

# Gas Fumes Kill 10 in N.Y. Slum; Year's Toll, 85

By Fred Hart

NEW YORK, Nov. 8.—Deadly carbon monoxide gas from a defective water heater claimed the lives of 10 poor tenement dwellers here yesterday. Edubirges Gonzales, his wife Victoria, their six small children and two guests, Mr. and Mrs. Domingo Motos, were found dead in a shabby three-room apartment at 435 West 46th St. Assistant Health Commissioner Jerome Trichter attributed the deaths to landlord "negligence." The City Health Department admitted that it was an "unnecessary and avoidable tragedy."

On the same day as the Manhattan deaths, a truck driver, General Lee Grant Thomas, and his wife Laura Mae were also found dead of gas poisoning in their four-room cold-water flat, 475 Chauncey St., Brooklyn. Their deaths were also attributed

to a defective water-heater of the side-arm type.

Health inspectors who examined appliances and fixtures in four other apartments in the Brooklyn building found gas heaters in all the apartments which gave off deadly amounts of carbon monoxide, an odorless, invisible gas that kills quickly and without warning.

Since 1951 there has been a city ordinance, Section 277 of the Sanitary Code, that holds landlords responsible for deaths from defective heaters. But in spite of this ordinance, it was revealed today that since last Jan. 1 there have been 22 deaths in this city due to monoxide poisoning caused by faulty water heaters. The Department of Health also reported 85 accidental gas poisonings so far this year and a total of 397 in the last four years. A Health Department inspection of 16,841 side-arm hot-water heaters in the past five months found 3,646—more than one in five—to be giving off carbon monoxide or dangerously defective in some other way.

Most of these deaths have occurred in miserable slum dwellings where the landlords do not provide sufficient heat. Defective water-heaters or other gas appliances are lit by desperate families to keep their small children and babies warm. That's what happened in the case of the Gonzales family and their two friends. Mr. Gonzales had come from Puerto Rico four years ago, had worked here for a time but was unemployed and on relief when he and his family were wiped out.

Trucks with loud speakers and radio announcements were sent out to the West Side Manhattan area to warn in both Spanish and English of the danger of thousands of defective hot-water heaters. Residents were told not to use hot water appliances for room heating purposes and to keep the windows open when operating gas fixtures.

But Assistant Health Commissioner Trichter revealed that the heater in the Gonzales tragedy was giving off enough carbon monoxide "to kill a squadron of men in half an hour." The Health Department reported: "The heater was so defective that had it been used for short periods of time only to heat water it might have caused serious illness and even death." Moreover, two of the four windows in the Gonzales apartment were open when the lethal fumes did their work.

Immediately following the 12 deaths there has been the usual flurry of "investigations" and threats of criminal "indictments" against the landlords, the Ludin Realty Co., owner of the Manhattan death building, and A. A. Hills and Co., owner of the Brooklyn dwelling. But nothing is being done to provide decent, low-rent, modern housing, with proper heating, for New York's slum dwellers.

Year after year, both under Republican LaGuardia's "reform" administrations and then, since 1946, under the Democrats O'Dwyer, Impellitteri and Wagner, thousands have died or been injured in tenement fires, collapsing buildings or from defective gas and electrical equipment. The landlords have become richer and richer; rents have grown sky-high; but the workers, especially segregated minorities, get only crowded death-traps.



McCARTHY

## McCarthy Uses Senate's Floor As Fascist Forum

By Daniel Roberts

The floor of the U.S. Senate was converted into a forum for the fascist propaganda of Joseph McCarthy, when on Nov. 8 the Senate convened in a special session to act on the Watkins recommendation to censure him.

Step one in McCarthy's propaganda barrage was to prepare a pamphlet placed on every Senator's desk as the session opened containing reprints of attacks on McCarthy published in the Daily Worker.

Step two was to issue a text to the newspapers of a speech he would make in the Senate the next day. McCarthy charged: "I would have the American people recognize, and contemplate in dread, the fact that the Communist Party . . . has now extended its tentacles to that most respected of American bodies, the United States Senate; that it has made a Committee of the Senate its unwitting handmaiden . . . This vast conspiracy possesses the power to turn their most trusted servants into its attorney-in-fact."

NEVER GAVE SPEECH

As James Reston says in the N.Y. Times of Nov. 11, McCarthy "is not appealing to the Senate . . . He is appealing to the people of the United States over the heads of the Senate." Indeed, once McCarthy was satisfied that his intended speech was published in the newspapers, he never bothered to deliver it on the Senate floor. "He and his supporters," says Reston, ". . . will fill the Congressional Record with their defenses, and these will be franked around the country for months after the census vote is finally taken."

McCarthy is clearly not concerned with winning the favor of

(Continued on page 3)

to make room for trucks to back in.

The trucks are being used to remove goods from the strike-bound plant and are also bringing in rigging equipment for removing machinery. This is in line with the company's present policy of smashing the union and continuing with its plans to run away to the low-pay, unorganized south.

Since last May, when ASR first announced its plans to run away to Staunton, Virginia, it has been engaged in a dispute with the union over the proposed move.

A contract was finally agreed upon in August under which the company would guarantee 750 jobs until May of 1955, grant a five cents pay increase, and pay \$1,000,000 in severance and pension pay. The last clause was particularly important since many of the workers are in the 40-55 year age group and older. Some of them have worked 30 or 40 years for ASR.

### ASR RENEGES

One of the phoney friends of labor in the Democratic party, Representative John J. Rooney of N. Y. is quoted in the Congressional Record, Aug. 19, saying it was "gratifying" to learn that ASR "and its employees have reached an agreement under which the plant will continue to operate until the end of May 1955."

The words were hardly out of his mouth when ASR reneged and refused to sign the contract it had agreed to earlier.

The reason they gave for their refusal was that the union would not accept a new clause in the contract which would prevent Local 475 from speaking out against ASR's run-away plan.

Their real reasons are becoming more evident as the 42-day-old strike, which started on Sept. 30 with a 14 day shutdown, continues. Aided by the city administration cops, the Big Business press, radio and TV, they're out to smash the union, beat the workers out of their pension and severance pay and move to the unorganized south.

With all these odds against them the ASR strikers are fighting an heroic struggle to win their contract. After being driven off the picket line Thursday morning, they returned in force in the afternoon and attempted

(Continued on page 2)

# Dixiecrats to Take Key Posts In New Democratic Congress

## Embattled ASR Strikers Appeal For Aid from Labor Movement

By Tom Leonard

BROOKLYN, Nov. 10.—Last Thursday morning Democratic Mayor Wagner's cops smashed the picket line of the Local 475 of the Independent United Electrical workers for the second straight day.

Utilizing clubs and horses the cops drove the striking American Safety Razor Co. workers away from the main gate, where the loading platforms are located,

## Witch-Hunt 'Worst Torture' For Vet Of Jungle Combat

World War II navy veteran, Charles Christie, was fired as a "security risk" from his engineering job at Republic Aviation in Long Island, N.Y., because he contracted a skin disease known to GI's as "jungle rot" during his war service in the Pacific. The medical term for "jungle rot" is neurodermatitis.

The N.Y. Mirror explains that the "skin ailment . . . had been mistakenly interpreted as a neurotic condition." The "error" was admitted last Wednesday, Nov. 10, Christie was offered his old job.

### "WORST TORTURE"

Christie said: "I've been through the worst five months of torture in my life waiting to be cleared."

There is a lot of talk about excesses. But was it an excess? What if Christie was really a psychoneurotic—that is, an emotionally wounded veteran? Would he deserve "five months of the worst torture in my life" because war and battle had shattered his nerves?

There were ten others fired along with Christie last June presumably by the same officials. Why were they fired? The Mirror says Christie was prevented "from getting other engineering jobs while the stigma was attached to his name." How many thousands of workers are today blacklisted because of "stigmas" attached to their names by witch-hunt-happy security officials?

Christie got it because the semi-literate security officials, eager to demonstrate their zeal, confused a skin disease with a nervous disorder. This may seem fantastic. But the whole witch-hunt program based itself on an even more fantastic confusion—the deliberate lumping of anti-capitalist political thought, with "subversion."

Christie's case is not an aberration. It is merely a striking example of the witch hunt.

Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII—No. 46.



NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1954

PRICE: 10 Cents

## Anti-Labor, Anti-Negro Elements to Dominate, AFL President Admits

By Art Preis

Pro-Democratic union leaders were disappointed that their anticipated Democratic "sweep" failed to materialize. But they found the narrow victory of the Democratic machine "encouraging" for 1956. Meanwhile, they tell the workers to wait another two years for that genuine "pro-labor" Congress they have talked about for more than two decades but which never appeared even when the Democrats had a big majority.

What have the workers gained from the Democratic recapture of Congress? AFL President Meany concedes labor will get very little more from the 84th Congress than from the 83rd. Although "greatly encouraged" by the election results, Meany added:

"We made no advance predictions other than to emphasize that the election of a clear pro-labor majority in both Houses of Congress is unlikely prior to 1956 . . . we still lack majorities in Congress which will consistently support the legislative objectives of labor . . ."

## Colombia Regime's "State of Siege" Enters 6th Year

Colombia's military dictatorship on Nov. 9 celebrated the beginning of the sixth year of its state of siege (martial law) order issued Nov. 9, 1949. The ruling regime, which is propped up by the U.S. State Department, assumed power in 1948. A rebellion against its oppressive rule flared up at the time of the Bogota Conference in April 1949. This was severely repressed and permanent military rule set up.

The state of siege ordered imposed a rigid censorship and closed down the South American country's Congress, where the liberal opposition was preparing to impeach President Mariano Ospina Perez. Nevertheless, Colombia is one of the countries in which the American imperialist propagandists label as "democratic."

Protestant church leaders in the United States have been protesting the persecution and suppression of Protestant groups in Colombia. Colombia's Minister of the Interior Lucio Pabon Nunez answered that these complaints are based on a "misunderstanding" which would disappear if Americans "realized that Colombian democracy is based on the precepts of Catholicism." Freedom of religion is evidently not one of the elements of Colombian "democracy."

OTHER DICTATORSHIPS

Other military dictatorships, which are savagely oppressing Latin American workers and peasants, have been established in recent years by violent coups d'etat carried out by military-capitalist-landlord interests in Venezuela, Cuba and Guatemala. All were promptly embraced by Wall Street's State Department.

In fact, labor's so-called "victory" will give the decisive voice in Congress to the most reactionary elements in the country outside of the fascist McCarthyites. They are the Southern Democrats, constituting a third of the Democratic forces in Congress, who will have a majority of the top posts in the powerful leading committees. They represent the virtual one-party dictatorship in 13 Southern states which right now is taking measures to defy the U.S. Supreme Court on desegregation of the public schools. They have succeeded to this day in keeping Southern labor largely disorganized and crushed.

