

# THE MILITANT

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## Save Irvin From Jim-Crow Executioners!

By the Editors

Here are the facts about Walter Lee Irvin who faces death BECAUSE HE IS A NEGRO!

In 1949 the rulers of Groveland, Florida, decided to intimidate the Negro people because of unrest among local paper-mill workers — mostly Negro — over wages and working conditions. The pretext came on July 16, 1949 when a white woman claimed she had been raped. A bloody anti-Negro terror was organized. Mobs beat Negroes, burned and looted homes. One Negro lad was killed by a deputized mob.

Three others were arrested, given a mock trial and "found guilty." The Negro who had been killed by the mob was also declared "guilty." Of the three living victims, the youngest — 16 years old — was given a life sentence, the others, Walter Lee Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, both a few years older, were sentenced to death. Investigations by Northern newspapers and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People indicated that no rape had even taken place.

In 1951 the U.S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Irvin and Shepherd. En route from prison to the new trial Sheriff Willis McCall undertook to nullify the Supreme Court order by cold-bloodedly shooting his handcuffed prisoners. Shepherd was killed. Irvin appeared dead but miraculously survived. Sheriff McCall was never punished. Recently he turned up campaigning against school integration in Maryland.

A second all-white jury again condemned Irvin to death. During the recent election a committee of Florida liberals and clergymen got a "gentlemen's agreement" from both candidates for governor that in return for silence about the Irvin case, whoever got elected would commute Irvin's sentence to life imprisonment.

The day the campaign ended the date was set for Irvin's electrocution. Only a last minute legal move by the NAACP has saved him temporarily.

The time left is short. Every day counts. The labor movement has taken a stand against the savage conduct of the racists in this case. In 1951, the late Philip Murray, then President of the CIO, sent a wire to Truman protesting the shooting of Shepherd and Irvin.

Now is the time for the labor movement to intervene with all its power and stay the hand of the executioner. The union leaders supported the Democratic Party in the elections. This is the party of Governor Johns of Florida. The leaders of labor, Meany and Reuther, have the right and the duty to demand that the Democratic Party halt this legal murder.

Five years in Florida's death house! Haven't the racists had enough of Irvin's blood? Speak up! Wire Gov. Johns! Arouse your organizations and churches — SAVE WALTER LEE IRVIN!

## N.Y. Gas Toll Mounts; Landlords Get Richer

By Fred Hart

NEW YORK, Nov. 15 — Landlords enriching themselves on vile slum tenements without central heating and hot water are getting away with mass murder — literally.

Sixteen impoverished tenants here have died of poison fumes from defective gas devices in the six days from Nov. 7 to 12. The year's toll from such "accidental" deaths now stands at 88, with even more victims expected as cold weather sets in.

Last Friday, West Side Manhattan slum dwellers filed mournfully past the coffins of Mr. and Mrs. Edubirges Gonzales and their six children, all killed last Sunday by odorless, invisible carbon monoxide gas given off from a defective hot water heater. Two others, visiting guests of the Gonzales family, perished with them. At the Ortiz funeral home, neighbors of the Gonzales family, "mostly poor Puerto Ricans on \$17-a-month cold-water flats," as the N. Y. Times described them, left small offerings for the funeral expenses.

The latest death reported is that of Rosario Maccellaro, 79, a retired railroad worker. Previous fatalities from defective gas appliances, employed because landlords refuse to supply heat from safe central systems, included a Brooklyn truck driver and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. General Lee Grant Thomas, a retired bank watchman, Mr. Philip Coulter, a 60-year-old worker, Mr. Gregory Antonovich, and Mr. Ponciano Andrew Rivera, 32. Mr. Antonovich was found lying face down and wearing an overcoat to keep warm.

All the victims are workers and poor. Many are Puerto Ricans and Negroes forced into the most run-down areas and compelled because of segregation to pay exorbitant rents for small, airless, heatless, shabby apartments.

The response of the Democratic city officials has been, first of all, to threaten to evict thousands of families who are living in single rooms because they can find no better quarters at rents they can pay. Deputy Commissioner Bernice P. Rogers, of the Department of Housing and Buildings, ordered strict enforcement of the rule limiting occupancy of such rooms, saying: "We must take a firm stand, no matter how hard-hearted or unpopular it seems."

Adding insult to injury, Deputy Housing Commissioner Rogers tonight told a mass meeting of Spanish-speaking people in the West Side Manhattan area that they ought to "buy homes" for themselves out in Long Island and New Jersey. She appeared astonished when her suggestion was greeted with sarcastic laughter. Even if these workers had money to pay for homes — many of them are unemployed and on relief — the fact that they are Puerto Ricans or Negroes bars them from better residential areas.

Year after year, these gas deaths take their toll — more than 400 since 1950. The city's building and sanitation laws were supposed to have been revised several years ago to fix responsibility on landlords and public utilities firms for maintenance of safe heating devices and proper heating facilities. It is now disclosed that these ordinances have more holes than a sieve. Thousands of landlords charged with violations are simply thumbing their noses at the city authorities.

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# McCarthy Mobilizes Forces To Put Pressure on Senate

## Southern Racists Map School Fight

By George Lavan

As the Supreme Court hearing on implementation of the decision outlawing school segregation approached, the white-supremacist rulers of the South increased their preparations and threats.

Immediately following the Conference of Southern Governors in Boca Raton, Florida, seven governors and one governor-elect issued a joint statement, Nov. 13, declaring that they would use all their prerogatives to retain school segregation. Indeed, the conference itself, which was called to consider such subjects as mental health facilities, was used as a pro-segregation platform by the meeting's host, Governor Charley Johns of Florida. This is the man who is trying to rush frame-up victim Walter Lee Irvin to the electric chair.

