Sidney Lens, an official of the United Service Employes Union.

The audience generously contributed $110 in the collection toward the expenses of Kutcher's long legal battle for his civil liberties. Many in the audience took home with them the interesting autobiography of Kutcher's life: The Case of the Legless Veteran.

UNION MEETINGS

Kutcher also spoke at two Packinghouse local meetings, one a Swift Local and the other composed of Armour workers. These locals unanimously passed resolutions addressed to the Veterans Administration demanding that Kutcher's job be restored. Each local voted $25 contributions to the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee. At both of these meetings Kutcher spoke to a total of about 300 workers.

In addition, Kutcher was given a warm reception by 150 students at Roosevelt College and Chicago University. At Roosevelt the student meeting was sponsored by Students for Democratic Action, a social science club and several other organizations. A stimulating discussion took place at both student gatherings. The students took collections to give the Kutcher case financial help.

Kutcher also spoke to about 50 members of a bible class in a Chicago church who also voted help to Kutcher's fight.

Democratic Party Tops Unite To Do Nothing About Racists

Eastland Incites Mob Violence in Alabama

By Harry Ring

FEB. 15 — Alabama racists are again moving on the legal front to supplement their campaign of terror against the determined anti-segregation drive of the Negro people of that state. Simultaneously the incitement of new mob and terrorist acts was underway. On February 10, Senator Eastland (D-Miss.) exhorted a mob of 10,000 at a White Citizens Council rally on the outskirts of Montgomery to "take the initiative" in defense of "Southern customs." Yesterday a county grand jury was convened in Montgomery to decide if the Negro boycott of Jim Crow buses in that city is "illegal." On the same day the University of Alabama announced it would appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court the Dec. 30 circuit court decision against barring Negroes from the campus.

In his crudely loaded instruction to the Montgomery grand jury, Circuit Judge Eugene Carter asserted: "The essential idea of boycotting . . . is a confederation, generally secret, of many persons whose intent is to injure another by preventing any and all persons from doing business with him through fear of incurring the displeasure, persecution and vengeance of the conspirators."

The judge's definition of a conspiratorial campaign of persecution and vengeance describes perfectly the activities of the White Citizens Council. It is this white-supremacist outfit that inspired the bombings of the homes of two leaders of the boycott movement. It was this same gang that sparked the violent demonstrations at the University of Alabama against the admission of Miss Autherine Lucy. No grand jury action has been announced in either of these violations of the law.

NAACP PRESSES FIGHT

In a continuing effort to break through this conspiracy, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went into Federal Court in Birmingham, Feb. 10, on behalf of Miss Lucy. Her attorneys charged that the officials of Alabama University had deliberately permitted the mob attack on her at the campus as a subterfuge for their decision to bar her. Four other individuals were cited as members of this conspiracy including a leader of the White Citizens Council who has been identified as one of the mob leaders. The Council has already admitted that it was passing out its inflammatory race-hate literature during the outbreak.

At the same time Miss Lucy moved to secure an order compelling the University to provide her with dormitory facilities and use of the campus dining hall.

In a hypocritical denial of the charges, the university officials attempted to shift the blame for the attack on Miss Lucy to "outsiders." Carefully avoiding any mention of the known role of the White Citizens Council, they tried to pin the responsibility for the racist violence on the

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Alabama U. Officials Gave Lynch Mob Its Way

Autherine Lucy. (top, right) Negro coed admitted to Alabama University by Federal Court order, was barred by University officials from attending classes after lynch mob roamed the streets of Tuscaloosa for three days. Miss Lucy enters the car of the Dean of Women (top, left) to avoid rocks and eggs thrown by mob. Police action seen at bottom. Petitions are now being circulated by a newly organized student-faculty group asking that Miss Lucy be invited to return.

Reject Use Of Troops In South

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 14 — With a carefully prepared statement on civil rights, Adlai Stevenson, the leading contender for the Democratic nomination for President, tried Feb. 12 to appease the outraged cry of indignation that followed his comments the previous week. At a press conference in Portland, Ore., he tried to wish the civil rights issue out of the 1956 election campaign. He had hoped, Stevenson said, that accomplishments in civil rights "would remove this issue from the political arena . . . I still consider this not only possible but essential."

On Feb. 7, in Fresno, Calif., Stevenson expressed fear of upsetting "traditions and habits older than the republic." In addition he admitted that if elected President he would not use federal troops to enforce the Constitution in the South.

The Eisenhower administration has turned a deaf ear to the demand for federal protection against the racist terror in the South. Now Stevenson has made it clear that he also would do nothing.

Other Democratic hopefuls for the presidential nomination, demagogically took a more vigorous stand for federal intervention. But all of them ducked the key issue of federal troops to the South to protect human life and the civil rights of the Negro people.

Gov. Harriman met this issue on a radio interview program, Feb. 12, by saying, "The question of federal troops going in and enforcing federal law hasn't ever come up at all."

DEMAND FOR TROOPS

Harriman's interviewer raised the question of sending federal troops to the South because it has already been raised many times. In the first place, the Militant raised this demand last October when the Till lynchers went scot free after committing their atrocity. That same month the Chicago branch of the NAACP called for federal troops. The Illinois Conference of NAACP Branches followed suit. Emil Mazey, Sec. Treas. of the UAW called for a "federal trusteeship" over Mississippi at the AFL-CIO merger convention. Dr. Theodore Howard, militant Negro leader in Mississippi has bitterly condemned the Department of Justice and the FBI for refusing to lift a finger to protect the lives and rights of the Negro people.

The Pittsburgh Courier, a leading Negro newspaper, in its Dec. 10 issue called for federal troops. Last month A. Philip Randolph, a vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters demanded that federal troops be sent "to liberate the Negro in the South." Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers Union president, raised the demand: "If federal troops can be used against labor during strikes, they can certainly be used to implement decisions of the Supreme Court."

If both capitalist parties refuse to protect human life and enforce the most elementary democratic rights of the Negro people and their allies, isn't it clear that the workers and the oppressed minorities must have a political party of their own? A Labor government would waste no time in putting a stop to the reign of terror in the South. The struggle for a Labor Party is therefore the key political task of the labor and Negro movements.

Speed-Up Issue Stalls Pact at Westinghouse

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — The government face-saving formula to end the four-month-old Westinghouse strike broke down because of the hard-bitten refusal of the giant Westinghouse Corporation to budge on the "time-study" issue.

The formula which was formally accepted by both the Westinghouse Corporation and the International Union of Electrical Workers called for the setting aside of the key issue of the strike. It provided that this issue, "time study" and "work standards," be taken off the table and that the other lesser issues be settled. After a return to work, talks would resume on "time study." Failing agreement in six months the issue would then be submitted to some fact-finding body.

BOSSES YIELD NOTHING

Both the IUE and the corporation announced their acceptance of the federal mediator's plan. However immediately prior to resumed negotiations on the new basis the trap contained in the ambiguous formula became glaringly evident. It permitted the corporation spokesmen to say that they accepted the plan unreservedly, but of course would follow their own course after the six-month period of resumed production and continued talking on "time study."

This brought charges of "bad faith" from the union negotiating team and while it still formally accepted the plan for the new negotiations the union increased its resistance on the lesser issues. Stalemate and the withdrawal of the federal mediator followed.

News of the latest gambit of the Westinghouse Corporation reached the picket lines and brought immediate reaction. In Sharon, Pa. mass pickets staged a militant demonstration to discourage scabs from entering the plant. Police and sheriffs' deputies attempting to stop the demonstration were defied by the strikers in a brief angry battle. Local Sheriff Richard Knowles fell during the fight but was uninjured. Two strikers were arrested and charged with hurling stones at scabs.

Meanwhile governors of four states stepped into the Westinghouse strike to pick up where the federal mediator left off. They proposed an immediate fact-finding survey of the strike. The facts are very clear in this bitter war of Westinghouse against its 55,000 employees.

Westinghouse in four months of strike has gone to all ends to force the union to capitulate. It has brought out all the violent strike-breaking weapons ever used by a union-busting corporation. It has sought to drive the 55,000 workers back into its plants. Where it has failed various mediators with fact-finding proposals have tried to succeed. However only a small minority of the striking army has surrendered and returned to work.

The strike is being watched closely by Big Business circles and Westinghouse is considered there as carrying on a pioneer action in modern union busting.

The significance of the strike is increasingly recognized in the ranks of the labor movement. Money, food and clothing is being raised by local committees with the slogan that the Westinghouse workers fight is "our fight." Many a speaker in a local meeting has gotten up in the past several weeks to point out that the strike's outcome has a direct bearing on contract negotiations in that local.

The strike, now 118 days old, has established a record as the longest nation-wide strike in modern times. In 1946 the General Motors' strike lasted 113 days and a Westinghouse strike hit the 115-day mark.

The Fight Against Speed-Up

By William Bundy

FEB. 14 — Auto layoffs continued to mount this week as an additional 5,400 Chrysler Corporation and 950 Ford workers were laid off in Detroit and Cleveland. The score by corporation so far this season: Chrysler 26,400, Studebaker-Packard 5,500, GM 3,900 (unofficially reported total, 4,600) and American Motors 800 (unofficially reported total, 1,500). The industry wide total is 42,150 according to company reports or 43,550 according to the newspapers.

Inventories of new cars are still rising in spite of the cuts in auto production reports the Feb. 13 Wall Street Journal. Stocks will rise well over the 800,000 level this month.

Ford announced that 10 of 15 Ford division assembly plants closed for one or two days this week. A total of 19,300 hourly workers were affected by the cuts, made "to bring dealer stocks in line with seasonal sales." A company spokesman said he did not know what future schedules would be.

When auto production was first cut this season Big Business spokesmen said there was no need to worry about an end to the boom. Now they are more cagey. Most experts are now saying, "Wait until spring. Then we can make a more accurate prediction."

Production is now running at an annual rate of about 6.8 million passenger cars compared to 1955's rate of 7.7 million. GM president Harlow Curtice estimated an over-all 1956 rate of 6.5 million (U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 27). According to the biggest man in the industry, then, more cuts are ahead.