Thus, the Nov. 5 N. Y. Times summed up the character of the coming Congress by saying it will "not mean a return of a Roosevelt New Deal" and adds: "The balance of committee power has shifted to the South."

There will still be the witch-hunt, although in more "refined" form, possibly, than when McCarthy and Velde were top dogs on the Senate and House witch-hunting committees. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) announced on Nov. 5 that the Democrats have no intention of "soft-pedaling" Congressional investigation into "subversives."

On the question of support of the giant war budget of Eisenhower, the Democrats will be bipartisan and pushing for even bigger arms expenditures.

The basic conditions of the workers will not be changed for the better by Democratic Party victories, today or in 1956. A political shift in favor of the workers must wait for a class party of labor.

### Strikebreaking Cops at ASR



Democratic Mayor Wagner's police are shown attempting to prevent members of Local 475, independent United Electrical Workers, from distributing copies of the local's shop paper, UE Blade, across the street from the struck American Safety Razor Plant in Brooklyn. Gene Pfeiffer, facing the camera, was arrested for disorderly conduct and released only after the union's lawyer went to the police station.

## FRAME-UP VICTIM GETS BRIEF EXECUTION STAY

The execution of Walter Lee Irvin, frame-up victim in Florida's "Little Scottsboro" case, has been delayed for at least a few days. Here is the sequence of events. As soon as the election campaign had ended Governor Johns of Florida signed Irvin's death warrant setting the week of Nov. 8 for his execution. To get the legal murder over with before there could be any protest movement or legal action, the prison authorities set the execution for early morning November 8.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made an eleventh-hour appeal to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in Washington on Nov. 5. The next day Black presented the NAACP's plea to his associates of the high court. The Court ordered a stay of execution but ordered the NAACP to file a petition for a writ by Nov. 20 before it will decide whether to hear arguments for a new trial. The Court has previously refused to interfere with the conviction of Irvin at his second trial.

A group of Florida liberals and clergymen working to correct the perversion of justice in this case obtained a "gentleman's agreement" from both candidates for governor. The agreement was that if they would cease all publicity about the case — in Florida and nationally — Irvin's sentence would be commuted by whoever got elected.

November 2 — the day the election campaign ended — the date was set for Irvin's execution.

If on November 20 the Court abandons Irvin to the mercies of the Florida officials he will die unless pressure forces Governor Johns to commute the sentence.

Telegrams from individuals and resolutions from union and other organizations should be sent to Acting Governor Charley E. Johns, Tallahassee, Florida. They may save Irvin's life.

# The How and Why of the Workers and Farmers Votes

By Joseph Keller

The election reflected a rather general trend back to the Democrats. This trend is not sweeping, as yet, but it is widespread, with the exception of a few states. Even where the Democrats failed to win as anticipated, they increased their votes relative to the Republicans.

The Democrats took control of Congress. In the House of Representatives, they turned a slim minority of four seats to a safe majority of 29 and now hold 232 seats to the Republicans' 203. In the Senate, the Democrats gained two, while the Republicans lost two, giving the former 48 seats and the latter 47, with independent Wayne Morse promising to throw his vote to the Democrats.

This is the first time in the Democratic Party's history that it has recaptured both houses of Congress in a mid-term election. The Republicans had succeeded in doing this just twice in this

century—during Woodrow Wilson's administration and in 1946 under Truman.

The Democratic gains in the House were greatest where the Republicans have been the strongest, the mid-West. There the Democrats picked up nine seats. They also gained six seats in the Middle Atlantic states, one in New England and two in the Pacific states. The only area which saw a Democratic loss was in the South—one seat. But the Southern Democrats retain a solid 110 seats to 10 for the Republicans. Nearly half of all Democrats in the House are Southerners.

An additional impressive show of Democratic strength was in gubernatorial races. The Republican occupancy of 29 state houses is reduced to 19. The Democrats hold 27 governorships, compared to 21 before.

### ECONOMIC FACTOR

The single most important element in the shift toward the Democrats is the economic de-

cline. Out of twenty-one Congressional districts which the Democrats seized from the Republicans, eighteen are described by the government as "labor surplus" areas—that is, areas suffering mass unemployment.

The farm vote, which had been expected to show a considerable swing away from the Republicans, shifted spottily and only slightly. Dairy and poultry farmers, who have been taking the biggest economic beating—dairy farm incomes have fallen 19% in the past year—switched heavily to the Democrats. This was the case in areas of Minnesota and Wisconsin. But in other states, the strong rural Republican vote caused Democratic upsets, as in the defeat of Democrat Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa, or enabled leading Republican Senatorial candidates to squeeze out victories in Kansas, Ohio and Nebraska.

In most instances, it was the urban vote which constituted the decisive factor in the Democratic shift. And the chief factor in

the urban vote was the workers. Their response to union appeals to get out and vote was the key to the election outcome. If they had failed to respond in large numbers and had "sat out" the elections, the Republicans would have won the day.

It is true, of course, that the workers, in the main, have voted Democrat for the past 22 years, including the 1952 elections. By and large, they do not shift their votes to the Republicans when they are dissatisfied with the Democrats. Rather, they just abstain from voting. Would such abstention be extensive in this election? That was a question that only the vote itself could answer conclusively.

In certain key areas, notably those where economic conditions were most severe, the workers turned out heavily and gave Democratic victories the character of a sweep. This was the case, for instance, in such states as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kentucky and West Virginia. Early returns in Michigan ap-

peared to give incumbent Senator Homer Ferguson a comfortable margin over his Democratic opponent Patrick V. McNamara. But the massive vote piled up by the Wayne County (Detroit) auto workers, who have suffered severely from unemployment, melted Ferguson's margin and gave McNamara a clean-cut majority. In Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kentucky and West Virginia, heavy voting in the hard-hit mining communities added to big city pluralities to give the Democrats decisive victories.

### NEW POLITICAL STAGE

The growing tendency of the workers to vote in bloc and as a class, clearly marked in the 1952 elections, strongly characterized the Nov. 2 election. This was particularly true, of course, among the unionized workers. Even in states like Massachusetts and Ohio, where the Republicans eked out Senate victories by close margins, the urban working-class votes for the Democrats held up well and the big

Republican margins registered in 1952 were drastically cut down on Nov. 2.

McCarthyism came out of the election weakened, although still deadly and capable of a powerful surge forward at any favorable opportunity. But the most notable witch hunters, such as Representatives Kit Clardy of Michigan and McCarthy's own Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin, were defeated. For the time being, McCarthy will be waging a minority factional struggle inside the minority party in Congress, the Republicans.

The key element of the political struggle in the next period is the role of the renewed Democratic-labor coalition. This coalition took a bad beating in 1952 and was sadly strained, but not ruptured. Had the Republicans shown continued strength in this election it would have widened the breach among the diverse elements making up the Democratic coalition. But the Nov. 2 results have sufficed to give the union leaders hope of a Demo-

cratic coalition victory in the 1956 elections.

From the latest voting evidence, the workers appear determined, since no other choice is offered, such as a labor party, to go through with another "try" with the Democrats. They still consider the Democrats the "lesser evil." But if the Democrats do carry through to victory in 1956, on the shoulders of the union movement, there will be no "autumnal flowering" of another "New Deal." Rather, the Democrats will demonstrate, like the Republicans, their incapacity to maintain a stable, full employment economy short of massive war preparations and war. The Democrats will expose themselves in a decisive manner as a class party of the capitalists, with no program but war spending and inflation to meet the economic crisis that is bound to come under capitalism. Through exposure of the Democrats and their labor coalitionists will hasten the day of labor's own class party.

# Truth About Corporations

Theodore K. Quinn is a businessman with a conscience. That is why he tossed up his job as Vice-President of General Electric Corporation in order to work against monopoly by telling the American people some of the truth about Big Business.

He made a speech before the convention of the Cooperative League in Chicago on Oct. 25. Here are some of the things he said.

"Today, we have 68 private, billionaire corporations in the country, each of them with tens to hundreds of thousands of dependent employees. More than half of all workers in the country are employed by less than 1% of the corporations, which control over 50% of the total corporate wealth. In form or organization and control these giants are essentially collectivistic, fascist states with self-elected and self-perpetuating officers and directors, quite like the Russian politburo in this respect. Their control extends directly over production, tens of thousands of smaller supplying manufacturers and subcontractors, and hundreds of thousands of distributors and dealers, who are left with the so-called freedom either to change to some other branded domination or go out of business.

"Indirectly, the control of the giants influences legislation through paid lobbies in the state capitols and in Washington, and it is seen and felt in the magazines, newspapers, radio and television stations — all dependent upon the giants and their associates for their existence . . ."

How "independent" the small businessman, that "backbone" of the middle class, really is was also touched on by former GE Vice-President Quinn:

"The corner gasoline dealer, with few exceptions does not own his station. The stations are owned by the giant oil companies. The

dealer rents the station on an annual lease. If he does well his rent is increased the following year by the amount necessary to keep him a virtual state of serfdom. If he does not do well he's out. Still he is widely advertised by the oil companies as an 'independent.' The local appliance dealer, and scores like him, has the privilege of spending his time and money popularizing branded products, working under contracts that may be cancelled 'with or without cause.' When he is cancelled out he finds the other known brands unavailable and must handle unknown products of small manufacturers, which however superior, do not have the giant's millions to advertise. The automobile dealer is another abject stooge. His costs and selling prices are fixed for him. He is told what, when and how much to advertise and how to operate, and he is forced to make monthly sales and financial reports to his master. Examples are endless . . ."

"You have heard that the giant corporation and monopoly are creative. I deny it and I base my denial on experience and knowledge. Let me give you a live illustration. My business life has been spent in the field of electrical home appliances — electric lamps, refrigerators, washing machines, cleaners, freezers, heaters, ranges, etc. — in all there are a total of 36 such appliances being sold today.

"If the giants were creators would you not suppose that General Electric, General Motors, Westinghouse or some one of the other giants could have created some one of the products? Well, they did not — not a single one on the list, from fans, clocks and electric razors to air conditioners, were created by any giant corporation.

"The story of the giants is one of moving in, absorbing and buying out smaller companies, a wholly financial activity."

# Racist School Plans in South

By George Lavan

Somewhat overlooked in the election returns was the passing of amendments to the constitutions of Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi to thwart any attempts to end school segregation. South Carolina last year passed a similar anti-integration amendment.

These are all preparatory steps from the overall plan of the Deep South white supremacists to prevent school integration from breaching the profitable system of Jim Crow.

What is the overall plan? The Oct. 29 issue of the conservative magazine, U.S. News and World Report, gives us a glimpse of it. In an article entitled "South Digs in for a Fight," a detailed account of the plan in Mississippi is given. The article, datelined from Jackson, Miss., begins: "There's no going to be any quick ending of school segregation in this state. It may be two decades before Negroes and whites are educated in the same schools here!" The writer carefully points out that this isn't the view of some racist hot-heads but is "the consensus of responsible Mississippi leaders."