In his welcoming speech, Governor Johns proposed that the conference urge Eisenhower to start the procedure for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution sanctioning school segregation.

### BRIEFS FILED

Johns' proposal was not accepted. Not because the Southern governors are weakening in their opposition to segregation — they showed they weren't in their subsequent declaration — but because they thought it impractical.

On November 15 the filing of briefs for the second installment of the Supreme Court's school segregation decision was completed. Ten states and the District of Columbia filed briefs. Counter briefs were filed by the Negro plaintiffs. The pro-segregation briefs contained three major points: 1) Enforcement would mean bloodshed and violence. 2) The county and state courts not the high court, should handle all enforcement cases. 3) Lots of time should be allowed.

Oral argument on the briefs will begin Dec. 6. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has led the court fight for the Negro school children, is pressing the court to order that all school segregation end by September 1955 — the beginning of the next school year.

While the Southern Governors' at Boca Raton were aiming statements at the Supreme Court and their attorneys general were filing briefs seeking both by crude and subtle arguments to preserve school Jim Crow, even more sinister preparations were going on at local levels.

### "UPTOWN K.K.K."

Last week the Militant carried an article on the formation of semi-secret Citizens Committees in Mississippi. More in-

guarantee a handsome profit, besides. The Dixon-Yates contract is an alternative to a proposal rejected by the Administration for the Tennessee Valley Authority to build a \$100,000,000 power generating plant and sell the power to the AEC at cost.

Democratic opponents of the contract charge that the contract will allow the companies to reap huge "windfalls" profits on the deal without putting up any money of their own. Thus what the Administration is proposing to do is to hand over lush fees and ownership of a power plant to private concerns to provide power to the government that it could obtain far cheaper through a public power program.

### THE REAL "PRINCIPLE"

The Dixon-Yates contract was pushed through at the insistence of President Eisenhower himself. Eisenhower made it clear in his press conference on Nov. 10 that he viewed the Dixon-Yates contract a matter of principle. He and his Republican Party supporters defend it as the means of stopping what they call the "creeping socialism" of public power and protecting "free enterprise."

But the real "principle" involved is the Administration's program of handing over to the national wealth to big capitalists. As the editors of the liberal Weekly, the Nation, say Oct. 2, "This is an Administration dedicated to the giveaway."

## Five Minutes to Twelve



## ASR STRIKERS GET THE RUNAROUND FROM "FRIEND OF LABOR" MAYOR

By Tom Denver

BROOKLYN, Nov. 17 — Last Wednesday hundreds of ASR workers picketed City Hall demanding that Democratic Mayor Wagner call off his strike-breaking cops and stop aiding the union-smashing attack of the American Safety Razor Corporation against the workers of Local 475, United Electrical Workers (Independent).

The demonstration started at 3:30 PM and continued to 6:00 PM. The ranks were swelled by contingents from other UE Locals, plus relatives and friends of the strikers. Many of the women strikers brought their children and some of them pushed baby carriages throughout the demonstration.

Some of the slogans carried by the picketers were, "Remember Square-D"; "Who are the Strike Breakers?" (referring to the cops); and "There's nothing lower than a scab." They sang union songs, shouted slogans demanding that ASR sign a contract, and appealed to the on-

lookers to boycott all ASR products. While this was going on a delegation of 20 strikers with a combined seniority of 297½ years of hard labor for ASR tried to get into city hall to see Wagner in person. They were refused admittance to the mayor's office with the excuse that "the mayor was not in."

With the failure of Local 475's effort to secure help from the city administration the strikers are forced to rely on their own resources. They have appealed to the rest of the labor movement in N. Y. for support and so far only a

few rank-and-file workers from other unions have responded. The picket lines are still intact around the plant, but so are the squads of cops protecting the out-of-town riggers and truckers who continue to remove goods.

ASR's refusal to sign a contract which would have granted the strikers hard-earned pensions and severance pay before the shop ran away to Staunton, Virginia, remains the central issue in the strike as far as the strikers are concerned. This is particularly true of the older workers who see few prospects for a job with the growing unemployment in N. Y.

The N. Y. labor movement must face the fact that they will be deeply affected by the outcome of this struggle. The ASR corporation and the City Administration are in the process of busting Local 475. They want to set a precedent for the rest of Big Business to follow. Under these circumstances it is not only disloyal but suicidal for the unions to stand aside with folded hands.

The exposures of "give-aways" by Eisenhower's millionaire cabinet will give the Democrats and

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### 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.

Republicans and Democrats see eye to eye.

CHANCE FOR DEMAGOGY

Actually, there is no real difference between Republicans and Democrats in this respect either. But the gigantic "give-aways" of the Eisenhower millionaire cabinet are made to order for the Democratic Party demagogues. According to the Alsop brothers, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 12, the Democrats plan to make the investigation of give-aways — the Dixon-Yates contract in particular — a main item of business of the 84th Congress which they control. "We'll investigate the living daylight out of the Republicans," they quote one Democratic strategist as saying.