Curtice also said that 1956 net profits would be "not far off" the 1955 total, a record $1,189 million according to the Feb. 3 Wall Street Journal. Put Curtice's two statements together and we find that he is predicting that sales will fall drastically in 1956, but profits won't. This will be possible if GM works the same magic it did last year when profits rose 48% over 1954 while sales rose only 27%. Where does the extra profit come from?

It comes from more production out of each worker — by automation and speed-up. Calculations based on Bureau of Labor Statistics and Automotive Industries reports show that 7.9 cars per production worker were produced by the auto industry in 1953 and 8.7 cars per production worker in 1954. The 1955 figures will no doubt show the same trend.

"Searchlight" the official publication of UAW local 659 in Flint in its Feb. 2 issue said about the effects of this process: "Chevrolet workers have had their fill of short work weeks. Temporary Employes have been eliminated from the GM plants here in Flint. [There will be no guaranteed annual wage for these families.] Low seniority employes are being laid off in Flint. [The GAW is fading for these poor souls.] Mass layoffs are taking place in Detroit and other cities . . . All this takes place in a period of so-called boom. We shudder to think of what will happen (in the future) . . .. Our local union pioneered in forseeing the problems of automation and in formulating a program of action to meet it head on. The main plank of that program was to win the 30-hour-week with 40-hours pay . . . our whole union [at the 1955 convention] has been won, from top to bottom, to . . . this program as a "cushion to automation."

SPEED-UP GETS WORSE

While the fight for 30-for-40 has become the most practical and immediate answer to the growing layoffs and short weeks, another problem is getting worse and worse, and requires immediate attention—speed-up.

The effects can be felt in the aching backs of auto assembly line workers throughout the nation. While Big Business spokesmen are telling us there is nothing to fear from automation, their stooges in the plants are handing out layoff slips to thousands of workers replaced by machines and they are cracking the whip over the rest.

Automation makes lighter work and shorter hours with increased pay possible. But if the union doesn't fight for these things, the company will use the new techniques to increase both profits and speed-up. For one thing, the workers replaced by machines swell the ranks of the unemployed and make it hard for others to quit when the job gets tough. For another, bosses use the machines to set a faster pace for those operations that are not yet automated. For a third, as production workers are eliminated, the time-study men start clocking the maintenance men and material handlers. (That is the big issue in the Westinghouse strike.)

One reason GM has broken all profit records is because it has been getting away with murder on the assembly line. The benefits of automation have all gone into company profits while the workers have gotten more speed-up, not less, out of the deal.

Labor bureaucrats like Walter Reuther are fond of telling us that capitalism will work out for the benefit of the workers if unions balance off the competitive drive of the companies by protecting working conditions and wages, thus avoiding capitalist "excesses."

WORKS FINE FOR BOSSES

With all of Reuther's "balancing" however, the fact remains that capitalism is robbing the workers of their right to jobs while the boom is still on. Capitalism works fine for the bosses when they are able to compensate for small wage concessions by speed-up and automation and when they can fire workers at will. In the long run, as the socialists point out, the workers can realistically look forward to security and steady improvement of pay and working conditions only when the workers operate the plants themselves in their own—and the people's—interest, rather than for the profit of a few.

In the immediate struggle, Reuther's do-nothing policy on speed-up is the worst kind of treachery because the union is failing to act as a counter-force to the "excesses" of the corporations.

This not only makes it tough on workers in plants where speed-up is worse like GM, but it puts those in other plants in a very weak bargaining position. As a matter of fact it forces these other corporations to increase their own "excesses" in order to "improve their competitive position."

The proper course is to fight tooth and nail against speed-up everywhere, and especially where conditions are the worst. The bureaucrats will say that their hands are tied because a clause in the GM contract forbids union interference with production standards. This is an excuse and nothing more. The union has every legal right to protect the health of the workers, production standards or not.

ACTION PROGRAM

It is a good idea to change that clause, and the bureaucrats should be nailed down to a pledge to do just that. But clause or no clause speed-up can and must be fought now. When the UAW was first organized in GM it got nothing but union recognition in its first agreement, but speed-up was fought effectively. Workers simply didn't work any faster than they thought they should. They stuck together and they worked a human pace, no more.

Production workers' control of the speed of the line! No change in speed without consent of the workers involved! A fighting steward for every foreman! The union to protect the jobs of those who fight against speed-up with any measures necessary! The fight for 30-hours-work for 40-hours-pay! Make the benefits of automation a reality!

This is the course of action that can get results against speed-up and layoffs. Auto workers will receive no condescending praise from Big Business as "Labor Statesmen" for it, but they will be rightly regarded by their brothers and sisters in plants throughout the country as real union men and women. **They'll also live longer!**

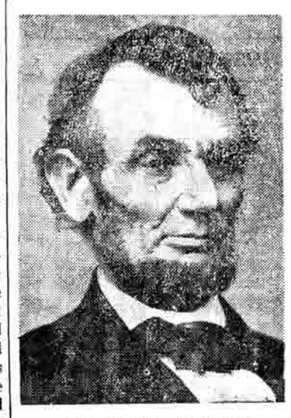
Lincoln Said

Abraham Lincoln had this to say in his message to Congress Dec. 3, 1861: "Labor is prior to and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

Stevenson And Lincoln

By Carl Goodman

Adlai Stevenson, leading Democratic presidential aspirant, is a self-professed admirer of Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday the nation celebrated on Feb. 12. Some of Stevenson's admirers even refer to him as "Lincoln-like." However, judging from his Los Angeles remarks, Feb, 7, he has no desire or intention to follow in Lincoln's footsteps. He repudiated the titanic event that won Lincoln his fame. This was the Second American Revolution — also known as the Civil War — which Lincoln led to victory as President of the United States.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Speaking before a Negro audience, Stevenson answered as follows a question whether he would send Federal troops to the South to enforce Supreme Court rulings outlawing public school segregation: "I think that would be a great mistake. That is exactly what brought on the Civil War . . . We must proceed gradually not upsetting habits or traditions that are older than the Republic."

Unlike Stevenson, Lincoln did not deplore the Civil War. He entered it fearlessly and confidently. In the course of it he proceeded to upset the "habits and traditions" of the South—those of Negro slavery — that were truly "older than the Republic." On Jan. 1, 1863, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in the rebel states. A few years later Congress and the states adopted the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution that illegalized slavery and accorded the Negroes their full civil rights.

When the war started, it is true, Lincoln did not favor emancipation. But two principles he stood for firmly from the outset: He believed that (1) slavery should not be allowed to spread to the Western territories of the U.S.; (2) the South should not be allowed to form an independent slave empire menacing the United States.

THE SLAVEOWNERS' ENEMY

He believed in preserving the Union at the cost of war, on terms under which the South would have to obey the laws of the land.

The Southern slave owners knew he was their enemy. In South Carolina, when the legislature received news over the telegraph that Lincoln had been elected, it voted to secede from the Union, and other Southern states followed South Carolina's lead. That is what started the Civil War.

During the course of the war, the Negro slaves played a decisive role in bringing about victory for the North, as Lincoln acknowledged. It was this fact that swung Lincoln over to the abolitionist side.

"My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition," he said. "So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy . . . Freedom has given us two hundred thousand men raised on Southern soil [the 200,000 runaway **slaves who fought in** the Union armies]. It will give us more yet. Just so much has it subtracted from the enemy."

Lincoln and his fellow revolutionaries were concerned with guaranteeing the progress of the country which at that time could only be achieved on a capitalist basis. They took the Negroes as allies and proceeded to root out the hated institution standing in the way of the economic expansion of the United States.

However, capitalist rule of the U.S. has in turn become reactionary. As early as 1876, Big Business allied itself with the former slave owners and allowed them to drive the Negroes back to the verge of slavery by means of terror. Jim Crow became a main prop of Big Business rule not only over the South but the whole nation. That is why Stevenson and other Big Business politicians refuse to upset the "habits and traditions" of Jim Crow.

The civil rights won by the Negroes as a result of the Civil War, then lost because of terror, will be regained as the labor movement and the Negro people struggle to end Big Business rule. The Third American Revolution—a socialist one—will guarantee the full equality for the Negro people that was the basic issue in the Civil War.

Gloomy Future for Bureaucrats Is Seen in Coming Labor Party

By Murry Weiss

If, as we have contended, a labor party development in the United States is inevitable, (see last week's Militant) will such a party solve the problems of the American working class?

That depends. It depends on the character the Labor Party will assume. History has taught us that the formal political independence of the labor movement is not enough to achieve the victory of the working class over capitalism. The mass party of the working class must be independent not only in form but in essence. That means it must have a revolutionary socialist program and character.

LESSONS OF EUROPE

The workers of Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain were organized into independent political parties. Yet, because none of these parties had a revolutionary program and leadership, they suffered terrible defeats. When the showdown crisis came the capitalists mobilized a fascist movement that smashed the workers' organizations. The failure of the working class parties to take power when they had the chance was paid for dearly.

The British workers built a Labor Party which had an unprecedented opportunity to take the socialist road in 1945 when the overwhelming majority of the working and middle classes of England gave them a clear mandate to do so. However, the reformist British Labor Party leadership refused to take this road and British capitalism recaptured the government in 1951. The job of renovating the program and leadership of the British workers' movement still remains to be done.

The working class is capable of performing miracles of organization in its struggle with capitalism. But the mode of class warfare in capitalist society is complex. The workers and the capitalists do not face each other as two solid class blocs. The enormous pressure of the capitalist rulers bears down on the workers' unions and parties, particularly at the summit, and often succeeds in penetrating deeply with its ideology and influence. This was true in Europe where the labor leadership was professedly socialist. And it is true in the U.S. where the union bureaucracy is outspokenly pro-capitalist.

Thus the class struggle of the workers becomes the struggle to realize their own interests within their own organizations. The fight against capitalism becomes the fight for a revolutionary class struggle policy and leadership — against the bureaucratic "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

The question before us is: Will the Labor Party in the U.S. inevitably remain under the leadership of the same labor fakers that rule the unions today? And if so why should the radical workers fight to build a Labor Party?