An innocent believer in the majesty of capitalist law might ask, "But how can that be? The Supreme Court has outlawed

school segregation. How can Mississippi racists prevent it?" Here is how they plan to do it.

### SUPREMACIST PLAN

First they hope to bribe or intimidate the Negro people into accepting segregation. Were this to succeed there would be no Negro plaintiffs to bring legal actions against the segregated schools. The bribe would mainly consist of improvements of the shamefully inadequate "separate but equal" Negro schools. Though there is no promise of really making the Negro schools equal to the white, there is the promise that Jim Crow school facilities would be improved and more money appropriated for Negro students.

While a few Uncle Tom voices have been raised in the South counselling the acceptance of this, they have been noteworthy for their fewness. Moreover, what may be considered as a definite expression of Negro sentiment on this point was delivered recently from Hot Springs, Arkansas, by a conference of 62 Negro educators who met the white supremacist bribe offers with a call for immediate implementation of the Supreme Court decision.

But the racist are doing more than offering sugar-coated bait. They also have the club of coercion. As the U.S. News and World Report article puts it: "Economic pressure is the weapon

on which most reliance is placed. Its simplest form is the firing of Negro workers who insist upon integration, who attempt to vote, or otherwise come to be regarded as 'trouble makers.' Sometimes the mere threat of firing suffices."

### "FLOWER OF MISS."

This campaign of economic retaliation against advocates of integration is being directed by "semi-secret" organizations that are active in more than half of Mississippi's 82 counties. "Members include cotton planters, merchants, lawyers, bankers and — in some instances — public officials and state legislators."

These committees formed of the "flower" of Mississippi society can already point with pride to loans suddenly (and disastrously for the debtor) called, Negro businesses summarily closed down on pretexts by public officials and firings of Negro workers. Several newspapers that advocated, not integration, but merely better Negro schools have already seen attempts to ruin them by boycotts.

These "semi-secret" committees also plan to screen candidates for office. They pushed the recently passed amendment to the state constitution aimed at curbing Negro voting and thus preventing the Negro people from carrying their fight for school integration to the ballot box. Even the U.S. News feels com-

pelled to note the danger that these semi-secret committees might "turn into night-riding vigilantes."

In this connection it is significant to note the re-emergence into public life of Bill Hendrix, former head of the Ku Klux Klan. A publication of his in Mississippi has got in trouble with the postal authorities for propaganda tending "to incite murder or assassination." Here is an excerpt: "Some Negroes of the NAACP seem to think they can now rape and kill white people at will, and that they have the protection of the Federal Government; this is not so, they only have the protection of the mongrelizers of the Federal Government who would rape and plunder for the Negro vote, you still have your constitutional right of protecting what is yours, load your gun and if you're bothered shoot to kill, there is not a jury in the South that would convict you."

### PLAN LEGAL STALL

In addition to bribes, economic coercion and terror the white supremacists have mapped out a plan for legal delay. This is in keeping with the advice of Southern "liberals" like Ellis Arnall who has argued that by legal delaying tactics segregation could be kept "for at least another 100 years."

mobilized throughout the state as assistant attorney generals to fight any anti-segregation suit filed in their localities. The plan is to make each school district answerable for segregation rather than the whole state school setup.

In one district Negroes would be kept in Jim Crow schools on pretext of, say, residence. A suit against this Jim Crow pretext would be fought through all the courts with all the delaying tactics possible. After years of litigation the Supreme Court might declare the "residence" regulations illegal. There upon the Negro students would be segregated no longer on grounds of residence, but health, then morals, then scholastic qualifications, etc., etc. Each case would take years. If eventually no further legal pretext or delay were left to the white supremacists they would then abolish public schools and set up a segregated "private" school system.

Thus it is seen that the Supreme Court decision will not enforce itself. That holds whether the implementing part of the decision — which is due to come in 1955 — is "weak" or "strong." It will take a fight to overthrow school segregation in the Deep South — the bastion of Jim Crow. The segregationists are already well prepared. The Negro people and the labor movement must make their preparations to fight and win.

# Night Court

By Henry Gitano

Night court in session. A group of seven defendants are paraded before the judge. The detective, with a lumber-jacket on his back, and a smirk on his face, testifies. The men are charged with drinking out of a common bottle to the annoyance of passers-by. They plead guilty, are fined two dollars apiece.

An ailing, infirm, pan-handler is now standing before the bar of justice. He is charged with collecting alms from passers-by. The heroic plain clothesman who made the arrest, stands in all his glory alongside the invalid. The defendant says he is waiting for his old age pension. He has no means of support. From the elaborate chair along side a large flag, comes the verdict: ten days in the work-house. The gray-beard stoically accepts the decision.

A weary looking youth is charged with vagrancy, having no visible means of support, no abode. He is given a week in which he will be investigated. His gloomy friend trudges in next.

A gaunt man of a ripe age is led in, by a barrel-chested cop. The blue-coat swears to tell the truth, then asserts that this man, half his weight and double his age, assaulted him while he was making an arrest.

Badge on his jacket, the arresting detective, is followed by two dozen men charged with playing cards and using loud, lewd and boi-

terous language to the annoyance of passers-by. A court-house-corridor-lawyer, asks the plainclothesman if he can identify which one of these men was guilty of the charges. Since he cannot accommodate this request, the case is dismissed.

An obese, elderly woman is flanked by a husky detective. The woman wearing a tattered overcoat is charged with selling pretzels without a permit. The woman detective — her face, expressionless as a door knob — hears the judge fine the pretzel peddler three dollars. One of the inscriptions near the entrance proclaims: "Only The Just Enjoys Peace of Mind" — may the sleuth enjoy her share!

There is a case where the tables are turned. A seaman had gone to the police station demanding that he be taken care of. He is destitute.

The court being adjourned, I walk into the night. In the coffee shop I ponder: the pretzel peddler; the tired pan handler; the young, destitute vagrants. I recall Anatole France: "The law in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor, to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

Heading home, I pass a news-stand, the headlines, scream out: "Graft Probe Widens," the subhead reads: "Police, Fire, Housing Depts. Hit"

# Notes from the News

**ECONOMIST SYLVIA PORTER** attended a meeting of auto dealers in Atlantic City and afterwards reported that at least 8,000 dealers are "walking the brink of bankruptcy right now" and that it will take something more than a miracle if many are to survive the "dog eat dog" competition expected in 1955.

**A RETREAT ON WAGES** was made by UAW-CIO workers at the Hayes Mfg. Corp. in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Local 801 voted 323 to 156 to take what will amount to a cut in take-home pay. Studebaker Corp., which forced its workers to accept a similar pay cut, is a customer of Hayes Mfg. Corp.

**INDUSTRIAL CASUALTIES.** According to U. S. Department of Labor statistics one worker is injured on the job every 16 seconds. Every four minutes a worker is killed or maimed. Workmen's Compensation takes care of only a small fraction of the wage loss resulting from industrial accidents. In Illinois, for example, 87% of the wage loss is borne by the injured worker. Compensation varies tremendously from state to state. Thus loss of an arm brings only half as much (\$5,000) in Texas as it does in New York.

**FLORIDA CIO CONVENTION** held recently in Miami saw encouraging advance in struggle against Jim Crow. Management of Hotel Biltmore, where all delegates were housed, bowed to union insistence that all facilities of hotel — including dining room and bar — be used by delegates regardless of race.

**RAZOR THIN VOTE** appears to have given Nevada unions the edge in their campaign to repeal the anti-union Right-to-Work Law. Out of almost 67,000 votes on the referendum there is a nine vote margin for repeal. A recount has been ordered.

**BRYANT BOWLES'** racist organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, scored a legal victory in Delaware when the Vice Chancellor refused the state request for a preliminary injunction to revoke the charter of the NAAWP.

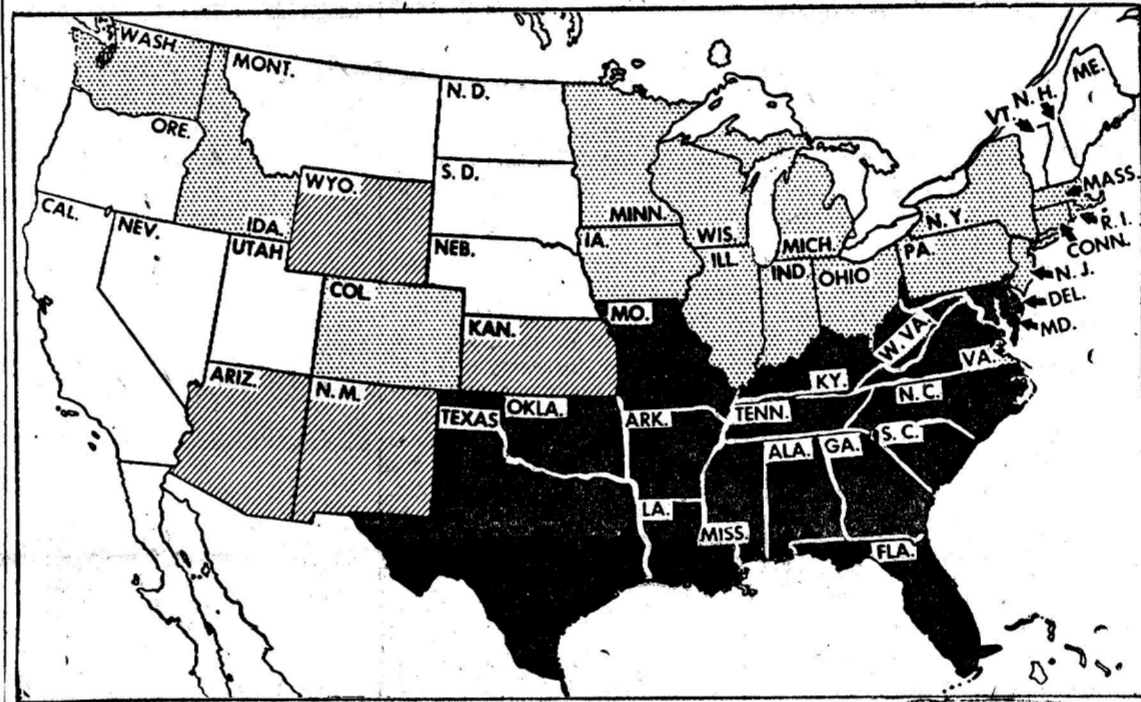
**DR. LINUS PAULING**, California Institute of Technology scientist who has been a target of McCarthy, has been awarded the 1954 Nobel Prize for Chemistry. Pauling was refused a passport to attend a Chemical Society meeting in London in 1952. He has now applied for a passport to go to Sweden to accept the Nobel Prize.