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## Split in GOP Deepens Over Compromise on Censure of Fascist

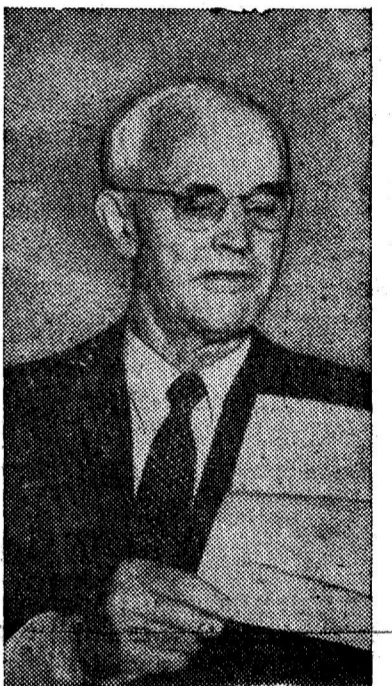
By Daniel Roberts

NOV. 17 — The McCarthyites are conducting a full scale pressure campaign against the Senate designed to prevent censure of the fascist senator from Wisconsin.

On Nov. 11, the McCarthyites held a rally in Constitution Hall in Washington attended by about 3500 of McCarthy's followers. This "March on Washington" as it was called, marked the first time in U.S. history that a Senator mobilized a personal following to pressure Congress. The McCarthyites descended on the Capitol waving their slogans. Smaller groups sought out individual Senators and demanded to know how they would vote on censure.

This mobilization of McCarthyites in Washington was followed by the announcement on Nov. 15 of a drive to obtain ten million signatures on a petition to the Senate demanding that McCarthy not be censured. The chairman of the "Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice" committee is Lieutenant-General George E. Stratemeyer (Retired), Air-Force commander in the Korean war. A number of other military figures, including Gen. James Van Fleet (Retired), who at one time headed "Operation Killer" in Korea, were listed as sponsors.

As a result of the pressure they have mobilized, the McCarthyites have already succeeded in getting Sen. Francis Case (R-S.D.) to repudiate one of the three charges against McCarthy. Case is a member of the six-man Senate sub-committee headed by Sen. Watkins (R-Utah) which had unanimously recommended censure of the Fascist Senator. The pressure campaign has also succeeded in deepening the split in the Republican Party over foreign policy, and has brought forward a faction headed by Sen. Knowland (R-Cal.) that wants to



SEN. WATKINS

get McCarthy off scot-free or at least to soften the censure.

### FASCIST STRATEGY

It is clear that McCarthy is using the censure issue as a means of consolidating his position and that of his fascist movement. McCarthyism was defeated at the polls on Nov. 2. The new political situation opened by the election of a Democratic Congress does not allow McCarthy the elbow room he had in the past year. His concern now is to entrench in the hope of being in the best position possible to

(Continued on page 4)

## THOUSANDS CROWD S. F. POST OFFICE FOR JOBS

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 11 — Six thousand unemployed workers jammed into the main post office here yesterday seeking part-time work on the Christmas mails. Only 2000 jobs were available.

The jobs offered would last ten days at the most. "We have never seen anything like this," declared Postmaster John F. Fixa who was summoned to his office before 7 AM along with a squad of city police and post office guards.

Only a small item in the newspapers had announced that em-

ployment application blanks would be handed out at 8 AM. The crowd of job seekers started to assemble at 4:30 AM. One half-hour later a thousand men and women had gathered.

When the post office doors opened the corridor immediately filled from wall to wall. A postal official describing the scene said, "The women just kept jamming forward. The table top slid and Mitchell and I behind it were pinned to the wall."

One woman fainted in the crush, although the crowd remained completely orderly.

"It was really an unprecedented demand for jobs," Postmaster Fixa stated. "We thought it was bad last year, but that wasn't even half as much."

(A state Employment Department official ascribed the rush for holiday jobs to a 50% rise in unemployment here over the last year which has made it particularly difficult for young people and inexperienced workers to get jobs.)

The post-office jobs paid \$1.56½ an hour. Many teen-agers were in the crowd that included men and women of all ages and all racial and national groups.

At ten o'clock an announcement was repeated over the loud-speaker: "The jobs are all gone. The jobs are all gone." But still a large crowd remained. "They just won't take no for an answer," an official remarked.

# The Politics of the Dixon-Yates Giveaway Scandal

By Carl Goodman

On Nov. 13, the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy voted to clear the contract between the Atomic Energy Commission and Dixon-Yates. According to Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association, testifying before the Congressional committee on Nov. 9, the government, by the terms of the Dixon-Yates contract, would pay for a new steam power plant twice over and still never own it.

The Dixon-Yates contract provides that two private utilities companies, Middle South Utilities, Inc. and the Southern Co., will build a \$107,000,000 steam power generating plant at West Memphis, Ark., and sell electric power to the Atomic Energy Commission atomic plant at Paducah, Ky. The AEC will pay the cost of construction and

are to be handed over to a handful of billionaire corporations and banks. According to the Nation, the total loot to be handed out comes to \$100 billion.

In charge of this gigantic plunder operation, of which the Dixon-Yates contract is only a small sample, is the millionaire's cabinet of Eisenhower, stacked with leading bankers and industrialists.

Their incredible piracy — including turning over to the corporations the secrets of atomic production developed by the nation's best atomic scientists at the cost to the public of \$12 billion — already figured prominently as a campaign issue in the last Congressional elections. According to Arthur Krock, writing in the N. Y. Times, Nov. 14, it will loom as the main campaign issue in 1956. On all other questions, says Krock, most

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# The Condemned

By Joyce Cowley

**THE VIOLATORS**, By Israel Beckhardt with Wenzell Brown—Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.75.

Israel Beckhardt is a parole officer for 18 years and obviously has very little faith in the system he served. In this book he discusses 27 cases out of the vast number he handled. He makes it clear that there wasn't much point in sending these 27 to jail. Some were dangerous and were likely to be much more dangerous after a five or ten year stretch behind bars. Most of them, while legally "sane", were emotionally sick people or drug addicts who desperately needed help.