We have good reasons to believe that while in its initial period the Labor Party in the U.S. may well be dominated by the labor bureaucracy or one of its wings and consequently will not have a revolutionary program, it will nevertheless move swiftly toward the development of a new program and leadership.

The labor officials have chained the unions to the capitalist political machines for such a long time that the breakaway will take place with explosive force. The shift in economic and social conditions in the U.S. that will produce the irresistible movement toward a Labor Party will in the same process also produce a new militant left wing within the unions.

Today the bureaucrats rule supreme. The left wing is isolated, scattered, hounded and driven from the plants. But as we showed last week, a new generation and new strata of exploited and fresh elements of the working class is already shaping its fist into a powerful threat to the bureaucracy.

With the acceleration of the class struggle, tens of thousands of young militants will come to the fore in the great battles that will ensue. With the help of the class conscious force which will quickly regroup itself these militants will begin where the militants of the Thirties left off. Their radicalism will be political in content from the first. The tasks of the unions in the class struggle with Big Business will be inseparable from the formation of a political party based on the unions.

Under these circumstances the Labor Party from the moment of its formal organization will be cleaved into two contending factions—the faction of the bureaucracy and the faction of the radical left wing.

HANDWRITING ON WALL

Anyone who carefully observes the situation in the unions today will see the handwriting on the wall. The bitterness of rank and file unionized workers with the labor officials has already assumed a widespread character. The young assembly line workers for example, who fight the murderous speed-up every day in the plants run into head-on collision with ignorant, smug and utterly incompetent union officials time and again. They see the union official as a type of company stooge who polices the plant to prevent militant actions by the workers and places the yoke of company-imposed working conditions on them.

Does anyone seriously believe that these young workers are going to leave the unions because of this? Isn't it evident that as soon as the working class as a whole snaps out of its war-prosperity and post-war-boom torpor, there will be a great day of reckoning between the rank and file and the bureaucrats?

The character of the future Labor Party must be assessed with this process within each unionized factory in clear view. The same workers who are today battling the bureaucrats every day of the week as part of their fight against worsening conditions will appear at the Labor Party meetings with a definite idea of what kind of a program and what kind of leadership a party of labor should have.

RADICAL SOLUTIONS

We must also take into account the kind of situation the Labor Party is likely to confront from the first. Even now the consciousness of the union movement has become increasingly receptive to the idea that all problems confronting labor can be reduced to the problem of national politics. The rule of Big Business in Washington — both under the Democrats and the Republicans — confronts the labor movement at every turn. The time when a union dealt with a single employer over issues peculiar to a given factory has long passed. Industry-wide bargaining and national, generalized demands for the whole labor movement directed to the capitalist class as a whole have become a matter of course.

This tendency will develop with the outbreak of large-scale class struggle. And this much will be added. The political questions will be posed in such a way as to require revolutionary solutions. In the fight against mass unemployment, increased speed-up and fascist threats to their union organizations, the workers will come face to face with questions that can be answered only by a radical, that is, a socialist program.

With a Labor Party organized, the question of political program will be debated up and down the country in the workers' own political organization. The wall created by the official bureaucracy that has separated the workers from a direct means of determining their political policy will have crumbled.

But won't the bureaucracy show flexibility, allow the formation of an independent party, and then direct it towards a coalition with the same capitalist party machine they have served so well up to now? Certainly that will be the tactic of the bureaucracy. But they will be up against new conditions and a transformed working class.

TODAY'S LESSONS

The experience the workers are passing through today with the Democratic party will show its positive side in such circumstances. The workers will not be unfamiliar with the Democratic party "labor friends," their phony promises and their actual record. It won't be as if the workers never had first-hand experience with class-collaboration politics.

In Europe the working class started with its own political parties, separate from those of the capitalist liberals. Only through bitter experience did they learn that their organizations had become dominated by the creatures of the capitalist class who were incapable of leading an independent struggle to victory when the hour of crisis struck. The struggle in Europe has been to free the independent political organizations of the working class from the class-collaborationist program foisted upon them by the Social Democratic and Stalinist misleaders..

In the U.S. the fight for an independent party and an independent class policy has become telescoped into one fight. As the working class passes through sufficient experience to arrive at the conviction that it must build its own Labor Party, it accumulates at the same time a vast experience with the treacherous "lesser evil," "coalition" and "peoples front" politics of the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists.

The above considerations indicate some of the reasons why we hold that a Labor Party in the United States will have every chance of acquiring the character of a mass revolutionary party and will show that tendency from the very first, although not without considerable internal struggle.

VANGUARD PARTY

To see the tendencies and possibilities of a progressive development of the working class is not enough. Too often the working class has clearly shown its capacity to take the revolutionary road and has tried to blast its way to that road against its own leadership. But the revolutionary wing of the working class began the struggle for a new leadership and program too late and with too little preparation. As a result the Social Democrats, the trade union bureaucrats and the Stalinists brutally suppressed the revolutionary strivings of the workers and opened the door to fascist victories.

It is the historic task of the American revolutionists to learn from these experiences in Europe and apply them in good season—that is, right now. Now is the time to prepare and build the revolutionary cadre for the great movement of tomorrow.

That's why the touchstone of Marxist policy toward the prospect of a Labor Party is the organization of the vanguard of the American working class into its own party to carry on this great work of preparation.

A glance at the radical groups on the political scene in the U.S. today will show, however, that with the single exception of the Socialist Workers Party, each and every one of them is opposed to the very existence of such a vanguard party. The Stalinists of the Communist Party, the Norman Thomas socialists, the Shachtmanites of the Independent Socialist League, the Cochranites of the American Socialist Union, the Sweezyites of the Monthly Review group and the Progressive Party have each in its own way either declared or are in the process of declaring their liquidation as independent vanguard parties of the American working class. The significance of this fact will be considered in the next article.

(Second of a series. Watch for next installment.)

Soviet Doctors Watch Salk at Work

Russian scientists watch Dr. Jonas Salk administer anti-polio vaccine in Pittsburgh. In the U.S. the inoculation program is left to private physicians. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis issued an appeal to 200,000 doctors to go ahead with inoculations. Canada, with a government inoculation plan, reports 85% effective protection from paralysis.

...Civil Rights Fight In Alabama

(Continued from page 1)

rubber workers at the local Goodrich plant.

The United Rubber Workers local in Tuscaloosa denounced these assertions and charged that the university was looking for "scapegoats." The union demanded a public apology and retraction from the school officials. This stand of the union—as far as it goes—will undoubtedly be welcomed by fighters for civil rights. But the feeling is growing among Negro and white militants that it is not enough for a union local to disclaim responsibility for the outrage of racist terror. It must shoulder the responsibility of being in the front ranks of those who organize the defense of victims of the lynch mobs.

The effectiveness of an organized rank-and-file movement against the racists is being demonstrated by the Negro people in Montgomery, Ala. In an inspiring display of solidarity, high morale and discipline, they have stood firm in the face of bombings, police persecution and loss of jobs.

Nearly 50,000 members of the Negro community have maintained a 100% effective boycott against the local bus company since Dec. 5. Through organized car pools and by just plain hoofing it, they have forced the bus company to discontinue more than half its routes and raise the fare on the balance.

The demands of the boycotters are of a completely minimum nature. They want an end to insults and abuse by white bus drivers. They want a revision of the state enforced bus segregation so that passengers will be seated on a first-come basis, rather than the present one where Negroes are compelled to give up their seats to whites. In addition they have demanded Negro drivers on predominately Negro routes.

These elementary demands have provoked a determined struggle on both sides. Reporting from Montgomery in the Feb. 13 N.Y. Herald-Tribune, Robert S. Bird explains, "All through the South the organized Negro defiance expressed in the boycott . . . is viewed as gravely dangerous — dangerous to the 'Southern way of life.'"

The Negro view of the matter was vividly expressed to Bird by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, co-leader of the boycott movement, whose home has been bombed by the racists.

"I can understand how the Southern white man has a real problem," he said. "Never before has the Negro faced the white man as a man, demanding of him that he do something. The white man just doesn't understand this movement."

Answering the racist charge of "outside agitators," the Reverend carefully explained, "This flows from the hearts of every one of the nearly 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery. If anyone stepped out right now and said, 'Go back to those buses,' brother, he would be on dangerous grounds —unless conditions are improved. If I, or any of the leaders of this movement, were removed from it, I guarantee it would go right on until conditions are improved."

That the white supremacists have reacted to this invincible movement as though it were a red hot poker was shown when the White Citizens Council organized a mass rally of its supporters in Montgomery, Feb. 10, with the poisoned-tongued Senator Eastland of Mississippi as the main speaker.

"Anglo-Saxon law is the custom of the people. Corrupt decisions of a court do not change the law," shouted this guardian of the "Southern traditions and customs" that both Adlai Stevenson and President Eisenhower are so deeply concerned about not upsetting.

"We must organize every county and every city and every community," he went on. "Unless we present a united Southern front we are going to be crushed."

This representative of the Jim Crow system has good reason to fear being crushed. While the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties may vie with each other in efforts to pacify him the ranks of Negro people are showing a solid will to continue the fight for civil rights until victory is won.

MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE

It is that grim determination of the Negro people that has catapulted the issue of Jim Crow into the very center of the national political arena. It has provoked a crisis in both major parties. It has also posed big questions for the leaders of the Negro and labor movement.

The mounting pressure of the Negro ranks has been reflected in recent days in the conduct of that leadership. NAACP Sec'y Roy Wilkins, a Democrat, has denounced in sharp terms the reactionary Stevenson proposal to remove the question of Jim Crow from election debate. The executive council of the AFL-CIO has condemned the racist activities of Alabama authorities at the university and in Montgomery. Rep. A. Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) has threatened to break with Stevenson and go over to Eisenhower

Powell's declaration, as reported Feb. 14, illustrates the problem of the Negro-Labor leadership. As long as they persist in remaining tied to the two-party system, which supports Jim Crow, they can only do as Powell is now contemplating — to leap from the frying pan into the fire. The Negro struggle will culminate in full victory only when inspiring movements like that in Montgomery are developed on a national basis, in alliance with labor, as an independent political party of labor and the Negro people.