**PUERTO RICO PROFITS.** In the electronics industry which employs about 21,000 workers wages run as low as 30 cents an hour. The CIO Electrical workers union president James B. Carey recently visited the Island colony of U.S. imperialism and urged higher wages — up to 65 and 70 cents. Carey revealed that the profits of the companies, many of them subsidiaries of U.S. mainland firms, were so great that they equaled nearly 300% of wages paid.

**MENTAL ILLNESS IN SOUTH** is the subject of a conference in Boca Raton, Florida, this week of the governors or their representatives from 16 Southern states. These states with 30% of the country's population has proportionately only half as many mental health clinics as the rest of the country, and even these are under-staffed. In contrast to the \$17 a day average spent on care of patients in general hospital the South spends an average of only \$2 a day for its 120,000 mental hospital patients. The South has 96,000 acceptable psychiatric hospital beds but needs 134,000 more.

**LOUIS BROMFIELD**, well-known U.S. author, wrote in the Oct. 10 Cleveland Plain Dealer: "We have no business occupying Formosa. It is the same as if China occupied Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard or even Long Island. The assumption held by the armed forces brass that it is essential or a convenience to our strategy might have some truth from our point of view. From the point of view of the world of Communist China, it has absolutely none, and should quite rightly arouse the indignation and enmity of every Chinese regardless of his political beliefs. China has a right to any sort of government or alliance it desires. By our policies we have alienated the peoples or at least the governments of two great Asiatic nations, China and India."

## School Segregation Map



States that had laws on school segregation last May 17 when the Supreme Court issued its ruling against racial segregation in public education are shown on this map. The 17 states marked in black had compulsory total segregation in force. Thirteen states still maintain total segregation, while four border states and the District of Columbia have instituted mere token desegregation. Big Northern cities like New York and Chicago keep Negro students segregated on a residential basis.

# Our Readers Take the Floor

## ASR Striker Replies to Slander

Editor:

The following letter, signed "Ex-ASR Worker," appeared in the N.Y. Daily News, Nov. 7, attacking the strike of the American Safety Razor Workers:

"Congratulations, you dedicated-to-Moscow leaders of our American Safety Razor union, on your so-called victory. Your bosses in Moscow probably will award you the order of Lenin for this great victory in disrupting an industry. Of course, at the same time you and your stooges deprived us employees of our livelihood, though it was temporary, and lost us the million dollars' worth of pensions and severance pay ASR offered us before you ordered a sit-in strike. You must be very happy about your 'victory' you men who are dedicated to destroy American industry. But, now that you have lost our pensions and pay for us, just how do you sleep?"

Here is my answer to this letter. I am sending it to the Daily News and also to the labor press:

To Ex-ASR Worker:

You don't sound like any kind of a worker to me, and you certainly don't know what you're talking about on the ASR strike. I'm one of the "stooges" who sat-in for 14 days and it sure burns me up to read your re-baiting and misrepresentation. If you ever were an ASR worker, where were you on Aug. 15, when the majority of the membership voted to ratify the contract granting us severance pay and pensions after ASR goes south, to Staunton, Virginia, in May 1955?

Don't you know it was the employers who backed down on that agreement? We accepted it. They backed down. You know how they did it? They demanded that our union, Local 475 of the independent United Electrical Workers sign a pledge to keep its mouth shut about the planned runaway—or else no contract.

For six weeks we worked without a contract. And we saw what their game was. They knew we wouldn't give up our right to free speech and they were willing to let us work until they were ready to skip—and rob us of our severance pay and pensions that way. So we had no other choice but to strike. Unless we were "dogs" like C. E. Wilson said.

Who are you calling "Moscow agents" anyhow? Some of us have worked for this company 30 and 40 years. Then they tell us, "We're going south. Come along if you want to. Take a wage cut, and you must buy a house. And down in Staunton, Virginia, we are advised that if there are any minorities working in the plant, it wouldn't be very 'healthy' for them to come down there."

If the Daily News has the guts to print this, I want to tell all working people not to listen to lies and slanders about our strike. Come down to the picket line, at 315 Jay Street in Brooklyn, and see for yourself how they are trying to break our union.

Edith Glickman  
ASR Striker

## Workers Have 'Wait and See' Attitude

Editor:

In the plant where I work one of the largest union plants in New Jersey, I've talked to some of the workers about the elections. Their feelings were generally "now that friends of labor have been elected, we should wait and see what they give the working people."

One worker said, "I feel that with the Democrats in we will get some relief from unemployment by all forms of government projects. The Republicans always breed depression, they are Big Business' politicians."

Another, working next to me, said: "I voted for the Democrats mainly because our union is for them. Our union worked hard to help the Democrats get into of-

rice. Walk around the plant and you'll see for yourself most of the workers feel they've gained a victory for labor." But after saying this he ended up as the other I had talked to: "We will wait and see whether the Democrats do anything for labor."

At this point I asked him how he felt about an independent Labor Party, running labor's own candidates. He thought a minute and said, "I feel that we can still get something out of the Democrats for labor's interests. I think this labor party idea is too premature; the only time it will come about is when hard times hit the working man."

I asked this same question about a Labor Party of an old-timer — about 20 years in the plant. His reaction was mixed, "I think it's a good idea but I think it would be branded as a Communist outfit before it could get underway. Our union leadership isn't for a labor party and if there was a real necessity for such a party, I think they would push for it."

My estimate of the feeling in this plant on the Democratic victory runs along these lines: The workers are cautious, no jubilation was expressed as after previous Democratic victories. A wait-and-see attitude on what will be done for labor along with a tremendous amount of doubt on what can be expected. But the attitude is "we will give the Democrats a chance."

P. N.  
New York, N.Y.

## Aid ASR Strike!

We urge New York unionists to rally to the ASR picket line, 315 Jay St., B'klyn. Finances are needed for food packages and the strike kitchen. Send contributions to:

Local 475,  
United Electrical Workers,  
160 Montague Street,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

# ... ASR Strike Appeal

(Continued from page 1)  
to re-establish the line in front of the plant.

While strikers' cars barricaded the streets and backed up the rush-hour traffic, the rest of the workers broke through the foot cops guarding the main gate. They were only dispersed after mounted cops rode right on the side walk and galloped up and down the line.

Meanwhile, nine strikers chained themselves to an iron fence in front of the plant and had to be removed by an emergency police squad. One striker was sent to the hospital with head injuries and 11 others were arrested for "disorderly conduct."

### PICKETS RETURN

On the following Monday hundreds of strikers and workers from other shops and unions massed across the street from the plant. The cops got nervous and jittery at this show of strength. Rather than risk a real battle they decided to allow picketing in front of the main gate.

Today the picket line is back in front of the plant but the cops are still protecting the out-of-town truckers and riggers who

cross the line. One loud-mouthed cop asked a woman picket, "What's wrong with Virginia, it's nice down there?" She turned around and snapped "I've got a black skin! Don't tell me how nice Virginia is."

Many of the strikers are hard up and have been forced to look for work until the strike is over. Most of them, particularly the older ones, return to the picket line and report, "They don't want to hire old people," or, "Everywhere you go there are 20 or 30 people looking for one job."

The union plans for a demonstration in front of City Hall today. Mayor Wagner's strike-breaking cops have shown what side the city administration is on. The big question now, is what the New York labor movement will do.

The striking ASR workers have called for help. Their call must be heeded. New York unionists must rally to the ASR picket line. Every union local in the area, AFL, CIO and independent, must go on record giving full moral, financial and picket support to this front-line battle against union busting.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Ruth Fine reports 100 copies of the election issue of the Militant sold in a housing project in Newark. Joe, Ruth, Eddy, Dan and Larry participated in the sale. They got one promise of a sub. One worker who bought the paper reported that after he read his copy he gave it to the president of his local who he is sure will buy a sub. Newark comrades are planning to build a route in this project.

New York Literature Agent John Tabor reports the distribution of the remainder of their bundle of 5,000 of the special election issue of the Militant with a very good response in the various neighborhoods. Tom, Ann, Myrl, Manny, Janet and Pete distributed 1,250 in the Puerto Rican neighborhood. The final Sunday of the election campaign Greg, Manny, Bernie, Oscar and Ethel P. distributed several hundred copies at three forums where David L. Weiss spoke and sold two copies of Fourth International. The next day Manny distributed 450 copies at a subway stop.

Chicago Literature Agent Carol Houston writes, "We sold 70 copies of the Trumbull Park pamphlet at a testimonial dinner for Elizabeth Woods. Doty sold 32 copies; Mary Lou sold 18; Jackie, 12; and Marj, eight. Friday Doty sold 32 pamphlets and Marj sold 28 at a Paul Robeson concert. Both evenings a free copy of the election issue of the Militant was given to everyone who bought a pamphlet. Also on Friday Bert and Will sold four Militants and an FI on the campus before they got rained out.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman reports, "Pack- inghouse workers in Austin,

Minn. and South St. Paul received the election issue of the Militant with the headlines 'Labor Needs Own Party.' Dorothy, Charlie, Winnie, Paul, R. R., Harry and Helen distributed the paper at plant gates. All reported that the workers were interested and 'ordial.' They will learn a lot from reading the political statements of the SWP candidates. In addition nearly 2,000 copies were distributed at workers' homes in Minneapolis and St. Paul along with a leaflet advertising election rallies for V. R. Dunne."

Seattle Literature Agent Helen Baker writes, "Our routes continue to net good sales of the Militant. We are also selling various pamphlets and copies of the FI. We had a good sale of tickets to the Myra Weiss meeting to our route customers. One woman took six tickets to sell. She paid us for three last Sunday and expects to have the other three sold by Friday night. Five of our route customers came to a party we held recently. Another of our activities is a special distribution of sample copies in locations where radical publications are more widely read. Special mention for this work goes to Jack G. who has been doing this work every week for over a year."

Newark Fri. Night  
Socialist Forum  
"The 1954 Elections—  
Results and Perspectives"  
Nov. 19 — 8:30 P. M.  
52 Market Street  
Corner of Plane Street

Subscription \$3 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies to each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400  
Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN  
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

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

Vol. XVIII—No. 46. Monday, November 15, 1954

# James Kutcher's Letter to a CIO Leader

The following letter was sent by James Kutcher to a leader of the CIO on Sept. 27 while Kutcher was on his recent national tour. Copies of the letter were sent to CIO organizations and to labor and civil liberties movement newspapers. We are publishing the letter for the information of all who have supported the Kutcher civil rights fight.

## Victimized Legless Vet



Legless World War II veteran, James Kutcher, and his 73-year-old father Hyman shown in 1953 when they were threatened with eviction from a federal housing project in Newark on the basis of a new "loyalty" oath law. The order was issued when Jimmy's father could not sign an oath that no member of his household belongs to a "subversive" organization, since his son was fired from his Veterans Administration job in 1948 as a member of the Socialist Workers Party. The party was arbitrarily placed on the Attorney General's political black-list without a hearing. A state court later suspended the eviction order. This is a sample of the government persecution that has dogged Kutcher because of his socialist views.