"Drug addiction," says Beckhardt, "is a sickness." On this point all authorities on the subject are agreed. Yet paradoxically a youthful addict is treated as a criminal. More often than not, he appears before the court without having secured medical aid. He may be sentenced to prison by a judge who has no medical knowledge. Indeed there are many judges who are so revolted by drug addiction that the penalties they inflict upon youthful offenders are harsh beyond all reason."

He discusses the new narcotic laws which were passed a few years ago after sensational revelations of teen-age dope addiction. "To date not one single major figure in the international drug cartel has been caught in the net of the law. The only effect of these laws has been to consolidate the highly organized syndicate that controls the illicit drug supply. An analysis of those individuals caught and sentenced to long terms in prison under the newly established laws relating to narcotics shows that, with a few exceptions, the prisoners are youths who themselves were addicted in their adolescent years and as a result became pawns of the men who control the traffic."

Beckhardt's job was to investigate the background of young "criminals." Sheilagh, a

pretty girl of sixteen arrested for burglary, is typical. She held a party in an apartment where she had been baby sitting. Furniture and dresses were damaged. To cover up, she removed some clothing and trinkets (valued at \$90) to make it look like a real burglary. Beckhardt called at her home. "I found myself in a dark corridor littered with refuse. A child directed me down a flight of crooked stairs to a basement apartment.—The room was clean but small and gloomy, the furniture cheap and tawdry, the only decorations a few religious pictures on the wall."

Questioning revealed that Sheilagh's father worked as a porter for \$22 a week and paid \$25 a month for the apartment. There were four younger children and the family was "having great difficulty in keeping together." (He probably means putting enough food in their stomachs to keep going.)

He also visited the woman from whom Sheilagh had stolen. A maid conducted him to a large and beautifully furnished living room. "I felt considerable sympathy," says Beckhardt, "for Sheilagh's desire to bring Ronny here instead of into the dinginess and squalor of her home." He hoped that Mrs. Patton would be lenient but she was eager to prosecute. She didn't believe in coddling criminals.

A few of the 27 violators were from well-to-do homes (invariably homes where the children found bitterness, conflict and rejection) but most of them came from the misery and filth of crowded slums. Beckhardt reports the details of these cases but offers no solution to the problems raised. He must realize that the factual material in itself is an indictment of our laws and court procedures, while his pathetic stories of the lives of these criminals, the violence and degradation of their daily environment, is an indictment of our whole social system.

# Interview with Jim Kutcher

By George Lavan

James Kutcher, the legless veteran, who since 1949 has been fighting his firing from the Veterans Administration for membership in the Socialist Workers Party since 1949, arrived in New York the other day at the end of a national tour.

We took the opportunity to arrange an interview to find out about his tour. Jimmy is one national celebrity who is always very willing to grant the Militant an interview.

A national speaking tour is an exhausting business for the hardest individual and it was a pleasant surprise to see how well Jimmy had borne up. Indeed, it seems he thrived on it, even though he travelled alone, driving his own car, which is specially equipped for amputees. He rather proudly estimated that he had driven 2,000 miles by himself plus another 4,000 miles in "side trips" in the cars of friends. The mileage statistics were impressive. But what about speaking? Kutcher answered: "I'd say I made over two hundred speeches — a lot of them before union locals and organizations I hadn't spoken to on my first tour five years ago."

What kind of organizations did he tell his story to? "Mainly union locals — AFL, CIO and independent. More AFL unions this time than before. Also student groups, Negro organizations, church congregations, meetings of local chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union. In Detroit I attended a luncheon of the Executive Board of the National Lawyers Guild, itself fighting government persecution, and discussed my case and sold a number of copies of my book, 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.' Oh, yes, in Willmar, Minnesota, I spoke to a meeting of farmers, the Farmers Progressive Union."

### SPEAKS TO FARMERS

To the inquiry of what he told the farmers' organization Kutcher replied: "Well I started right off by saying that I knew farmers had a lot of problems today and that I didn't know too much about these problems. But I did know it wouldn't do them



JAMES KUTCHER

any good if their civil liberties were taken away from them and that was why I presumed to speak to them about my case. They seemed to agree and it was a very good meeting."

When Jimmy was in Minneapolis he was interviewed on the radio and also an interview was filmed for TV news broadcast. "I was curious to see myself on television," Jimmy confessed, "so when the time came for the broadcast I went into a bar to watch it. But, I'd forgotten the World Series was on at that time and there was no chance of persuading the bartender to change programs. But some friends who saw it told me that it was pretty good and took up half the time of the news broadcast."

Jimmy also related that in a mid-western College he was in-

ited to speak to seven or eight classes. One of these was an American history class. Before he was introduced the professor gave out the reading assignment for the next day. It was on the Compromise of 1850.

Jimmy, whose youthful ambition was to be a teacher, couldn't resist this opportunity: "I started by telling them that the period they were studying had many similarities to the present. It was a period of conflict and tension. That though all the top politicians of the day tried to work out one compromise after another they couldn't find one that would stick because there was an important section of the population that wouldn't agree to any compromise — the slaves. They kept escaping and thus kept raising the issue that the politicians hoped they had settled. I also said that there was a small band of intrepid radicals, the abolitionists, who couldn't be silenced even though their civil rights were constantly violated. Then I drew a parallel between the abolitionists and the Socialist Workers Party."