This is the only road that leads forward. Unless the leaders of the movement summon the courage to take that road they can only end up advising the ranks to go back. With the present temper of the Negro people it would be well for the leadership to consider Rev. Abernathy's advice about "dangerous grounds."

...Court Hears Kutcher Case

(Continued from page 1)

bered the case from 1952 when it had been before this same court.

At that time the Court of Appeals gave Kutcher a technical victory. It decided that he had been illegally dismissed because the sole evidence against him was admitted membership in an organization on the Attorney General's list. This, it said, was insufficient grounds since there was no evidence against him personally. The Veterans Administration, however, refused to reinstate Kutcher after this decision but re-fired him. The only result therefore, as far as Kutcher was involved, was to send his case back to the very beginning of the long loyalty board process. It has taken ever since then to fight the case again up to the federal courts.

After showing that the re-firing of Kutcher by the VA, following the 1952 decision of this court, had not been true compliance with that decision since the grounds were no different from the original firing, Rauh went to the heart of the case:

SWP HAD NO HEARING

"The appellant has been dismissed on the grounds that he has belonged and participated in an organization on which at no time has there been a hearing. In other words a taint is supposed to have rubbed off on him but at no time was there ever a hearing to establish that the organization had any taint, whether a taint ever existed. This is not a minor but a major point. It is a question of whether the mere fact that the Attorney General makes a decision that an organization is tainted, and holds no hearing to allow that organization to prove that it isn't, can suffice."

Reviewing his efforts to get the government to clarify its charges against Kutcher, to specify exactly what, in addition to admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, he had been re-fired for, and the government's refusal to allow the arbitrary blacklisting of Kutcher's party to be gone into, Rauh declared: "In dealing with the Department of Justice . . . I feel like I did at the hearing where the VA was trying to take away Kutcher's pension, there the chairman said 'I'll make the rules as I go along.'"

The judges interrupted Rauh only a few times with questions. Most of these were for clarification or information on such points as the applicability of recent decisions to this or that point, whether the SWP had been connected with the passport case of Max Shachtman, etc. When the attorney for the Department of Justice made his presentation, it was a different story.

MANY QUESTIONS ASKED

He had hardly got well into his argument before the questioning began. Nor, to a layman at least, did it appear to be the same sort of inquiries. Rather it seemed to question the legal basis of his arguments. At one point — involving the efforts of the SWP to get a hearing — Judge Prettyman expressed strong disagreement with Forman's interpretation of a series of documents.

There was much questioning and answering on the "specificity" of the charges on which Kutcher had been re-fired. Despite many attempts the judges were never able to get from the government attorney a clear statement of what charges, in addition to mere membership, Kutcher had been dismissed on.

THE GOVERNMENT'S CASE

Toward the end of his allotted time Forman attacked Kutcher's credibility. He also made the fantastic charge that Kutcher and the SWP had favored the Stalin-Hitler pact. This would bring tears of laughter to the eyes of anyone familiar with left-wing politics of the period. Another charge, which had been raised at loyalty board hearings, was that Kutcher had said on the stand in answer to a question, that he would not report a friend to the FBI if he knew that person to be a Communist Party member.

From the questioning of the judges and the assent of the attorneys it was agreed that the court should consider the firing under the original "loyalty" Order 9835. This was the one issued by the Truman administration and it provided no means for a blacklisted organization to get a hearing. Eisenhower's Order 10,450, which restated the original Truman order, contains a clause for hearings. However, to date no organization has been able to get a hearing under it.

The court took the case under advisement. How soon a decision will be rendered is a matter of speculation. It could be in a few months. On the other hand the last decision on Kutcher by this court was rendered over a year after the argument. Talk among the experienced court reporters present was that despite the conservative reputations of the judges the prospects were good that they would decide in favor of the legless veteran. How far the decision would go — would it be another technical victory or a decision on the basic constitutional issues involved? — was anybody's guess.

Some days before the court hearing, Harry P. Cain, former Republican Senator from Washington and at present a maverick member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, drew public attention to the Kutcher case. In a speech in Chicago he listed the Kutcher pension case as one of the twelve memorable cases of recent times. Cain, who went out of his way to attend the pension hearing as a spectator, said further:

ANGRY AND ASHAMED

"Several weeks ago, I sat in a room where a legless veteran was being heard on charges which sounded like treason to me. He was accused of rendering aid and assistance to an enemy of the United States. Is not one who does this a traitor? . . . I was never in my life and hope never to be again so distressed, angry and ashamed as I was during the two hours spent in that hearing. I felt somehow that as a citizen, I was in part responsible for a system which was so contrary to and destructive of everything I have been taught to believe in. . .

"This hearing was one of the few in the last decade ever to have been heard in public. The adverse reaction was instantaneous, pointed, healthy and refreshing. Those in attendance were horrified to see how the process worked. They saw no accusing witnesses, they heard no cross examination, and listened only to a statement of charges which were conspicuously lacking in who, what, when and where. The only thing they saw, and they will never forget it, was a citizen lacking only in legs to look like themselves, who was directed to free himself from the charges in any way he could. . .

"This case was written about and broadcast and televised all over the country. Perhaps people everywhere are still, as I hope, thinking about it. This was an occurrence which could not happen in America, but it did. I was there."

In a New York radio broadcast New Jersey Commissioner of Labor Carl Holderman appeared on a panel with Kutcher. Holderman, formerly head of the New Jersey CIO and a founder of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, declared that by the pension board's dictum on strikes not only Kutcher, but 55,000 Westinghouse strikers, could be accused of "aiding the enemy." Holderman issued a strong statement against the Attorney General's arbitrary listing of the Socialist Workers Party and demanded that the VA restore Kutcher's job.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Letters from branch agents continue to report increasingly good reception of the Militant. Nearly every one includes several subscribers, a good percentage being new ones.

In a letter from **Buffalo, Merlin Wesley** comments: "Attended a Liberal Party meeting. There was a talk on automation which wasn't too profitable, for the speaker seemed to be concerned only with what effect design would have on automation. What was profitable was our distribution of the Kutcher issue of the Militant."

Carol Houston reports that "two UAW union meetings were covered recently here in **Chicago. Leon Forth** and **Renee Brown** sold out their bundle of 22 Militants and received a donation of 65c at one of the meetings. **George Haston** and **Izzy Travis** sold 20 papers at the other meeting. They were well received at both places. We usually get to cover these meetings every month. **Claude DeBruce** sold eight papers on the University of Chicago campus and **Lucky Riser** and George sold 13 papers at a monthly NAACP meeting."

Twin Cities is in there pitching as usual. **Winifred Nelson** writes: "Our newsstand work is doing well and when the weather is more clement I intend to look for new stands. We have sold nearly 200 of the Kutcher issue. After **Helen Sherman** and I had finished selling on the campus, people continued to come up to us—in the restaurant and at the bus stop. A group including **Fanny** and **Bill Carter, Jack Barry,** Helen and myself sold 38 copies at University Village, a student veteran housing project. Various and sundry numbers of papers were sold before union meetings and to shopmates, in house to house and community work by **Larry Andrews, Ralph Bysk, Jean Carter, Ann Skippy, Paul Pierson** and **Alice Norris.** A large number were sold in the Militant box in front of the SWP headquarters. And finally Jack took what papers were left to the Veterans Hospital where he got a good reception."

John Collins tells us that in **Detroit** "430 copies of the January 2 Militant were distributed at the Ford plant gate together with an announcement of the forthcoming forum on Jim Kutcher. Then 230 copies of the same issue as well as the following one were distributed at Wayne University campus, again including the Kutcher forum announcement."

Seattle has had a tough winter with lots of snow and sickness, but in spite of it, **Helen Baker** writes, "we sold most of the additional papers that we had. **Ann Dorsey** and I sold 23 one night on the street, while two others sold another 23 in several apartment houses. Then **Nell McGrew,** Ann and I sold fourteen on a bitterly cold night at our usual corner. Politeness and cordial greetings were ours in spite of the weather."

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Montgomery and Miami

Two cities, each in its own way typical of the Deep South, were the scene of significant events this week. In Montgomery, Ala., a city with 106,000 population close to the geographical heart of the South, 42,000 Negroes are in the eleventh week of a boycott of Jim Crow buses.

This is a full-scale successful mass action by an entire community of Southern Negroes against Jim Crow. As such it is the most fundamental development in the civil rights fight to follow the May 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

Six hundred miles away in Miami Beach, Fla., 19,000 Southern workers attended a labor rally described by the Feb. 9 N. Y. Times as "the largest ever held in this stronghold of the open shop." They came to hear the top leaders of the AFL-CIO speak on the ten-month-old Miami hotel strike and on the organization of the unorganized in the South. This was a spirited demonstration of the desire of the Southern working class for organization.

What is the connection between these two events? The "Southern way of life" is based on Jim Crow and the open shop which are enforced with terror, "legal" and otherwise. The Montgomery and Miami events involve forces each of which is fundamentally opposed to the "traditions and habits of the South." Each of them has shown that it can deal with the habitual violence of the Southern ruling class against any attempt to change its "traditions." This is clear from the successful defense of the unions in the Southern railroad and telephone strikes last year and from the reaction of Montgomery's Negro people to the bombings of boycott leaders' homes.

If the powerful, organized labor movement threw its full strength into backing up these movements of Negro and white working people in the South what would be the result?

First of all the unity of the two movements — symbolized by the Montgomery boycott and the Miami demonstration — would be hastened. United, the Southern workers, Negro and white, could smash the open-shop system.

Secondly, the process of organizing unions will provide the very mechanism needed to halt the reign of terror against the Negro people. A corps of militant organizers, newspapers, a legal apparatus, experienced fighters for the right to picket and financial resources would all be available to create the defense organizations that would put the lynchers and terrorists on the run.