I have followed consistently for me to imply that I had them, or to permit any associate to make such an implication. I am proud of the support I have received from CIO unions, leaders and members, and I never fail to publicly express my gratitude for this. But I would be a fool, and I would sully myself in the bargain, to claim what I never asked for nor received.

**PRINCIPAL RELATIONS**  
I do not believe that it was the intention of Mr. McPeak's letter to cast any cloud of suspicion or doubt over my case, and I hope that it will not have this effect. I hope that the successor of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, which I believe is named the CIO Civil Rights Committee, will see fit to extend me support of the type mentioned in Mr. Murray's letter. And I hope that my relations with the CIO as a whole will be as friendly, as principled and as honorable in the future as they have been in the past, since 1948.

It is in this spirit that I continue my appeals to labor and liberal groups of all varieties to help me regain the job from which I was discharged solely because of my political views and associations. No matter how difficult it may be, I intend to keep fighting to win my case (now in the federal courts — for the third time) so long as there is any possibility that resistance against the attack on my democratic rights will help to promote and preserve democratic rights generally. I believe that a victory in my case would benefit not only me but the American people as a whole, and especially the labor movement whose future depends so greatly on the preservation of civil liberties for all. I am certain that this belief will continue to be shared by every person and every organization devoted to the Bill of Rights.

Trusting that I have cleared up any misapprehensions that may have arisen about my case, I am  
Fraternally yours,  
James Kutcher.

## \$1,000,000 Bill-of-Rights Fund

Corliss Lamont has initiated a step which every true defender of civil liberties must hail. He has started the ball rolling on a million-dollar Bill of Rights Fund by the generous donation of \$50,000.

This news was buried in the back columns of the Big Business press because all the front page space is occupied with scare-head stories of the witch-hunt, political trials, synthetic spy stories and the doings of fascist Senator McCarthy. That very fact shows how necessary Lamont's progressive action was.

The liberals and labor bureaucrats have so far conducted a campaign of retreat in the face of the witch-hunt offensive. Surrendering traditional positions from which the civil liberties of all have been defended, they have accepted some of the promises of the enemies of civil liberties. Consequently they are disunited and afraid to defend all civil liberties in this country.

The Fund which Lamont along with Augustus Kelly, publisher, and Edna Johnson, managing editor of the Churchman, will administer defines its aim as follows:

"The specific purposes of this Fund are, first, to give financial assistance to key organizations and enterprises that are working militantly and uncompromisingly for American civil liberties on the basis that the Bill of

Rights should apply impartially to all groups and individuals in the United States; and second, to provide financial help in especially significant individual cases involving constitutional issues, in order to assist the victims with their legal defense and to lessen economic pressures on such persons if they have lost their jobs."

This is indeed a program for effective action in the defense of our fast-vanishing civil liberties on which all believers in the Bill of Rights, regardless of political beliefs, can unite. We hope that this may be the beginning of a broad non-partisan movement against the witch hunt. Certainly this Bill of Rights Fund deserves your support. That holds, too, for the unions with their ample treasuries.

Lamont has previously demonstrated his willingness to stand up and fight. In September of 1953 he defied Senator McCarthy, standing on his rights under the First Amendment. For that he is under federal indictment for contempt of Congress. His and other cases under the First Amendment are of great importance to the fight to preserve liberty of thought in America. His initiative in starting the non-partisan Bill of Rights Fund to defend the civil liberties of all is another important contribution.

## State Dept.'s Double Standard

"It makes a difference whose ox is gored," said Martin Luther, the famous Protestant leader in the sixteenth century. Although he did not have the N. Y. Times editors in mind, Luther could have been speaking precisely about their reaction to rigged elections.

The New York Times, just as all other capitalist papers, never fails to denounce — supposedly in the name of the principle of free election — the crassly undemocratic character of Kremlin-controlled balloting. But when an ally of Wall Street rigs a vote, the editors of the Times take a different stand.

For instance last week Cuba held its elections. The Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista, who in March, 1952 overthrew the country's legally elected government by force and violence, was "reelected" President.

Prior to voting day Batista's opponent, Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin accused the dictator of conducting a reign of terror. Grau charged that his Cuban Revolutionary (Autentico) Party candidates and campaigners had been arrested by the hundreds throughout the island and voting registration cards (without which no Cuban can vote) had been confiscated wholesale.

Grau denounced this violation of elementary democratic rights, withdrew as a candidate and called for a boycott of the election. But Batista ordered the election to be held anyway and his controlled Superior Election Tribunal ruled that Batista had been legally elected.

Surely here was an opportunity for the N. Y. Times to blast dictatorial practices close to home and to speak up for free elections. However, the Times failed to avail itself of the

chance. Its editors did deplore Batista's high handed methods but stated:

"For the sake of Cuba and of peace in the fertile and strategic Caribbean one must fervently hope that the election will be accepted (by the Cuban people) . . . Cuba badly needs a long period of internal stability in which the confidence of investor, employer and worker can be restored." The Times concluded: "It will be up to President-elect Batista to create the proper climate of liberty."

Why is the Times so lenient with Batista, when it pulls no punches against dictatorial practices behind the iron curtain? Why do they voice the hope that the butcher Batista will reform his high-handed ways, while they favor revolution against the Stalinist overlords?

The reason is that Batista is Wall Street's man in Cuba. His brutal and undemocratic overturn was carried out with the backing of the State Department. The Autentico regime which Batista overthrew, although it was a capitalist government, had granted modest reforms to the trade-union movement, and thus interfered with U.S. profit making on the island.

Wall Street feared that if Grau, who had the backing of the working people, were elected, the Cuban government would again have to grant reforms. That is why they wanted Batista to remain in power.

And if he had to resort to a reign of terror to maintain control — well, as the N.Y. Times said, "For the sake of Cuba and of peace . . . one must fervently hope that the election will be accepted."

Or as Martin Luther said: "It makes a difference whose ox is gored."

## The Davies Purge

When Secretary of State Dulles fired John Paton Davies as a "security risk" on Nov. 5, he adopted the McCarthy lie that "we lost China to the Communists" because of "pro-Communism" in the State Department under Dean Acheson and the Democrats. Davies, one of McCarthy's constant targets since 1950, was declared a "security risk" because of the policies he advocated in the years 1945-47 — the opening years of China's great revolution.

It is true that in those years Davies along with a number of other members of the U.S. diplomatic service in China favored a coalition government of Chiang Kai-Shek and the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. This was also the recommendation General Marshall made in 1946, for which McCarthy called him a "traitor." But it isn't true that their recommendation was inspired by sympathy for the revolutionary movement of the Chinese peasants and workers. Quite the opposite.

Davies and the other targets of McCarthy's attacks are just as loyal servants as he is of Wall Street and its aims to dominate the world and exploit it. For instance, in the statement he issued following his ouster, Davies revealed that in 1950 he advocated a "preventive showdown with the Soviet Union."

Not pro-Communism but the realities of the situation led Davies and other diplomats to recommend a deal in China with the Communist Party leaders. They believed this was the only chance to stem the revolutionary tide of the Chinese masses. They knew that the Chiang Kai-Shek government was so corrupt and so hated by the population that it simply did not have the strength to crush the revolution. Nor could American troops,

who in 1946 launched demonstrations to go home to the U.S., be used for the purpose.

There was only one card left for the U.S. government to play: to use the perfidy of the Stalinist leaders in the Kremlin and in China — that is, their proven willingness to sell the revolution out and hold it within the bounds of modest reforms.

Davies and the others had good reason to hope that this course might succeed. It has since been revealed that Stalin did urge the Chinese Communist Party leaders to enter a coalition government with Chiang Kai-Shek instead of steering for the seizure of power, and that Mao Tse-Tung and the other leaders agreed.

But Chiang Kai-Shek would not agree, and what was even more decisive, millions of Chinese peasants would not agree. Caught between Chiang's unwillingness to bargain and the imperative demand of the Chinese peasants in Northern China to go ahead with land divisions, the Chinese Communist Party was pushed forward on the revolutionary road.

Though fully equipped by the U.S. government, while the Red Armies fought with far older equipment captured from the Japanese, Chiang's armies collapsed one after one. The majority of his soldiers, drawn from the peasantry, joined with the revolutionary forces. Chiang and his gang of landlords, monopolists, war-lords and bureaucrats had to flee to Formosa.

This is the real reason for the victory of the revolution in China. Not "treason in high places in the U.S.," not softness on Communism in the State Department, but the power of the awakened working masses in China, brought defeat for Wall Street in its aim to convert China into its colony.

Your letter of Sept. 10, 1954, sent to Detroit, finally caught up with me here in Minneapolis, the latest stop in the national tour I am making to publicize my six-year

legal fight for reinstatement with the Veterans Administration, to help finance that fight in the courts, and to promote the sale of my book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," all the royalties of which are being donated to the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is handling my legal fight.

I thank you for your courtesy in personally answering the letter I sent you in June, expressing my alarm over rumors I had heard that I was guilty of misrepresenting the relations of the CIO with my case. I was eager to clear up any misunderstandings, and that is why I have studied with care the copy you sent me of Mr. McPeak's letter to all CIO regional directors on August 5, 1954.

### LISTS CIO SUPPORT

As Mr. McPeak said, "some CIO organizations, including councils, came to his (Kutcher's) defense in protesting against the method of, and the reasons given for his discharge."

This is true. The support of CIO unions, leaders and members has been generous and vital to me; without it, I doubt that I ever would have been able to get my case into the courts, where it is still being litigated. To indicate that this feeling of mine is no exaggeration, I list the following CIO bodies that were so concerned about the civil liberties issues raised in my case that they took time from their regular business to extend moral and/or financial help to me in one form or another:

**International CIO Unions:** Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Lithographers, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, National Maritime Union, Transport Workers, United Automobile Workers, United Packinghouse Workers and United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

**State CIO Councils:** California, Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island (and

### Kutcher's Visit To Youngstown

**YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 6** — James Kutcher wound up his national tour today after a two-week visit in this steel center. During his stay here he spoke to a dozen CIO union meetings, including the Mahoning County CIO Council. Kutcher also was a guest at a local American Civil Liberties Union banquet.

At Youngstown College, Kutcher attended a number of classes. Professors and students alike greeted his fight for civil liberties. Even those who disagreed most with his socialist ideas quoted Voltaire's famous saying, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

All told Kutcher spoke to over a thousand people in Youngstown and sold 50 copies of his book.

(the Washington State CIO Political Action Committee.) Industrial Union Councils: a total of 23, including those in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, the Twin Cities, Akron, Toledo and Newark.

In addition I received support from hundreds of CIO local unions, the exact number of which I can report when I am home again.