Had Kutcher observed any major differences between this tour and the first one made in 1949?

### INCREASED FEAR

"Oh, yes. It is more difficult to get support because of the general fear of the witch hunt. People are more afraid to be associated with any cause now than in 1949. You must remember when I made my first tour McCarthyism hadn't emerged as an incipient fascist force. It has had an important and blighting effect on people speaking out or giving public support. I noticed a timidity on the part of some union leaders — not about telling me personally that they wished me well in my fight or in buying my book, but in publicly associating themselves with any "controversial" case. However, it isn't that they're running like rabbits it's only that they have become over-cautious or timid.

"Most of the unions I spoke to were unions that had given me the platform on my first tour. Many of these were as staunch as ever on the civil liberties issue.

My book was well received. Many workers remembered me from my first tour and came up and addressed me by name and asked how my case was coming along.

### S. F. LONGSHOREMEN

In this connection I will remember my stay in San Francisco. On both tours my appearance before that longshoremen's local was the high spot. This time the Stalinists were very quiet — not

a word for or against my case. I was told by a number of people that their conduct when I spoke there five years ago has been thrown up to them many times since inside the local. The longshoremen gave me a marvelous reception again and bought well over a hundred copies of 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.' It's things like that which give you the encouragement to keep on fighting."

# Was There A Class Vote?

By Daniel Roberts

What is significant about the 1954 elections? Is it true, as the Republicans claim, that nothing really happened? That it was only a normal mid-term shift from the party in power? Or did the elections bring a definite change in the political situation in the U.S.?

The liberal columnist, Max Lerner, sought to answer these questions in the Nov. 5, N. Y. Post. Here are his conclusions: In the 1954 elections, he says, "most of the guide posts of class voting . . . to which we have clung in the past have been wiped out. The farmers were split, the industrial workers were split. . . . A party revolution has been taking place right under our noses. . . . the party system remains fluid and formless." From this he draws the conclusion that there are no clear indications for 1956.

Lerner could not have been more wrong, had he deliberately tried. As the Militant already pointed out in previous issues, the working class vote — especially its unorganized sector — in the main industrial centers of the country, went overwhelmingly Democratic.

### PRE-ELECTION POLL

The statistical indications were presented before the elections by the Oct. 19 Gallup poll. To the question "Which party is best for me?" asked by the poll, manual workers answered: Democrats 59%, Republican, 20%, no difference or no opinion, 21%. Among union members the ratio was Democrats, 64%; Republican, 17%; no difference or no opinion, 19%. The other categories — farmers, white collar workers and even business and professional people — were more evenly divided in their party allegiance.

It might be asked: "What is so significant about the workers voting solidly Democratic? Haven't they been doing this since 1932? Why should that be the premise for a new political situation in the U.S.?" It is true that even in 1952 the bulk of the workers vote went Democratic. The Eisenhower victory, which broke up the coalition rule of the Democratic Party and the labor officialdom, was based mainly on a shift of the middle class. But the Republicans were also able to cut into the working class vote. Working-class housewives for instance, voted for Eisenhower in many key industrial areas. And even in the plants union members, without bragging about it, voted Republican.

This trend was reversed in 1954. The workers again closed ranks at the first sign of unemployment which they blamed on the Republican Party. Many workers who had voted Republican in 1952 already were back in the Democratic column as early as last February and March. This was enough to swing the elections to the Democrats, even without any significant shift of the urban middle class and the farmers.

Of course the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, is a party of Big Capital. For this reason socialists have maintained a position of irreconcilable opposition towards it. We denounce the labor leaders for betraying the interests of the working people by tying the powerful union movement to the Democratic Party instead of building a Labor Party. The labor fakery are interested in a coalition with the bosses of the Democratic Party because they hope to share power in the government as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and thereby

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# A "New Approach"

By R. Gale

Gerald Heard, author, lecturer and industrial consultant was buzzing around San Francisco last week with the revelation that a "new revolution" is taking place. Although he was speaking about a revolution in the minds of the "captains of industry," the revolution is aimed at making the workers happy — and more "creative."

This revolution is not to be confused with the first "managerial revolution" called "Taylorization" by Mr. Heard. In case you haven't worked on an assembly line, "Taylorization" was unforgettably burlesqued by Charlie Chaplin in the factory scene of his movie Modern Times.

No. This is a brand new, red-(!) hot revolution.

Heard broke the news in an interview with the San Francisco Chronicle: "Our bonus system has failed. It's being supplanted by a pattern of prestige—a feeling in the worker that he is doing something of essential value. We are crossing the path from profits as a motive to the thought that the worker is, after all, a human being."

Now, there's a revolution for you. The recognition that "the worker is after all a human being." It comes a few hundred years late, but why quibble about trifles—it's here.

But hold it. For a moment I thought Heard was talking about abandoning bosses' profits as an incentive in favor of realizing that the worker is human. But looking closer I see that's a mirage. What Heard is saying is that the bonus system (that's a form of piece work

wages, Mr. Heard) has failed. Failed to do what? Obviously, it has failed to make the worker work harder, faster, longer, and happier to produce profits for those who don't work, never have worked and are determined that they never will.

And what will replace the bonus system? Simple: "A pattern of prestige." I suppose that means, for me, (I've been drilling holes in the same spot on thousands of identical metal parts, month in and month out) that my "pattern of prestige" will consist of acquiring a title. Maybe, "Chief Hole Driller on piece No. 2W34."

Since the title and the other trimmings on my "pattern of prestige" will then provide me with incentive, I take it that I will be expected to show less interest in such questions as wage rates.