The Big Business federal government has refused to lift a finger in defense of the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South. All the more reason for the labor movement to vigorously carry out its pledge to organize the South and strike a powerful blow at the entire economic, social and political system of racism which stands in the way of the further progress of the American labor movement.

The Cleveland Smith Act Trial

A new note has been struck in the Smith Act trials of ten Communist Party leaders in Ohio. After seven days of deliberation — the longest on record in Smith Act trials — the jury freed four and convicted six defendants. An eleventh victim was acquitted by order of Federal Judge Charles J. McNamee during the trial.

What is new about the trial is the number of acquittals. In 12 previous Smith Act trials of Stalinists, juries convicted 88 out of 89. The Ohio verdict indicates that growing public opposition to the witch hunt is now being expressed to some extent through the jury system.

Those acquitted were known members of the Communist Party and none of them repudiated membership during or after the trial. By freeing them the jury helped to expose the government's frame-up charge that the Communist Party is a "conspiracy" to which every party member belongs. The verdict in the case of the four challenges a ruling of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of Claude Lightfoot, Chicago Communist Party leader, convicted under the Smith Act on the sole charge of CP membership.

For that matter, the jury's verdict freeing four defendants is a blow at the validity of its verdict convicting the other six.

The trial was marked by a parade of paid informers, FBI agents and planted spies. Their usefulness as witnesses was also dealt a blow by the jury verdict.

The Ohio trial was not the first Smith Act trial where defendants won acquittal. In the Minneapolis trial of 1941, where 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party stood trial in the first test of the Smith Act, five were acquitted by the court for lack of evidence and five more by jury verdict.

In the Minneapolis trial the appeal was carried to the Supreme Court which refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This final ruling was reserved for the first trial of the Stalinists, when the witch-hunt atmosphere made the ruling in favor of the Act's "constitutionality" almost a foregone conclusion.

However the Smith Act is up once again for reveiw by the high court in the case of Steve Nelson and four other Pennsylvania CP leaders as well as in the California Smith Act convictions. This affords another opportunity to challenge the constitutionality of the law.

The Ohio trial is a sign of the reaction against the witch hunt. But it does not alter its general course. While the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act, the McCarran Act, the Smith Act and the subversive list are still in operation the main props of the witch hunt will be intact. What is necessary is to mount the offensive, using every victory against the witch hunt as a base to attack the others, until all these restrictive acts that violate the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, are wiped off the books.

Where Should Troops Be Sent?

According to the Eden - Eisenhower agreement U.S. troops are ready to go to the Middle-East to maintain "peace" and ensure the "freedom" of tens of millions of people in the area.

If that is really their purpose how come one Negro woman in Alabama — Miss Autherine Lucy — wishing to exercise her constitutional right to an education, does not get the slightest protection of the federal government? A handful of hoodlums sought to lynch her. They were too many for her to resist, but certainly a platoon of soldiers could have scattered them to the wind.

However, at the mention of such use of U.S. troops to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South all the leading Big Business politicians went into a panic of alarm. Eisenhower, Truman, Stevenson, Kefauver, Harriman — every one of whom favors sending troops abroad to "liberate" hundreds of millions — would have nothing to do with sending such troops to Miss Lucy's help.

The truth is that none of the Big Business politicians intends to use the troops for liberationist missions anywhere. In Korea, Truman sent troops to reimpose the bloody and hated dictator, Syngman Rhee upon the Korean people. In Formosa, the Seventh Fleet is on hand to protect Chiang Kai-shek's tyranny. In Indo-China, Eisenhower stood poised to send U.S. troops to help French imperialism in its war against the national independence revolution of the Asian people. In the Middle-East troops will be sent to defend the huge oil stake of the English and U.S. pirates against the national aspirations of the Arab peoples.

The Southern racists know all this. They know that Big Business politicians use troops only for reactionary purposes, and they are not afraid that U.S. troops will be used against them in behalf of the Negro people. But they warn: Play the reactionary game straight all the way. Do not even talk about equality and liberation. Do not pass even paper measures against Jim Crow. For this will embolden the Negro people to fight for their rights and it may have serious international repercussions for imperialist rule.

"The fact is," brazenly says Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston, S. C. News and Courier "that the United States government, prodded by radical interests, has fomented race trouble where peace once reigned. If the United States cannot keep its nose out of trouble within its own country, what chance has it to deal with huge 'native populations' overseas?"

The working people of the United States have no interest in enslaving peoples in other lands. Nor can they gain from perpetuating Jim Crow. Their program must be: Remove the troops from foreign lands. Send troops to defend the Negroes in the South. For the right of all peoples abroad to choose their own government unmolested! For complete economic, political and social equality for the Negro people at home!

SEATO's "Operation Firm Link" a Flop

By John Black

FEB. 12—On Feb. 15, a task force of 7,000 American soldiers, sailors, marines and airforce personnel, decked out with the latest equipment, including atomic rocket launchers will participate in a parachute descent on the big airport outside the city of Bangkok, capital of Thailand. Brass hats have entitled this military display "Operation Firm Link."

These bundles from heaven are Wall Street's answer to the recent South East Asian goodwill tour of Bulganin and Khrushchev. However, these exercises have an even more sinister purpose. It is urgently required for the Big Business foreign policy aims of the White House to soften up U.S. public opinion in preparation for the planned future involvment of U.S. troops in Asia.

Published descriptions of the exercise indicate that it will follow plans never put into effect for the relief of the French forces encircled at Dien Bien Phu, in the closing episode of the French war against the revolutionary armies of North Indo-China, including use of helicopters. American public opinion and opposition to the colonial war of the French imperialists made it impossible for the White House planners to come to the aid of the French who had to give up Northern Indo-China soon after the loss of their last stronghold.

U.S. SEEKS ASIAN COVER

Wall Street is now attempting to condition public opinion in preparation for future military adventures in South East Asia, because in spite of prodigious effort, bribery and threats, they have been unable to line up any major country in that area that can be counted on to provide effective military forces against the revolutionary tide engulfing Asia.

The maneuvers were planned with the March meeting of SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) in mind. SEATO was designed to provide the U.S. with a cover of Asian support. But its very name is misleading, because the largest and most populated countries of the area have refused to become involved. China, India, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China and others stand outside SEATO. Only Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand joined the Western imperialists in this pact, and none of the governments of these countries have been able to rouse strong public support for this commitment from its citizens.

Preparation for the joint maneuvers of all SEATO powers revealed that a better name than the one picked by the military publicity boys, "Operation Firm Link," would be "Operation Missing Link."

Britain has finally promised to be represented by 100 marines at Bangkok. The British have their hands more than full with the announced resumption of full scale military action in defense of their rubber and tin wealth. For the last eight years they have conducted a murderous war against the jungle fighters of the Malayan Liberation Army. Only last week the British had to make significant political concessions to the bourgeois nationalist Malayans and Chinese who won a decisive election victory last fall.

Selection of Thailand for the military demonstration itself reveals the brittle base of the SEATO set up. The natural military pivot of SEATO is the British installation at Singapore. But Singapore has been restless under British colonial rule and last year was the scene of general strikes and student demonstrations. These were followed by the election of a full slate of pro-independence candidates for the city council. The value of Singapore as a stronghold for imperialism is doubtful.

FRANCE IS MISSING TOO

France which still retains economic interests in Indo-China and thus is greatly concerned in the area has a full war going in North Africa and cannot spare even one solitary soldier for SEATO. Some U.S. equipped and trained Philippine troops will undoubtedly appear in the planned parade which will take place after the conclusion of the simulated attack.

But Pakistan, main Asian pillar of SEATO and vaunted staunch ally of the Western capitalist world backed out at the last minute. This was a decisive blow at the whole structure. An explanation for Pakistan's defection can be seen in a selection of headlines from the U.S. press in the week prior to the Pakistan announcement.

"Bulganin Offers Pakistan Trade; Hints Aid if West's Ties Are Cut."

"Ali [Pakistan Ambassador to the U.S.] Scorns Soviet Aid for Pakistan."

"Pakistan to Weigh Soviet Trade Pact."

"Pakistan Lists Conditions."

"Pakistan Accepts Soviet Trade Bid."

"Asian Maneuvers Said to Hit Snag — U.S. Is Only Power Ready for Exercises — Pakistan Is Critical."

"Pakistan Envoy Urges Peking in U.N."

Soviet economic offers to Pakistan include steel, trucks, tractors and machinery for heavy industry in trade for jute and cotton. This compares favorably with Wall Street's tie-in deal which yielded Pakistan $5 million economic aid and $67 million military aid. The proposed figures for 1956 boost this to $9 million of aid with $171 million for military purposes. Still the Soviet offer will strengthen Pakistan economy; the U.S. deal burdens the country with a swollen military establishment.

Pakistan, despite the fact that it is run by a clique of landlords and capitalists, is not exempt from the revolutionary movement sweeping the Asian continent. At best, its ability to provide cannon fodder for the military adventures of Wall Street are doubtful. The country is divided geographically. East and West Pakistan are separated by India. East Pakistanis are opposed to the new proposed constitution which would give the power of taxation and control over foreign trade to the West Pakistan-controlled Federal Government. Only last week a mass meeting of 12,000 East Pakistanis demonstrated in opposition to the constitution.

The Bangkok "rendezvous" will not be well attended and it will not be a joyous occasion. Even Thailand, the country playing host to the invasion, is in the doubtful column. Its population includes millions of Chinese who are increasingly impressed by the achievements of the mother country.

U.S. authorities are taking no chances on the welcome that might be in store for the army personnel on leave in Bangkok after the parade. The N.Y. Times, Feb. 12, carries the following dispatch: "The Thai police, one can assume will play their usual hospitable and tolerant role, but United States, British and Philippine military police and shore patrols will be on hand to prevent incidents."

Slaughter Fails to Stop Algeria Freedom Drive

By Daniel Roberts

Demonstrations by French settlers in Algeria against concessions to the Algerian population made the headlines last week. But though the fascist-led rabble scared French Premier Mollet into backtracking on his promises of "reforms," nothing it did could halt the steady progress of the national independence revolution of nine million Arabs and Berbers.