This list only partially reflects the warm sympathy and encouragement I have received from CIO unions, leaders and members all over the country. I have had the privilege of appearing at several state CIO conventions as an officially invited speaker. In addition, when I was on my first speaking tour in 1949 and my visit to Cleveland coincided with the holding of the CIO's Eleventh Constitutional Convention, I was invited by the convention arrangements committee, and I gladly accepted the invitation, to sit at a convention booth featuring the literature on my case and discuss it with all interested delegates.

### McPEAK LETTER

Mr. McPeak also said, "The groups and persons promoting the current campaign are using literature which implies that CIO is a present sponsor. On the basis of this implication, some CIO councils may be persuaded to lend their names and facilities to the promotion."

"Will you please inform the councils in your region that any attempt to indicate that the present financing effort had the endorsement, sponsorship, or approval of the National CIO, or of any of its committees or departments, would be misrepresentation. No such endorsement, approval, or sponsorship has been given, promised or authorized."

It is unfortunate that Mr. McPeak did not consult me or the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee on this matter because it is plain that his warning is based entirely on the fact, to which your poster refers, that the letterhead of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee includes among its sponsors the name of the "National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination."

I was unaware until after I started on my current tour last May that this committee no longer exists. If we had known about this, we would automatically not have included the name of this committee on our list of supporters. As soon as I received your letter, I conveyed this information to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee and urged that it delete the name of the no longer existent committee from the letterhead, and notify all its branches to follow suit. I am sure that this will be done without delay.

But I assure you that there was no element of misrepresentation in the listing of this committee on our letterhead, where it has been for almost six years, or any motive of deception involved. The relations between my

case and the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination are a matter of record. Both Mr. James B. Carey, chairman of the committee, and Mr. George L. P. Weaver, director, personally assured me of the committee's support, as their files should confirm. In fact, the first presentation of the facts in my case outside of my home town was personally made by Mr. Carey himself when he introduced me at a Herald Tribune forum in New York City in 1948.

### SUPPORT FROM MURRAY

In addition, Mr. Philip Murray, in a letter to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee dated May 22, 1950 and quoted in full in my book, specifically referred to the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination as the body which has "manifested the interest of the CIO in Mr. Kutcher's case." He also said, "I am sure that Mr. Weaver, the Director of this Committee, will continue to lend the support of our organization in view of the important civil liberties issues involved."

I hope that these facts will suffice to demonstrate that we have been scrupulously careful to make no claims with relation to the CIO that were not completely justified, and that the continued inclusion of the name of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination was due only to the fact that we were unaware it had gone out of existence.

My present tour is sponsored nationally by the publishers of my book and co-sponsored by local branches of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, and I have never claimed anything else

## World Events

**STAY-DOWN STRIKE** of seven coal miners in Aberdare, Wales, ended after 85 hours when management agreed to negotiate their grievances. Though coal mines in Great Britain are nationalized they are not under workers control.

**TURKISH STUDENTS** are the latest target of the dictatorial regime in that country. The newspaper, which is the recognized voice of the American-backed regime, has called for "real measures" against Turkish students displaying their political sympathies. Culminating incident was at the opening of Ankara University Nov. 3. The students gave the representative of the Opposition party loud and prolonged applause and only perfunctory applause to the Premier. The regime, which is allied with U.S. imperialism to "save democracy," had undertaken a campaign to outlaw the only opposition party. The premier has asked the rubber stamp parliament to remove the immunity of 24 dissident deputies. Professors have been forbidden to participate in politics. Professor of Constitutional Law, Esen, was dismissed from his post for remarking in a lecture that Turkey was not actually democratic. This was regarded as a direct contradiction of U.S. propaganda. Students at the School of Agriculture of Ankara University issued a statement Nov. 4 that it was their right as Turkish citizens to participate in political activities. Students throughout the whole university have begun a petition demanding amnesty for more than 20 newspapermen sent to prison since the recent enactment of strong censorship laws.

Targeting" documents. Target of the raids were the Paris headquarters of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberty, the principal Algerian nationalist movement and successor to the banned Algerian Popular Party. Also raided was the newspaper L'Algerie Libre (Free Algeria). In Algeria 196 officials of the Movement for Democratic Liberty were arrested and it was believed they would be brought to trial. Included was Moulay Merbah, secretary general of the party. The founder and leader, Messali Hadj has long been under forced residence and house arrest in France. Meanwhile French Interior Minister Mitterland informed the world that it would be useless for Algerian nationalists to appeal to the United Nations because Algeria was part of France and France would not tolerate any interference with her internal affairs.

**MOSCOW AND BELGRADE** continue to draw closer. The main speech at the Soviet 37th Anniversary celebration of the October Revolution, delivered by Deputy Premier Saburov, contained a proposal for the complete normalization of USSR-Yugoslav relations.

**CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION**, Canada's labor party, took a Manitoba seat away from the Government Liberal Party in the Nov. 8 by-elections.

**SHOWDOWN IN AUSTRALIA** is developing over the Liberal government's attempt to take control of hiring away from waterfront unions and give it to the employers. Prime Minister Menzies support of such legislation has already provoked a nationwide strike of the Waterside Workers Federation. Despite violent rebaiting by the Government and employer newspapers the Australian Council of Trade Unions has affirmed its support of the strike. In the House of Commons leader of the Opposition, laborite Herbert Evatt, charged that the anti-labor bill had been forced on Menzies' administration by the shipowners.

**UPRISINGS IN ALGERIA** have centered in the Department of Constantine, bordering the other French colony of Tunisia, which itself has been the scene of French repressions against the anti-imperialist movement. Simultaneous acts of terrorism, however, took place in all the other departments of Algeria. The Mendes-France government answered demands for Algerian freedom with the dispatch of large military forces to the North African colony and armored force attacks against a reported force of 1,000 rebels in the Aures mountains in the Department of Constantine. In France the government tried to silence Algerian nationalists and lay the basis for frame-up trials by raids and the seizure of "in-

formation" documents. Targeting" documents. Target of the raids were the Paris headquarters of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberty, the principal Algerian nationalist movement and successor to the banned Algerian Popular Party. Also raided was the newspaper L'Algerie Libre (Free Algeria). In Algeria 196 officials of the Movement for Democratic Liberty were arrested and it was believed they would be brought to trial. Included was Moulay Merbah, secretary general of the party. The founder and leader, Messali Hadj has long been under forced residence and house arrest in France. Meanwhile French Interior Minister Mitterland informed the world that it would be useless for Algerian nationalists to appeal to the United Nations because Algeria was part of France and France would not tolerate any interference with her internal affairs.

**CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION**, Canada's labor party, took a Manitoba seat away from the Government Liberal Party in the Nov. 8 by-elections.

**SHOWDOWN IN AUSTRALIA** is developing over the Liberal government's attempt to take control of hiring away from waterfront unions and give it to the employers. Prime Minister Menzies support of such legislation has already provoked a nationwide strike of the Waterside Workers Federation. Despite violent rebaiting by the Government and employer newspapers the Australian Council of Trade Unions has affirmed its support of the strike. In the House of Commons leader of the Opposition, laborite Herbert Evatt, charged that the anti-labor bill had been forced on Menzies' administration by the shipowners.

**UPRISINGS IN ALGERIA** have centered in the Department of Constantine, bordering the other French colony of Tunisia, which itself has been the scene of French repressions against the anti-imperialist movement. Simultaneous acts of terrorism, however, took place in all the other departments of Algeria. The Mendes-France government answered demands for Algerian freedom with the dispatch of large military forces to the North African colony and armored force attacks against a reported force of 1,000 rebels in the Aures mountains in the Department of Constantine. In France the government tried to silence Algerian nationalists and lay the basis for frame-up trials by raids and the seizure of "in-

## M'Carthy Uses Senate as Forum

(Continued from page 1)

his colleagues in the Senate. In the debate on Nov. 10, Sen. Francis Case (R-S.D.), a member of the Watkins committee, rebuked McCarthy for his charge that those who recommended his censure, were "unwitting handmaidens" of the Communist Party. "I do not want the junior Senator from Wisconsin," said Case, "to prove to the American people that Count I (of the Watkins charges accusing McCarthy of treating a Senate sub-committee with contempt) is . . . right."

### CONTEMPT DELIBERATE

But the fascist Senator from Wisconsin is not showing his contempt for the Senate unintentionally. On the contrary, contempt for that body is exactly and consciously what he wishes to convey to the American people. For McCarthy directs his propaganda against the entire structure of capitalist democracy, which it is his ultimate aim to supplant with a fascist dictatorship in the service of Big Business.

He wants to destroy confidence in U.S. democratic institutions including the U.S. Senate and the Senate's sub-committees. That is why he breaks every rule of the Senate's decorum, holds up senators to ridicule, insults them freely and doesn't

hesitate to tax them with "treason."

This tactic is copied from Hitler, who taught his followers to deride the institutions of the democratic republic as the playground of idiots, cowards, corrupt men and "traitors" and their "dupes."

### BEATEN AT POLLS

McCarthy goes into the censure fight having been beaten at the polls. The workers voted Democratic and repudiated his indictment that the Democrats were the party of "treason." In addition, McCarthy's men in Illinois and Wisconsin suffered serious defeats. In New Jersey, the election of Clifford Case — an Eisenhower Republican whom the McCarthyites smeared during the election, hoping to cause his defeat — was a slap at McCarthy by more conservative voters. The altered relationship of forces put McCarthy on the defensive for the time being.

McCarthy has had to readjust his tactics accordingly. He poses as a martyr and predicts he will be censured. At the same time he capitalizes on division in the Republican Party over the use of the Communist issue and over foreign policy to squeeze out maximum support from that direction.

It is variously estimated that from 10 to 15 Senators will de-

fend him in the censure debate. McCarthy's use of the Senate as a forum to expound his fascist ideas is also facilitated by the silence of the Democrats. They hope that the debate will split the Republican Party. They fear new red-baiting smears against them. Now that they have the majority they imagine it will be unnecessary to pit themselves against the fascist Senator.

The McCarthyites, for their part, seek to use the debate to build up and consolidate their supporters. To that end, they have planned a march on Washington for Nov. 11 with the aim of putting pressure on the Senate not to vote for censure. Notices for the rally in Washington were placed in all the New York City firehouses. The McCarthy investigating committee addressed a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall in Boston to recruit for the "march" while the Catholic War Veterans of N. Y. presented McCarthy with 250,000 signatures protesting the censure proposal.

Although the fascists are on the defensive as a result of the 1954 elections, McCarthyism isn't finished. The working class struggle against it must be vigorously continued as part of the overall fight against the domination of Big Business over the United States.

## Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

One of the important lessons of the recent election campaign is that compromise with principles in the fight for equal rights does not pay.

This is especially evident when we analyze the election in relation to the struggle to end Jim Crow in the public schools.

First, the Supreme Court postponed the hearings as to when and how its ruling should be put into effect. Instead of October, the issue was postponed until after the election.