I was particularly interested in Mr. Heard's report on how management's "the worker-is-a-human-being" approach affects their attitude to the unemployed.

"Management," says Heard, "is seeking to attain a truly civilized community. They no longer talk of sacking a man, washing their hands of him and dropping him into the reservoir of labor."

Well maybe they don't talk about "sacking" workers; they just fire them and let it go at that. After the workers are on the street, we got a good idea of the real attitude of Big Business when General Motor's cabinet member, C. E. Wilson, forgot the modern managerial lingo and compared the unemployed to dogs.

# Notes from the News

**BASIC IMPERIALIST DRIVE** of the U.S. economy was demonstrated by the lead article of the Wall Street Journal of November 10, whose main story was headlined: "Federal Teams to Hunt Foreign Opportunities for American Capital. Eisenhower Prods Diplomats to Get Better Treatment for Businessmen Abroad."

**BREWERY EMPLOYMENT** in Milwaukee is down 28%. CIO Brewery Workers Union attributes drop in demand for premium beer to unemployment throughout country.

**BILL OF RIGHTS FUND**, recently organized by Corliss Lamont to defend America's fast vanishing civil liberties, has taken its first action. It has granted \$1,000 to the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles to assist its legal battle against the loyalty oath now required of California churches as a condition for tax exemption. The church is trying to raise \$10,000 to fight the loyalty oath as a violation of the First Amendment and "an attempt by the state to control the conscience of the church."

**ANOTHER NEGRO YOUTH FACES CHAIR**. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked the U.S. Supreme Court to order a new trial for Jeremiah Reeves, Jr. convicted by an all-white Alabama jury and sentenced to death. Reeves was arrested in 1952 four months after a white woman claimed she had been attacked by an unknown assailant. The 17-year old Negro youth who was known to be psychologically unbalanced was taken to the State prison and held incommunicado for three days. In this period he was constantly grilled in the room containing the electric chair. He was told that he would die unless he confessed. At his

trial no audience was permitted despite defense motions for a public trial. Also excluded over protests of the defense were reporters and a private secretary for defense counsel. Testimony of numerous witnesses placed Reeves away from the scene of the alleged crime. Toward the end of the trial the defense learned that one of the jurors was the chief of a volunteer police reserve organized to track down "Negro rapists" and had been active in Reeves' arrest. A defense motion for a mistrial on these grounds was denied. A subsequent request for a new trial was turned down by the Alabama Supreme Court.

**WAGE WORKERS SURPASS WHITE COLLAR WORKERS** in income, a University of Chicago research project has revealed. This historic reversal was attributed to the unionization of industrial workers and the fact that white collar workers are only 10% organized. In 1939 the white collar worker in a factory office averaged \$33.04, while the production worker got 30% less, or \$25.44 a week. Today that white collar worker averages \$66.63 while the production worker averages \$69.24.

**CHRYSLER STRIKE VOTE**. Emil Mazey UAW-CIO Secretary-Treasurer has announced that workers in Chrysler Automotive Body Division, Local 212, have voted 92.4% for strike. Also voting to strike Chrysler was Local 265 in Evansville, Indiana. Immediate strike authorization is being asked of the union's International Executive Board. Issues involved are reinstatement of discharged office workers, collective bargaining agreements for office workers, many production standards disputes, health and safety, wage rate reclassifications that have cut wages, seniority violations and "a general breakdown of collective bargaining."

# Our Readers Take the Floor

### Tax Problems For St. Louis Workers

Editor:

Unions take some sort of united stand against workers paying a greater share of Federal and State taxes. However, many unions go along with the idea that the workers should pay more of the local taxes.

When the pressure was put on for the people of St. Louis to continue the city tax on workers' earnings many union leaders and unions stood shoulder to shoulder with the Chamber of Commerce and the two St. Louis' daily papers and advised workers to "Vote for Progress."

This meant to vote for the deduction of city taxes from workers' earnings before other taxes are deducted. Corporations taxes are paid after the deduction of taxes and expenses.

Many arguments were used to support the earnings tax, but those most often used by workers I talked with went like this:

"It is better to pay a few cents a week (one-half cent on the dollar) out of one's salary than to have to pay a lot more rent or taxes on your home. You know all of the earnings tax goes to the city, but most of the taxes on homes goes to the state. That means that home owners would have to pay much more money for the city to get its money. That would make rents go up, too."

"The people who live out of the city but work in it use things that we city workers have to pay for. It is only right that they help pay for them."

"Besides, if we don't get the earnings tax the city won't be able to collect garbage or take care of the sick and injured who have no money. You know we've got to pay our share of taxes; so the earnings tax is the best way."

Many people, including class conscious workers, put it that way. Out of the whole one-sided debate on the earnings tax, which I followed closely, it seemed like all we had was a choice between an earnings tax or higher taxes on small homes. One little ray of light came through the dark clouds of big business pressure. Earnest Calloway, staff member of Local 688, Teamsters, said over a local TV station that one large railroad paid less in taxes now than when it owned less taxable property.

Also, he told how owners of a large bank building paid no taxes to the city because of a small room in the building with a few books in it. This small room with a few books was called a library;

so no taxes are paid on this large building.

Because union leaders never made a real fight against the earnings tax, St. Louis workers never learned how much tax money the city fails to get because of phoney libraries and other tax evasion tricks used by the employing class.

We never learned why (if it is true) most of the tax money on small homes goes to the state when this tax money in nearly all states is almost all kept by the cities.