Since Nov. 1, 1954, when the Algerian liberation war began, until now, the French government has increased its U.S.-equipped armed forces from 10,000 to 200,000. In addition, the colons (French settlers) numbering about one million, organized vigilante committees. In combination, the repressive forces slaughtered, tortured, murdered and burned out the Arab and Berber militants. Tens of thousands of these heroic people have been herded into concentration camps.

Despite these ferocious measures the tally sheet of the Moslem independence movement, as presented to Mollet in the course of his Algerian visit is as follows:

"The rebellion has driven more and more of the Moslem natives toward a position closer to that of the insurrectionists," says Barrett McGurn in the Feb. 12 N. Y. Herald Tribune. "Week after week of unpunished murders of Moslems accused of collaborating with the French clearly has taken its toll on pro-French Moslem loyalties.

"Some of Mr. Mollet's Moslem visitors told him that '99 per cent' of Algerian Moslems are converted now to the idea that there must be an Algerian nation instead of Algeria continuing as an official part of France.

"The insurrection has struck heavy blows to the life of France's main North African holding. Many of Mr. Mollet's European callers were in near desperation as they described the state of the roads.

REBELS IN CONTROL

"One transportation company with eighty cars is on the verge of going out of business. . . . Mr. Mollet was told the rebels take potshots at passing cars, ambush and burn them and sometimes kidnap and slaughter the occupants. . . Train derailments are increasing. Some areas in eastern Algeria are served now only by boat, plane or convoy, and even military convoys are attacked."

The French working people, for their part, do not want a continuation of the war. In a series of demonstrations last fall French soldiers protested against being called back to the armed forces to fight in North Africa. The soldiers raised the slogan of "Morocco for the Moroccans" and "Algeria for the Algerians."

The most serious threat to the Algerian nationalist movement does not now come from French settlers — no matter how crazed by fear of loss of privileges. The main danger is the kind of "settlement" the "Socialist" Mollet, the liberal Mendes-France and the Stalinists want to foist on the Arab and Berber masses. Its formula is "equality between Moslems and French" but retention of Algeria within the French imperialist structure.

It is a variant of the scheme Mendes-France worked out for Tunisia with the moderate nationalist Bourguiba last year. By this device, French imperialism continues to dominate the country economically but rules politically through representatives of the Arab capitalist class. Furthermore, France retains direct control over the colony's foreign affairs and maintains armed forces in the country. A similar pattern of "reforms" was recently worked out in Morocco.

DANGER OF SELLOUT

The French government is now looking for a wing of the nationalist movement with which to negotiate a Bourguiba-type sellout of the Algerian independence aspirations. To forestall it, the Algerian National Movement led by Messali Hadj demands that only a free elected constituent Assembly should have the right to settle Algeria's fate.

Meanwhile, in Tunisia, a strong movement is pressing for renewed struggle against the French under the slogan of complete national independence. The Feb. 12 press reports the outbreak of war in the Tunisian mountains and the creation of a Tunisian Liberation Army operating in conjunction with the liberation armies of Algeria and Morocco. The renewed Tunisian independence movement is headed by Salah ben Youssef, expelled secretary of Neo-Destour, the party led by Bourguiba.

The pressure of the authentic independence fighters forced the French government last week to enter into new negotiations with Bourguiba for additional token measures of Tunisian self-rule.

Students Battle Armed Falangists in Madrid

By F. R. Doberman

Students at the University of Madrid have been fighting Franco's blue-shirted Centurios in the streets with rocks and sticks. Some shots were fired at the peak of the three days fighting which began when a group of law students demonstrated on Feb. 7, shouting, "Down with the SEU (Spanish Students Syndicate) and "Down with the king."

The following day 4,000 students clashed with Franco guardists in downtown Madrid. Demonstrators tore down Falangist symbols and smashed the plaque commemorating Fascists who died during the Civil War. The shooting occurred the next day when armed fascist bands invaded the campus.

One fascist was wounded in the head and 57 students were arrested. Seven "ringleaders" have been exiled from Madrid. The University rector and the Dean of the Law School have been dismissed. The rector is reported to have fled across the border into France. Among students arrested were sons of prominent fascist politicians, intellectuals and a former reporter for the Falange newspaper Ariba. They were accused of "leftist affiliations." Students at the Seville University in Southern Spain staged a protest demonstration in sympathy with the Madrid students on Feb. 13.

THE NEW GENERATION

Sixty percent of the Spanish population (28 million) is under 35. They grew up under fascism. A government-sponsored poll of students last fall had 80% saying that they had no confidence in the regime. Dr. Estralgo, **Dean of Madrid University, a** prominent Catholic intellectual who joined Franco in 1936, wrote a pamphlet analysing these results. In it he called for "soul searching" among government officials and condemned corruption and censorship.

Student complaints were listed in an open letter that began circulating on the campus on Feb. 1. They centered around the high tuition, costly and inadequate textbooks, lack of housing facilities for students and the deficiencies in the faculties of the universities brought about by the exiling and jailing of anti-fascist intellectuals.

Student hatred for the official Falange-controlled SEU came out into the open on Feb. 4, when a slate of independent anti-Falange candidates were nominated by the law students to represent them. Armed Fascist gangs invaded the campus and manhandled students. The demonstrations were in answer to this.

Shouts of "Down with the king" are directed against Franco's plan to restore the monarchy in Spain.

As the fight of the students develops it will find its most reliable ally and leadership in the working class of Spain. Despite the terrible defeat suffered by the Spanish working class in the civil war of 1936-38, it has manifested its recuperative power, notably in the massive general strikes of 1951.

World Events

U.S. INVESTORS have a billion dollar stake in Royal Dutch Shell, the world's biggest business outside the United States. According to Frank Linge in the Feb. 10 Wall Street Journal, "The chief worldwide rival of Royal Dutch/Shell—in fact the only oil company anywhere which exceeds it in size—is Standard Oil of New Jersey. Yet the two keen competitors also appear and reappear as business partners." Royal Dutch/Shell is a holding company whose parents are Royal Dutch Petroleum Company with 60% of the assets and The "Shell" Transport and Trading Co., Ltd.—a British firm — with 40%. U.S. Big Business investors reputedly own at least 20% of the Royal Dutch stock and may own as much as 40% "It is definitely possible that a majority of Royal Dutch stock could end up in American hands," said one key official of the group. This might then give U.S. capitalists control of the whole Royal Dutch/Shell empire.

* * *

AUSTRALIAN LONGSHOREMEN are fighting a gang-up of shipowners, government and top officials of the Council of Trade Unions as their three-week-old strike for increased wages holds solid. There are 24,000 dock workers on strike. The government threatened, Feb. 9 to use troops and to invoke the Crimes Act, under which strikers could be jailed for up to 12 months.

* * *

THE BOMBAY DEATH TOLL resulting from police violence against demonstrating workers last month is being hidden from the Indian people by Nehru government censorship. Indian newspapers printed only government figures which show far less than the actual number of 500 killed as reported by foreign newspapers. According to the Feb. 9 N.Y. Times, the Indian capitalist government also put pressure on foreign correspondents to "play down" the death toll and refused to transmit Associated Press wirephotos of anti-Nehru banners carried by the demonstrators. Last month's demonstrations spread across India from Bombay because of Nehru's gerrymandering in drawing up state lines. The Bombay working class, which belongs to the city's majority language group (Maharatti) protested a decision to cut Bombay away from the Maharashtra State and put it under Federal control. This device assures political control to the capitalist minority, which speaks Gujerati. Nehru's Congress party has officially adopted a "long term" policy of opposing political units based on language and will push for large multi-language states. (Indian languages differ one from another at least as much as English from French or German from Russian.) One-language states encourage mass political participation, something the Indian capitalists fear. Congress party officials admit that Nehru's gerrymandering policy is unpopular and that the party's control has been shaken by the crisis.

* * *

PILGRIMAGES TO PEKING. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, former king of Cambodia and still her leading political figure, is visiting Peking. Once an open supporter of U.S. imperialism, he is now reported to lean to "neutralism." Pakistan's foreign minister, Hamil Haq Choudhry, has accepted an invitation to visit Peking. The Karachi regime, also used to be openly pro-U.S. but is moving to "neutralism."

* * *

INDONESIA cut its last political ties with the Netherlands, charging Dutch bad faith in negotiations over the Dutch part of New Guinea. The Jakarta government announced, Feb. 13, it would cancel all financial, economic and cultural treaties with Holland that give Dutch nationals important privileges in Indonesia.

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CYPRUS SCHOOLGIRLS STONED BRITISH imperialist troops at the port of Lymassol, Feb. 10. This opened the demonstration of 1,000 students to protest the killing of an 18-year-old secondary school student by a British machine gun bullet in Famagusta three days earlier. Almost all elementary and secondary schools on Cyprus are now closed.

* * *

FRENCH MASSACRES, repressions and abuse of natives in the French-held section of the Cameroon protectorate were exposed in 20,000 petitions received by the United Nations Trusteeship Council during the last three weeks. The petitions — each a separate complaint — are addressed for the most part to a Council mission that toured the colony on the West Coast of Africa last summer. The vast number of petitioners created a crisis for the commission which in its ten-year history has processed only a total of 8,000 petitions from trusteeships throughout the world.

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IN CUBA, on Feb. 13, three cops suffered gunshot wounds during student demonstrations at the University of Havana. The demonstrators were marching to a spot where a student had been killed by police three years ago.

* * *

IN CHILE, arrangements are being completed for operation of a third big U.S.-owned copper company, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. The other two are Anaconda and Kennecott.

* * *

ANEURIN BEVAN has opened a new attack on the right-wing leadership of the British Labor Party. In a speech at Merthyr Tydfil in Wales, Feb. 12, he said that selection of the party's candidates must be left to the constituency Labor parties—which are rank and file organizations—rather than to the trade union bureaucracy. The Feb. 11 N.Y. Times reports Bevan as saying in a speech in Manchester last week that the Labor party is no longer a socialist party, and that the present system of running the Parliamentary Labor Party is close to a "conspiracy."