Second, the election delay and compromises gave the anti-integration forces time to organize, to conduct a series of demonstrations and a campaign of intimidation.

They utilized the election to agitate for segregation, to pass amendments in Georgia and Louisiana to legally circumvent the Supreme Court ruling, and, generally, to manufacture proof for the forthcoming hearings that immediate integration would result in violence and bloodshed.

All this was possible because the two capitalist parties had an unwritten agreement not to make the Supreme Court decision an issue in the campaign. They got away with it because the Negro leaders and their Democratic friends—the liberals of the ADA, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and the Stalinists—aided and abetted the conspiracy of the two capitalist parties to subordinate the integration question during the election campaign.

The result? The Democrats won their slight majority in Congress. Southern senators will be in control of the major committees. The politicians don't have to worry about the Negro vote when they take their stand on the school integration fight—the election is over.

The worst danger comes from the fact that the racists are not confining themselves to legal action. The enemy will not accept court decisions. They will revive the Klan, incite teen-agers to mob actions, continue their bomb and assassination terror campaign.

The Negro movement must be ready to meet these attacks of Jim Crow forces and defend itself. Legal action must be backed by mass action to defend all legal gains—and enforce them.

## Christmas Bazaar Planned in N. Y.

Plans are being made for the annual Christmas Bazaar of the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party. It will be held Dec. 11, at 116 University Place (near Union Sq.). Those who have attended in the past know what a variety of gifts and clothing can be found at bargain prices.

This annual event is very much looked forward to by friends of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as Militant readers and their friends and relatives.

The bazaar committee is asking for contributions of articles—books, lamps, clothing, jewelry, dishes, perfume, appliances—anything and everything that is in good condition will be gratefully accepted.

Articles should be sent to 116 University Place. Or the committee will arrange to pick up donations, if notified. Telephone ALgonquin 5-7852

## Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The UAW Faces the 1955 Contract Fights  
Friday, Nov. 19, at 8 P. M.

Friday, Nov. 26—No forum on the Thanksgiving holiday

## The Struggle Against Jim Crow Schools

Friday, Dec. 3, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River (Room 207)

Donation 25c  
Free to Unemployed

# Workers Seen Decisive in U.S. Politics

## SWP Election Campaign Waged in Class Actions

Walking the picket lines, appealing for aid to strikers over radio and TV, demanding Federal surplus food for the jobless, joining campaigns against Jim Crow—these were the activities of 17 Socialist Workers Party candidates contesting for office in eight states in the 1954 elections.

They participated in the actions of the working class at the same time that they presented the Socialist program against war, unemployment and McCarthyism and explained the need for a Labor Party and a Workers and Farmers Government.

In Detroit, the SWP's three candidates, Frank Lovell for Governor of Michigan, Rita Shaw, candidate for U. S. Senator, and Robert Himmel Jr., candidate for Congress, First District, issued a challenge to Democratic Governor H. Menen Williams to join the Square D picket line.

They denounced the Detroit police for herding scabs through the picket lines and praised the stand of numerous UAW locals who, in a splendid show of labor solidarity, disregarded their rivalry with the UE and the charges that the strike was "communist inspired" to support the Square D strikers. Lovell, Shaw and Himmel were the only

## Alsops See Little Democracy Here

"The campaign has shown that our most important national problems are no longer being solved by the democratic process." This is the judgment of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, noted columnists, writing on the eve of the Nov. 2 elections.

The Alsop brothers cite decisions on the H-bomb as a case in point. In the choice to build the H-bomb "the popular will had a certain influence," they say, "although not the decisive influence." Now, however, problems just as important as the H-bomb problem are being daily weighed in secret circles of the government. Yet the popular will has no influence at all, for the very simple reason that the country doesn't know enough about these problems.

Although the Alsops hold a pro-war position themselves, they admit that the vital question of war or peace was not presented for discussion to the American people in the election. Both parties kept all the facts about it concealed.

"One way or another," the Alsops say, "just these national problems which are likely to determine what kind of world our children will live in, have ceased to be subject to popular will and the democratic process."

candidates in the race who spoke for the strike.

### SURPLUS FOOD

In Buffalo, the SWP candidates—Dorothy Haines, for N. Y. State Lieutenant Governor, Vincent Copeland for Congress, 41st District, and Louise Ellis for State Senator, 55th District—demanded that Federal Surplus food be distributed to the needy in the critical unemployment area of Buffalo. Dorothy Haines and Louise Ellis organized and led a non-partisan delegation of housewives to see Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson in Washington to demand that surplus food be made available.

They were joined in this campaign by David L. Weiss, SWP candidate for N. Y. State Governor, who in his radio and TV broadcasts repeatedly called on Governor Dewey and his Democratic opponent Averell Harriman to act to obtain the food. Harold Robins, SWP candidate for N. Y. State comptroller, a member of AFL Painters Local 892, introduced the motion passed by his local supporting the demand for the free distribution of food for the needy.

Catherine Gratta, SWP candidate for N. Y. State Attorney-General, walked the picket lines together with her former shopmates at the American Safety Razor Company plant in Brooklyn where she formerly was a union shop steward. She and Weiss devoted major portions of their broadcast time explaining the workers' side of the strike against the "runaway" ASR corporation and urging other unions to help.

In Milwaukee, Albert Stergar, SWP candidate for Wisconsin State Assemblyman in the 2nd District, a steward of UAW Nash Body Local 75, denounced the state's strike-breaking laws used against the Kohler strike. Stergar urged full support for the UAW strike now in its eighth month.

### TRUMBULL PARK

In Chicago, Howard Mayhew, Candidate for Congress, second District, centered his campaign around the fight against Jim Crow violence at Trumbull Park, a Chicago public housing project. Mayhew and the Chicago branch of the SWP proposed: 1) a public protest meeting at city hall sponsored by the unions and the NAACP; 2) a Congress of all Chicago labor to set up a permanent organization to fight racism at Trumbull Park; 3) the creation of Flying Squads to protect Negro residents at the project against white hoodlum violence.

The fight against hoodlum violence against Negroes seeking to move out of segregated residential areas was also featured in Philadelphia by Robert Chester, SWP candidate for Congress, 4th District.

In California, Errol Banks, SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator, Frank Barbaria, candidate for Governor and Lilian Kiesel, candidate for Lieutenant Governor demanded the ouster of Los Angeles Fire Chief Alderson, an outright Negro-hater, and supported the demand of the NAA CP for integration of the city's fire department.

George Breitman, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey, campaigned as the anti-McCarthy candidate in the state, where the fascist McCarthyites are well organized. He exposed the vacillations and emptiness of the "anti-McCarthyism" of his Democratic and Republican opponents.

### DUNNE VS. HUMPHREY

Vincent R. Dunne, veteran labor and party organizer and SWP candidate for U. S. Senator in Minnesota, campaigned against Sen. Hubert Humphrey, one of the leading Democratic liberals in Congress and author of the bill to outlaw the Communist Party. Dunne scored trade union fakers of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods for continuing to tie the unions to the capitalist political machines instead of forming a Labor Party. On the basis of incomplete returns, Dunne received 8,372 votes. This was double his 1952 total.

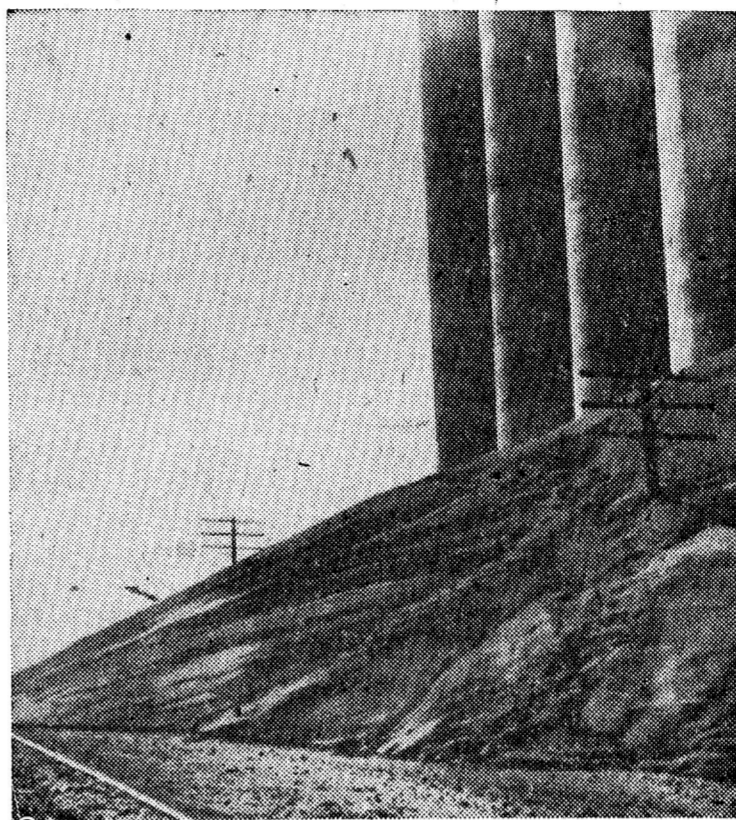
Tying all the SWP campaigns together was the national tour of Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1952 and its National Campaign Director. Election rallies where she appeared with local candidates were high points of campaign activities in Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Many interested workers and students attending their first socialist lecture were in the audience at Myra's meetings.

Many SWP campaign committees reported record amounts of radio and TV time as well as newspaper write-ups obtained for their candidates. This was due to the aggressiveness and experience of candidates and campaign workers in using these avenues of publicity. Street corner and campus gate rallies and appearances before union meetings were other means utilized by SWP candidates and campaign workers.

The Militant was the main campaign weapon of the SWP candidates. Twenty-one thousand copies of a special election issue were distributed. In addition thousands of copies of special strike issues of the paper were distributed to picket lines and union gatherings.

The election campaign of the SWP is only one of its regular activities. The party fights for the independent interests of the American workers 365 days a year.

## While Jobless Go Hungry



There was no space left to put this mountain of grain when a bumper crop filled the elevators, so it was dumped along the railroad siding at Liberal, Kansas. The 90,000 bushels in the pile-up snapped two telegraph poles. Unemployed in a number of states, including New York, are being denied surplus food aid because of government red-tape.

## Workmen's Circle Call Praises Kutcher Book

James Kutcher's autobiography, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, is praised in the September *Workmen's Circle Call* as a "gripping human document" and "an important book for our times" that "should be read by every believer in civil liberties." The *Workmen's Circle*, one of the largest workers beneficial and fraternal orders, backed Kutcher's defense from the earliest days of his case.

"This book by the son of a Workmen's Circle member is a gripping human document, written by one who is not a writer by profession," says reviewer Nathan Simon. "He tells his story simply, modestly and honestly from the viewpoint of a veteran, who went unwillingly as a draftee into the infantry in World War II, did his duty without complaint during three bitter campaigns, and lost both legs in the battle of San Pietro, Italy, in 1943."