Immediately after the earnings tax was put over the Mayor of St. Louis began plugging for a big bond issue.

We can be sure that workers will be called upon to pay more than their share of the interest, and later the principal, on these bonds. It is time that St. Louis workers and those in other cities put the pressure on their union leaders to fight against earnings taxes and other taxes that place the tax burden nearly all on workers.

D. C.  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Continued Terror At Trumbull Park

Editor:

On the day after election the liberal Chicago Sun-Times published an editorial, the whole tone of which was that the local authorities had the Trumbull Park situation well in hand. It was particularly indignant toward public housing administrator Albert M. Cole who had proposed federal intervention during the election campaign. It charged Cole with "playing politics with racial tension." At the same time it was arguing that there was little or no tension.

The Sun-Times, of course, is merely attempting to defend the local Democratic Party regime which stands most completely exposed for its failure to stop the Trumbull Park violence for over a year.

A letter to the editor, expressing disagreement with the Sun-Times editorial exploded that newspaper's contention that the local authorities were "adequately dealing with the situation." It brought out that just the other day, "A Negro mother of three small children had a homemade bomb thrown at her which exploded directly behind her. In the evening her husband left a South Side community center and went into a drug store saying, 'I have to phone the police to meet me at the bus stop.' Their children have been beaten and still need police protection when at play."

To this letter the Sun-Times editor added a significant footnote. "We received an anonymous phone call saying, 'We're just waiting for the police to pull out, then we'll start up again.'"

It is clearly revealed in this episode that the elections have accomplished nothing toward solving the jim-crow terror in Trumbull Park.

Pressing forward is the anonymous hand of the racists who are concerned lest the newspapers create the false impression that their deadly activities have ceased. We see the liberal Times wish-thinking the violence out of existence. We see the capitalist politician Cole demagogically proposing that the absentee federal capitalist politicians will solve what their local counterparts have failed to solve.

Yet to be heard from are the ranks of the united labor and minority organizations. Only when these step forward to wield their independent political power will the Trumbull Parks in Chicago and elsewhere be solved, once and for all. An opportunity in this direction presents itself immediately in the February elections for Mayor and city council. There is evidence of a growing consciousness within the Negro community, as reflected in the Negro press, and the NAACP, as well as in the FEPC and PAC committees of the local unions. More than ever before must demands be made from the ranks for independent Negro and labor candidates.

Howard Mayhew  
Chicago, Ill.

### "Supervised Freedom"

The Mineola, Long Island, school board, "in the spirit of free reading of books" decided not to remove "stated or controversial" books from its school libraries. But, to "protect students from propaganda" it permits pupils to use books considered controversial only with a teachers, approval and "under direct supervision of a teacher." Any book criticized as controversial or biased will be considered by the school staff, which will decide whether it should be relegated to "reserved status." Dr. Frank E. Barnes, president of the school board, explained: "We don't keep children in glass cases. I think they should be subjected to controversial literature if they're going to learn to think."

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The New Face of Congress

A sober appraisal of the kind of Congress we can expect now that the Democrats have regained a majority can lead to but one conclusion so far as the working people are concerned: the 84th Congress will be just as anti-labor, just as anti-democratic, just as anti-Negro as the 83rd, if not worse.

Two Texans will hold top posts in the House and Senate. Rep. Sam Rayburn will again become House speaker and Sen. Lyndon Johnson, present Democratic minority leader in the Senate, will become majority leader with convening of the new Congress in January.

Another even more startling—and significant—fact is the composition of the standing committees, particularly the powerful chairmanships. Fourteen out of 19 committee chairmen in the House will be Southerners.

These posts are no mere honorary titles and the committees don't play light-weight roles. Chairmen of committees in Congress can frequently block or delay desirable legislation for long periods or ram through quickly, without adequate public hearings, special legislation against labor and in the interests of Big Business.

This pattern will continue for Democratic-controlled Congresses to come. Succession to Committee posts in both houses is based on a seniority system and the Southern Democrats have a long political life-expectancy once they get elected.

Big Business well understands that when you take the Democratic party you are taking a "package deal" that includes the Southern wing which comprises nearly half the strength of the entire party.

Many workers didn't realize what they were getting when they voted Democrat in their understandable desire to get rid of the Republicans.

Cardinal Spellman and McCarthy

Evidence keeps increasing that a powerful, if not decisive, section of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America is lending aid and comfort to fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy and encouraging popular support of the man who would be America's Hitler.

On Nov. 4, an official representative of the Cardinal, at a communion breakfast for Catholic War Veterans in New York City, praised McCarthy to the skies and claimed that "I know personally that over \$5,000,000 has been pooled to kick Joe out of the Senate, and that's only a small portion of what is pouring into Washington."

Aside from the question whether or not there does exist a \$5,000,000 slush fund to fight McCarthy—and Msgr. Martin just shut up about this when he was asked to submit proof of his "charge" there remains the inescapable fact that Spellman's spokesman glorified McCarthy and held him up as a

model Catholic. The only comment that came from the Chancery office of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in New York was the statement that Msgr. Martin had the "sole responsibility of conveying the greetings and blessings of the Cardinal—and nothing else."

American workers—Catholic workers, above all—have reason to look with the greatest concern on the relationship of the authoritarian hierarchy with McCarthyism, especially in the light of the close affinity of The Vatican and the hierarchy with European fascism, including Mussolini in Italy and Franco in Spain.

Einstein's Advice to Youth

A few days ago Albert Einstein declared that if today he were a young man and had to choose a career he would not become a scientist, scholar or teacher, subject to thought-control investigations, but would rather choose a trade such as that of a plumber where he could still hope for a degree of intellectual independence.