* * *

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT has opened the doors of the country wide to exploitation by foreign capital. By the terms of a bill the Chamber of Deputies passed, Jan. 25, there will be no limit on dividends or earnings derived from investments in productive enterprises that foreign citizens and Italian citizens residing out of the country may transfer abroad. The flow of foreign capital into Italy is expected to increase greatly. Because of its economic backwardness compared with the U.S., England or Germany, the new provisions — similar to those in U.S.-dominated Latin American countries — threatens to reduce Italy to the status of a virtual colony of these countries.

The Church Is Big Business

The Catholic Church has been given an "excellent" rating in business efficiency by the American Institute of Management, an organization that includes 5,000 presidents of large corporations. The agents of the Vatican with a rating of 88, were topped by Standard Oil of New Jersey with 90 plus.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1956 — NUMBER 8

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

'Free America First'

Most Americans have learned to turn a tin ear to the appeals for funds for Radio Free Europe on Sunday nights, but maybe that's a mistake. Perhaps if we listened to them, carefully and thoughtfully, we'd become indignant enough to talk back instead of letting them drum away at us, unchallenged, at every station break.

Radio Free Europe, privately supported, opened its first radio station in Munich, May 1, 1951, to transmit anti-communist messages. It is a private propaganda agency, supported primarily by American business interests. To believe the appeals for funds in this country, the purpose is to "get the **truth** about American democracy to the people behind the Iron Curtain."

But does Radio Free Europe tell the truth about capitalist democracy? Of course not! If it told the truth the propaganda value of the whole project would be lost.

Americans who sincerely want to help those struggling against tyranny and bureaucracy abroad know that the most effective and inspiring way to help is to demonstrate, right here at home, that we know how to eliminate double-standard democracy, to destroy the open dictatorship of the white supremacists in the South, and to unite all working people to defend and extend their rights.

Recognizing the guerrilla warfare type of struggle now going on in the South, opponents of segregation are beginning to borrow techniques of the State Department in its dealings with foreign powers.

Al Benson, Chicago disc jockey, has proposed air bombardment of his native state of Mississippi with copies of the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Mickey Levine, chairman of the American Veterans Committee, has proposed creation of a "Radio Free Mississippi," an economic boycott of products of Mississippi, a committee for political refugees from the state, and federal intervention to uphold federal laws.

But the most hopeful development, in the opinion of this writer was the announcement this month that the AFL-CIO is launching an organizing drive in which a major objective will be the unionization of the South.

Successful organization of the South requires an all-out campaign, mobilization of all the resources of the united labor movement. It means an end to labor leaders Uncle Tomming and apologizing for Jim Crow all over Europe and Asia. It means putting all the smooth-talking staff men to work organizing "free trade unions" in Florida and Georgia, U.S.A., instead of splitting unions in Germany, Italy, and France. It means "battling for the minds" of the white men and women of Mississippi to win them away from the racist and anti-labor poison of the Southern demagogues and terrorists. It means uniting Negro and white workers for mutual defense against violence, for extension of their political and economic rights. And that requires overthrowing the Southern way of life.

The best way to Free Europe is to free America first.

Meany Talks "Non-Aggression" with NAM

By Robert Chester

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO has offered a "non-aggression pact" to Big Business. He is scheduled to meet with Charles R. Sligh, Jr., chairman of the executive council of the National Association of Manufacturers in Washington, Feb. 23, to discuss the pact.

The conference concludes a two-month period of delicate feelers and public pronouncements. The reason for all the diplomacy was the blowup that resulted from their previous meeting when Meany spoke from the same platform with Sligh to a luncheon gathering of the NAM.

GEORGE MEANY, AFL-CIO president, has opened negotiations with the National Association of Manufacturers for a "non-aggression pact." In order to prove his respectability to Big Business last Dec. 9, Meany said, "I never went on strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. I have no experience with that type of power."

AN ANGRY EXCHANGE

In explaining the policy of the newly merged AFL-CIO Meany tried to impress the NAM members that he saw things very much the way they did. It was "silly for labor and management to quarrel," he pointed out, "since they had so much in common." He stressed his own labor record as proof. "I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life . . . never had anything to do with a picket line," he boasted.

Sligh responded, however, with a blistering attack against the new federation. He charged that the union shop, "irresponsible strikes," and high wages were discriminatory against the bosses. On top of that he showed his fear of labor amalgamation by asking suggestively whether it was true that the real purpose of the fusion was to "seize political control of the country?"

Stung by the attack Meany angrily replied, "If the NAM philosophy to disenfranchise unions is to prevail then the answer is clear. If we can't act as unions to defend our rights, then there is no asnwer but to start a labor party." However, these views that Meany blurted out in anger were only a counter-threat to the bluster of the NAM. His whole policy, past and present, is for collaboration with the employers, and that is the purpose of the coming meeting in Washington.

Meany heads not only a labor movement of over 15 million workers but also a labor bureaucracy grown soft and contented with its jobs, fat salaries and lush expense accounts. The bureaucrats feel the power of the movement they head. But they use it to bargain with the employers for their own advantage. Meany, who represents this bureaucracy more than anything else, is wary of any changes that would disturb a state of affairs so satisfactory to them. They will respond sharply to any boss attack on their base but will turn even more viciously against any threat from the ranks.

WHO WOULD GAIN?

Can a "non-aggression pact" have any value for labor? The AFL-CIO has announced a drive to bring 15 million new members into the organization. Can Meany sign a pact just when the NAM is pushing for legislation to protect employers from union drives? Organization of the unorganized will mean something only when it pushes into the open-shop South. Yet the NAM is interested in keeping it open shop, is supporting every Jim Crow, labor-baiting organization that will fight unionism, so it can continue to use the South as a lever against wage increases in the North. The NAM will want a "peace pact" just for the purpose of using Meany and company to police their members and prevent the success of an organizing drive.

While Meany speaks of peace he is by no means a pacifist. His bureaucracy has become the loudest advocate of "war against communism." He shouts for increased armaments production on every occasion. Any militant opposition in the unions is labeled "red" and becomes the object of the most merciless attack by the bureaucracy. Meany only wants peace with Big Business.

Meany's "non-aggression pacts" with the bosses will not stop the real movements of the workers. They want to see the South organized and will support every move toward it. They will not accept speed-up without putting up a full-scale battle against it, as the tenacious fight of the Westinghouse workers has shown. Nor will they accept a "peace pact" at their own expense. As a leader of the militant Montgomery, Alabama, boycott of Jim Crow buses explained: "you can always have peace if you want to pay the price." Workers will not pay the price of open shop and speed-up for Meany's peace with the NAM.

EARLIER FIASCO

The history of past "non-aggression pacts" proves that they will not work. Only ten years ago AFL President William Green and CIO President Philip Murray signed a "peace charter" with Eric Johnson of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce without consulting the union ranks. Recognizing the "inherent right" of management to "earn a reasonable profit" Green and Murray agreed to compulsory arbitration of disputes while industry effected its reconversion from the wartime controls that had hogtied the workers under the no-strike pledge.

Green and Murray too had hoped to keep labor "peace" while the bosses prepared to do some union busting on a grand scale. But the "charter" lasted less than a year. It was shattered by the biggest strike wave in American history.

Organization of the South will require a militant drive on the order of the one that organized the CIO. It will not be achieved without the full scale participation of the workers in all parts of the country. The strikes in the South over the past year show that the workers are getting ready. When they start moving, with the aid of the entire labor movement, they will ignore all the "non-aggression" pacts of Meany and his machine. They will go even further. They will take Meany's threat to the NAM as real coin and answer Big Business attacks by organizing the unorganized and a Labor Party to boot.

Scene in 1954 Square D Strike

Mounted police ride into pickets at the Square D plant in Detroit. In this strike, as in the Perfect Circle strike in Indiana and now the nation-wide Westinghouse strike, the bosses have used armed cops and the National Guard in their attempts to break unions. Will the "non-aggression" pact Meany proposes to sign with the NAM stop these brutal assaults?

Our Readers Take the Floor

On Star Chamber

Editor:

References have been made in the Militant recently to a "Star Chamber hearing." This was in connection with the Kutcher Case. I remember something about a work called Areopagitica, written by the poet John Milton in 1644 that exposed the machinations of the original Star Chamber. But like myself there are probably many readers of the Militant who are too tied up with the job and can't find time to get to the library and look up this chapter in history. I would appreciate a short summary, if space permits, in the Militant of the history of the Star Chamber. Thanks.

C. S.
Detroit

(An account of the Star Chamber appeared in the Jan. 16 Militant — Ed.)

* * *

Praise for Gray

Editor:

Find enclosed $3 for a year's renewal. Sorry I can't offer a contribution. Being past 70, even the privilege of a wage slave is no longer mine. The last time was three years ago, and I was even robbed of my social security for "misconduct."

What little I can spare goes to the anarchist papers, English and Spanish — "the forgotten angels." It is still to be seen whether the atom age will do any good to the world of peonage.

I cannot fail to mention the wonderful cartoons by the young lady, Gray. They are so eloquent and humorous. They remind me of those of Bob Minor, a splendid man. His ideology shifted, but it was his nature. When no one dared, he seconded the lion-hearted Alexander Berkman to initiate the defense for Tom Mooney in San Francisco. Minor put up his all and almost went ragged. Honor to his memory!

R. B. G.
Los Angeles

* * *

Mississippi Letter

Editor:

I am forwarding you a letter I recently received from a friend in Mississippi.

R. L.
Chicago

(The letter follows — Ed.)

Dear Friend:

Your two letters were received yesterday and was I proud to hear from you. I will be living here for the rest of my life as I am on my own home and am not able to work, so this is the best place for me. I worked a little crop and made enough to keep me living up to now nicely. I can chop but not plow so I swapped work with my son-in-law and made one-and-a-half bales of cotton with only $145 expenses and $302.35 sale price.