The review summarizes Kutcher's account of his early years, his inability to get a higher education or a job during the depression, his growing interest in economics and politics, his entry into the Norman Thomas Socialist Youth organization and his later joining of the Socialist Workers Party, a party with which the reviewer is not in sympathy.

"After war service in America and Europe, Kutcher learned to use artificial legs and got a job as a clerk with the Veterans

Administration in Newark," Simon writes. "For two years, his work in this humble job was graded satisfactory. Then suddenly, in 1948, he was fired—as a 'loyalty' risk. Why? Because he freely admitted belonging to the Socialist Workers Party, which was included on the Attorney General's controversial 'subversive list.'"

Simon notes that this "political blacklist" has been severely criticized by liberal organizations. It was branded "a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General" in a 1951 U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruling and later termed "arbitrary" by the U. S. Supreme Court itself.

"Kutcher has been fighting back," says Simon and quotes the veteran's memorable words: "The significant thing about my case is not that I lost my legs, but that I lost my rights, which are infinitely dearer and more precious to me." The reviewer tells of Kutcher's long legal battle—his eleventh appeal is now before a Washington court.

"Kutcher also appealed to the bar of public opinion," says Simon, reporting that over 800 national and local labor, liberal, fraternal, civic, religious and veterans groups have endorsed his case.

## SWP Candidate in Michigan Gives Post-Election Analysis

The following broadcast was given by Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan, over WWJ-TV on Nov. 4. The Detroit Free Press, Nov. 3 reports: "When the Federal Communications Commission ruled that all political parties are entitled to equal free time, Lovell made it known that he wouldn't be left out." When the station offered Lovell time on Thursday, two days after the elections, Lovell accepted, much to their astonishment. The Free Press quotes him: "That's all right. We consider political discussion, education and action a year-round business."

Tonight I intend to analyze the Tuesday election, not on the basis of the results in the different districts and states, but on the basis of how the different classes in society voted, and why they voted as they did.

The large turnout at the polls and the sweeping victory of the Democrats in this state clearly reveal that the working people—as a class—are the decisive force in American politics.

### WORKING-CLASS VOTE

Here in Detroit, as in the other big industrial centers where the union movement is strongest, the vote in the working class precincts was remarkably solid. They voted as a class in a way that they thought would benefit them as a class.

This as demonstrated also in the victory of Charles C. Diggs in the 13th District, the first Negro elected to Congress in Michigan. Diggs' opponents tried to defeat him by a race-baiting campaign directed to the race prejudices of the white voters in this district, where Negroes represent only 25% of the total. But Diggs was endorsed by the unions and he was elected with the aid of more votes from whites than from Negroes. This is evidence that class solidarity is beginning to overcome long-held racial and religious prejudices—even in the privacy of the voting booth—another important forward step in the political development of the working class.

### CLARDY DEFEATED

This election also showed the ability of the workers to see through the red-baiting techniques of the McCarthyites, which became the stock-in-trade of the Republicans as they grew frantic in the closing stages of the campaign. The most striking example was the defeat of the anti-labor witch-hunter Kit Clardy at the hands of the Flint auto workers. Clardy has recently been conducting kangaroo court trials in Flint with the aim of discrediting and eventually destroying the UAW in that city. The auto workers told Clardy what they think of such efforts.

The fifteen million Negro people because of the system of discrimination and segregation practiced against them, are the most united of the minority groups. They are predominantly working people, and they look for leadership to the union movement—where their rights and their abilities and talents are more respected than anywhere else. They voted overwhelmingly Democratic, expressing their distrust in the promises of the Republican administration—especially on the civil rights issues.

The middle class—composed of white-collar workers, small businessmen and independent farmers—stands between the two major classes in society, the working class on the one side and the capitalists, the Big Business interests, on the other. It was the middle class vote that swung the elections to the Republicans in 1952—and the Republicans made a strong bid to retain that vote this year.

A good number of farmers voted Democratic this year as a way of expressing their resentment against falling farm prices, which have dropped about 25% in the last two years. The threat of a coming depression has everyone worried. Yet the majority of farm people voted for the Republicans—not because they like the Republican agricultural policy, but in spite of it.

I believe they voted for the Republicans because they are worried about the war danger. They want to stop this war business. They don't want their sons sent off to suffer and die in foreign lands.

When the people looked to the Democrats on this question, all they saw was that the Democrats were criticizing the Republicans for a penny cut in the arms budget. And right in the forefront of all this pro-war talk and demands to build up arms production were the flunkies of the war mongers in the labor movement—the union bureaucrats of the Reuther type.



FRANK LOVELL

Congress is now controlled by the Democrats. The most reactionary, anti-labor elements in Congress are the Southern Democrats. They are going to be in charge of 23 out of the 34 committees in the new Congress.

Will the new Congress pass a law to relieve unemployment by shortening the legal work week? Do you think the new Congress will raise unemployment compensation? Will it launch a huge public works program and tax the giant corporations for funds to put the unemployed to work at union wages? The new Congress will not even consider such measures. Because the Democrats like the Republicans are concerned about maintaining the profits and wealth of the employers—not security and welfare of the working people.

Will the Taft-Hartley Law be repealed now? Of course not! A majority of the Democrats in the 80th Congress voted for the Taft-Hartley Act in the first place. And remember all the Democratic members of the 83d Congress—with one lone exception—joined with the Republicans to pass the anti-labor Butler-Humphrey law—against the opposition of both the CIO and AFL.

Will the new Congress pass any laws against discrimination in employment? There is not a chance in the world that! This Congress will be dominated by the most bitter foes of the Negro people—the Southern Democrats.

### TYRANT ALLIES

And does anyone think the new Congress will quit supporting tyrants like Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee in the Orient, and the Spanish fascist Franco? Will it stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries like Guatemala? These are the last things to expect from the new Congress. The Democrats are linked to the Republicans in a bi-partisan foreign policy that is based not on peaceful relations among nations—but on the plan to dominate and exploit the whole world for the bankers and industrialists of Wall Street.

That's why the workers will not get what they want and need through the Democratic Congress. Labor needs its own political organization before it can have a voice in Congress. This means the organization of a Labor Party and a fighting political alliance with the working farmers.

Now is the time to begin the preparation for such a party. Otherwise, 1956 will find the working class again unprepared and again forced to choose between the two capitalist parties.

Eleven survivors of the S.S. Mormackite, which sank off Cape Hatteras, are suing the line. Charges are that the loss of 37 lives was due to an attempt by ship's officers to save company money, that the ship was overloaded and for several hours after a 19 degree list developed no boats were launched.

# Intimate Glimpse into Bosses' Problems

By Joyce Cowley

When I advocate workers control of industry, critics tell me that I have no understanding of the complex problems handled by top level management. I don't like to admit it, but this is apparently true. I've just read an article in the current issue of Fortune Magazine, "How to Fire an Executive" which illustrates in a convincing manner how little I know about the difficulties a big boss has got to face.

Take the matter of firing an employee. In my experience the procedure was always quite simple. A brief notice enclosed with my check, a few pointed words like: "You can pick up your final pay at five o'clock." But firing an executive is a challenging job that requires great

ingenuity. According to Fortune, it's the most unpleasant task that ever confronts another executive.

"The firing process," they say, "is commonly treated as if it didn't happen. By gentleman's agreement, an executive is scarcely ever fired, almost invariably he resigns. Many executives are fired without ever being aware of it."—I hesitate to suggest that these executives are a bit slow, but the elementary fact of being fired is one thing the average worker grasps quite easily.

"A large part of an executive's life," says Fortune, "can be described as a continuous effort to escape the penalties of being fired. To do this he may employ defensive techniques such as acquiring confidential and critical information about the company or marrying the boss's daughter. But his surest defense against the threat of firing is to make friends. Personal ties may be an executive's only real job protection."

### "SOFTIES"

The striking thing about this Fortune article is the revelation of unexpected sensitivity on the part of management. "Managers are the worst of all softies you ever saw. They act like getting rid of an executive is like kicking a child." For instance, an executive who fires a man is afraid to criticize him because

he may jeopardize the man's job-getting chances and continue to have the jobless executive on his conscience. It's not a good idea to tell a man why he's fired. "Frank analysis of a man's failures may do severe psychological damage. A man who is injured in this way seems to be bleeding internally."

These same men who show such delicacy of feeling toward fellow executives will calmly lay off thousands of workers or close down a plant, and I've never known them to hesitate when it comes to criticism or frank analysis of a worker's job performance.

Avery of Montgomery Ward has the distinction of having fired more than fifty top executives. But—"Avery's tactics are not, as widely supposed, crude expressions of ill temper and autocracy. Men fired by Avery have found his tactics remarkably skilled and varied." This may console an executive. Personally I don't care if my boss has worked out an interesting new way to fire me.

There are two general methods of firing executives. First, the frontal attack. A boss may take a manager to lunch and plant a seed of doubt in his mind by asking: "Are you really happy in your job with us?" In one case, the approach was so diplomatic that the executive didn't realize

he had been fired until he related the conversation to his wife who broke the news to him.

The luncheon chat illustrates a hard-boiled "attack," but the roundabout methods are far more fascinating. "One top executive in a steel company was given a three months leave in Florida. When he returned he was given a different office and asked to make a special study of a subject that was outside his field. Later he was appointed a consultant to the company but given nothing to do."

An assignment to a new job or a promotion may look like an opportunity but is more likely a devious method to force a resignation—"In a tool company the president sometimes would promote an executive, give him a fat raise and send him out to be a plant manager in the field. After six months he would recall him. . . . From there he went nowhere."

I can't help feeling this would complicate matters if the president really wanted to promote someone, another indication that I oversimplify management problems.

One orthodox method for top management to clear out deadwood is to introduce a new and more liberal pension plan which may tempt some men to retire.

A three months vacation in Florida, a year's pay while I look

for a job, a bigger pension! I can't hope to live like an executive but it sure would seem luxurious to get fired like one.

I'm particularly impressed with the incident of a president who put a terse dismissal notice on the desk of a vice-president. The vice-president outmatched him by a brilliant counter tactic, and never let the president know he had received the message. "The embarrassed president did not send another. The vice-president thereafter did his work so well that he eventually became executive vice-president."

### "I WONDER . . ."

I wonder if similar tactics could be used in the case of mass layoffs, particularly when the plant has been closed. The workers could report as usual, the plant would be there, they'd be there, and the only thing lacking would be a boss. Why couldn't the workers take over the factory and continue to turn out goods? My intimate glimpse of the problems of top level executives has still not convinced me that this won't work. I even see new possibilities of cutting down on the costs of administration. Once we eliminate the "deadwood" and we're producing for ourselves, three-month vacations in Florida will no longer be reserved for unwanted managers. We can all go.

# Subscribe!

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

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

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