I have been down with the flu for three weeks and that left me flat but I have a supply of food to carry me on until spring. I had to start from scratch with not even one seed or one animal, but now I have my own chickens, a pig, a cow, tools and fuel to start another crop on. I had saved $80 for tractor work, but the doctor got that in four days. Now my greatest need other than money is clothes to work in. I am 34 in the waist and would appreciate your old trousers and shirts that you are not able to wear in the city.

In answer to your letter, I have encountered the unconquerable group of comrades here in all races and creeds. I suppose you are getting some of the Mississippi news and our state papers are full of it; some, straight from the can and some Southern style.

They fire and drive out the whites and shoot down the Negroes that they **think** will even **think** for themselves. I don't even go to our one-horse town only every two months to get a hair-cut. I have a friend that got himself beaten nearly to death, fined $140 for resisting arrest (!?) then run out of town. Ignorance is so prevalent here that we need more help than anywhere. I am willing to play a part, remembering always that you can't plow with a dead mule, nor live in a burned house. Do you understand? The moral and economic pressure is terrific here now. Tennessee is so much better as a breeding ground under the two-party system. Let me hear from you soon. I am always your friend.

H. J.
Mississippi

* * *

Good Books On Negro Struggle

Editor:

In discussing the socialist program on the Negro question, I know I would not have been nearly as effective if I had not been reading a lot about the Negro struggle in our literature and had not read books, mentioned in the Militant and Fourth International such as Class, Caste and Race by Oliver Cromwell Cox. The Strange History of Jim Crow, by Woodward and Two Friends of Man by Korngold. I am at present reading what I consider the most helpful of them all — Youngblood, by Killems.

D. C.
St. Louis

* * *

Thinks War The Sole Issue

Editor:

My major complaint with the Militant is that it fails to give enough coverage to the necessity of preventing war, or when it does cover it, deals in too many stereotype and traditional Marxist ways of thinking. World socialism, of course, would have prevented world imperialist war. But world socialism missed the boat in Germany, missed it in Spain and missed again in England. And now socialism is a luxury we cannot wait for. After vast atomic destruction, no doubt, it would be a lot easier to convince people of the rationality of Socialism.

But now there is only one question, and it is war. And there is only one enemy, and it is war. And there is only one thing to prevent, and it is war.

You can get all your guaranteed annual wages and all your defense contracts and all your automobiles and all your better homes, but if the whole thing is tied to a war program, what the hell good is it?

Socialists are going to find that they will have to cooperate with Democrats and other people within the unions and within Congress whom they don't like in pushing the issue of Point Four, repeal the McCarran Act, disarmament, disarmament, and more disarmament.

Socialists should certainly carry on a separate campaign in the 1956 elections, but let it be a joint campaign with all anti-Stalinist socialists (whether or not you think these people deserve the name of socialist), with a candidate also capable of getting the middle classes to support him.

R. B.
Detroit

* * *

Greyhound Workers' 'Sixteen Tons'

Editor:

The following version of Sixteen Tons was heard on the picket line of striking Greyhound Bus workers:

I was born one morning
It was drizzling rain
I picked up my crank
And walked to the lane,
I loaded 16 buses
Full of baggage and freight
And the Terminal Manager
Said "Boy, that's great"
You loaded 16 buses
And what d'ya get
Another day older
And deeper in debt.
St. Peter don cha call me
'cause I ain't got the time
I owe my soul
To the Greyhound Line.

L. M.
Pittsburgh

* * *

On Discrimination

Editor:

As a new reader of the Militant (undoubtedly the best press in the United States) I would like to say a few things myself on the question of racial discrimination — a scourge and blight on human society.

I think the important thing to remember is that we are living in a bourgeois society which diverts the minds of the masses from the real issues — better working conditions, stronger unions, civil rights, cultural enlightenment — by fostering hatred, hatred of people whose skin happens to be yellow or black.

In an open shop factory, racial divisions tend to help the factory-owner. He has no interest whatsoever in fostering brotherhood since this would lower his profit intake. In fact, his theoretical position would be on the other side. So, as Marx taught, the basic reason for racial discrimination is economic—capitalism.

Workers must realize (those who dare to think in spite of the witch hunt, the anti-red hysteria) that all men are brothers; that together, as workers fighting for the same things, we can achieve a society wherein industry will be owned by everybody, planned by an economic council; where there will no longer be any fetters — superstructural or otherwise — on the productive forces.

G.N.
Winnipeg, Canada

Keep Your Eye on the Butcher's Thumb

By Reba Aubrey

My butcher has been cheating me. I'll never know for how long, because it was only a few months ago that I noticed his scale was set one ounce above zero.

At first I was so embarrassed at being betrayed by such a friendly person that I didn't say anything about it. But one day the thought of steak costing 89c a pound gave me courage. As the butcher was weighing it up, I asked him if he knew that his scale was set above zero. He mumbled something and lowered the net price. My courage was worth 18c.

The next time I went in for meat the scale was still one ounce above zero. I asked for a pound of hamburger and reminded the butcher that his scale was riding above zero. He added another dab of hamburger.

This went on for weeks until I asked the butcher why he didn't have the scale repaired or get a new one. Annoyed, he grabbed some sort of tool from under the counter and adjusted the scale; it rested right on zero. I thought my troubles were over, but the next time I bought meat the scale was again one ounce above zero.

How long can I keep calling the butcher's hand before he decides he's really going to give me the business? Already he's no longer courteous and sometimes disappears into the chill box when he sees me coming. What would he do if, in addition to the cheating scale, I hollered about his neat trick of weighing the paper wrapping with my meat? A few sheets of paper don't weigh much, but by the end of the day he must sell a lot of pounds of paper at the price of steak. And what if I complained each time he cut the meat so that the thick part happens to be fat or bone?

Weight-cheating is an old business. In **The Story of Standards***, which has just been published, John Perry tells how Henry VIII decreed that "butchers equip themselves with scales and begin selling meat by weight."

The butchers responded "that if they were compelled to sell Flesh by Weight, they should be utterly undone forever."

ART OF USING SCALES

They needn't have feared. At the opening of the twentieth century butchers were compelled by law to use scales. But they had become real artists at it, skilled with the padlock to be "slipped into each bird" before being weighed, the lump of putty placed discretely beneath the scale pan, the piece of solder hidden by the paper covering the pan, the scale with an adjustable face or a bent pointer, the concealed string leading to a foot pedal.

Just in case a merchant was a little slow-witted and couldn't figure out a good method of cheating, he was given a hand. Perry reports that a scale manufacturer, identified by the N.Y. Times as "company No. 1," boldly advertised in various trade journals "a remarkable scale with which a butcher could buy 20 pounds of pork loins at 9c per pound, sell them at the same price, and make a 3 percent profit! If the dealer's normal profit was 3 percent, the new scale would double it." If you're wondering where you can buy pork at 9c a pound, that was in 1906.

"Company No. 2" didn't go for this particular kind of cheating and published a circular explaining how the "interesting device" worked.

"Company No. 1" promptly persuaded the U.S. Circuit Court "to issue an injunction forbidding the distribution" of the circular.

In Chicago, as Perry tells it, the scandal became so great that "outraged" women, who "became convinced that they were being cheated every day when they went shopping," decided to do something about it.

WOMEN TAKE ACTION

When their protests went unheeded, they organized "The Women's Full-Weight Club" and in March 1907 "built a roaring bonfire on the shore of Lake Michigan . . . Onto the pyre they hurled hundreds of scales, wooden measures and other instruments confiscated from Chicago merchants."

That was in 1907. Yet, as I know from personal experience, butchers are still making sure they aren't "utterly undone forever.", John Perry, who is an authority, explains that since meat, pound for pound, is the most expensive food we buy, it is understandable that the "temptations in selling meat can be irresistible."

The temptation to do a little chiseling is even greater in prepackaged meats where it is cut, wrapped, weighed and price-marked "in the back room." Meat packages are not standard in size as, say, flour, sugar, rice and other dry commodities. The convenience to the customer is matched by even greater convenience to the merchant in saving a modest ounce or two in each package.

But even the so-called "standard-in-size" dry commodities have been found to be short in weight. Perry says that the West Virginia department of weights and measures "has a chamber of horrors, where confiscated short-weight packages are on display." The collection "includes some of the best known brands of coffee, soaps, meat products, beans, motor oil, flour, baking powder, spices, and canned vegetables."

Short-weight, however, is only one of the many ways a merchant cheats. Suppose he fudges a little at the cash register, "accidentally" misreading prices. Or what if he rings up an extra item? Of course, he will apologize "profusely" if anyone notices the "mistake." But he banks on "careless" shoppers.

As a matter of fact, if a merchant puts his mind to it, he is sure to find a few unobtrusive ways of cheating. But to get back to the butcher — Perry quotes Joseph Rogers of the New Jersey department of weights and measures: "Short-weight conditions are more prevalent in the sale of meat than ever before."

WHY THEY CHEAT

Since short-weight practices are so widespread, how can "any merchant afford to be honest?" asks Perry. The butcher "across the street" advertises steak at a saving because he gives you less than a pound. "Who could maintain honest weight," charge a few cents more, "and hold his customers?"

I always check the daily papers for bargains but now I'm wondering if the "bargains" are worth the wear and tear on shoe leather.

Why doesn't the department of weights and measures go into action? Perry explains there's a shortage of inspectors.

But even if inspectors numbered in the hundreds, it wouldn't be easy "to put the finger" on the butcher, especially if he's "crafty as well as greedy." And "it's even harder to prove in court that his offense wasn't a mere accident . . . Even if he is caught red-handed and convicted, a $50 fine isn't enough to discourage him; he can make that up in a couple of days."

I've caught my butcher red-handed, but I don't feel overly optimistic about taking my troubles to the department of weights and measures. Perry says "what really hurts is when customers decide to buy elsewhere." So perhaps I'd better follow his advice and take my trade elsewhere.

Okay, I'll find another butcher. But I'll bet that if I'm not sharp as a tack, I'll be gypped again by another "artful chiseler."

*The Story of Standards, by John Perry, Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 1955. 271 pp. $5.

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