The N. Y. Times, in an editorial, Nov. 11, said Einstein's statement "will come as a shock" to many Americans. They offer Einstein sympathy for his feeling and deplore the "excesses" committed "in the name of security."

"But," they say, "for Dr. Einstein to urge in effect that young people renounce science and scholarship because of these phenomena is a grievous error."

They list three counts against Einstein's "error": (1) Einstein "exaggerates" the extent of the witch hunt. (2) If young people accepted Einstein's advice "the Soviet Union would soon have a commanding scientific lead over the free world."

The charge that Einstein exaggerates the extent of the witch hunt shows how completely and deliberately his meaning has escaped the Times editorial writers. They are apologizing for "excesses." He is indicting the whole organic structure of American society—sick with the witch hunt disease.

Einstein is recognized as one of the greatest living men, along with Galileo, Newton, Dar-

win and Freud his immortality in history is assured. His mind decades ago began laying the theoretical foundations for the atomic age.

And because he has fought the witch hunt, Einstein, with undimmed courage at the age of 75, can perform the first duty of the scientist and teacher—tell the truth! He has spoken out many times in the recent past. He has advised intellectuals to defy House and Senate committees engaged in "subversive" probes, even if it meant economic ruin and going to jail.

Now we witness the spectacle of the N. Y. Times, voice of Big Business, admonishing this fighter-scientist not to "exaggerate," not to discourage the youth from lending their minds to the "scientific" war with the Soviet Union, and not to turn from the "glorious quest of the human spirit."

This kind of a reply to Einstein's latest cry of protest against the witch hunt is not merely arrogant and presumptuous; it is a part of the witch hunt itself. In effect the Times tells Einstein, "keep your opinions to yourself. Don't interfere with the atomic armaments race by telling the youth the truth about what the American militarists have done to the world of science and learning."

A Smuggled Appeal from Algerian Leader

Below we print in full a statement by Messali Hadj, foremost Algerian nationalist leader. To the threats and proffered bribes of his imperialist jailors — Daladier in 1939, Vichy in 1941, De Gaulle in 1943 and Mendes-France in 1954 — this indomitable fighter has had but one reply: "Independence for Algeria!"

He was founder and leader of the outlawed Star of North Africa, then of the outlawed Algerian People's Party and at present of the persecuted Movement for Democratic Liberties, whose members in Algeria and France are now being hunted down by the French imperialists.

He himself has for long been imprisoned in France.

When on Nov. 1, new independence struggles broke out in Algeria, Mendes-France rushed troops to Algeria for new repressions and simultaneously put Messali Hadj in solitary confinement. Nonetheless the Algerian leader managed to smuggle out the statement printed below. Short excerpts of this were printed in the French capitalist press. The Stalinist press never printed a word. Only La Verite, French Trotskyist paper printed the entire text and demanded his immediate release.

By Messali Hadj

Since the announcement of the events in Algeria during the night of Oct. 31 to Nov. 1, 1954, the watch over me has been seriously reinforced.

Three days later I was placed in solitary confinement, preventing me from seeing anybody and depriving me of communication with the outside. This worsening of the conditions of my residence was followed by a search and dissolution of the Movement for Democratic Liberties (MTLD).

In Algeria, searches and arrests were carried through with great brutality and often in violation of the laws. Moulay Merbah, general secretary of the MTLD, and a big number of leaders and militants were carried away by the police, and their families do not know to this hour where they are.

VIOLENT REPRESSIONS

Mrs. Renee Stibbe, Counselor-at-Law has filed a complaint with the Prosecutor against this imprisonment which has lasted longer than the 24 hours allowed by law.

In France, in the whole Parisian region and in all the cities, there were searches and raids by the police. To this wave of repression must be added screenings and the continuous shipment of all kinds of troops to Algeria.

Everywhere the administration calls for violent, energetic and exemplary repression. This repressive frenzy repeats the methods of May, 1945.

We have on previous occasions declared that repression, no matter what its form, never has been a solution to the Algerian problem, which more and more confronts the government and international public opinion.

From 1830 to our day the profound anger of the Algerian peo-

ple against the (French) colonial regime has exploded many times. The first insurrections followed the conquest, and then the risings of 1871 took place. All these explosions were met with ferocious repression, followed by expropriation and exile.

ALGERIANS WANT FREEDOM

All these methods of force have never prevented the Algerian people from demanding its wealth, its rights and its liberty.

That shows that the policy of force is bankrupt, because it goes counter to the real aspirations of the Algerian people, which remains faithful to its historic past and its tradition of Islam.

These explosions in Algeria are precisely the disastrous results of a colonial policy which obstinately persists in ignoring the Algerian realities. Submitted to a strong expropriation and reduced to a regime of silence, the Algerian people has become a wandering army of ragged ones, tuberculars and untouchables.

The policy of expropriation has compelled it to become a serf on its own soil. This accounts for the fact that the Algerian people, although it numbers 10 million inhabitants, only owns 33% of the total wealth of the country, while one million Europeans alone own 67% of Algeria's wealth.

ENFORCED MISERY

In the field of education, the Arab language, mother tongue of ten million Algerians, has been systematically smothered and declared a foreign language.

The miserable condition of our youth, adds further to the attack against the dignity of our people. Two million children wander in the most complete destitution and, lacking schools, without education and without a future. Our youth is thrown on the street without work and without the possibility to set up their own home.

To this crushing picture must be added the horrors of slums, of dampness, of hunger which grips millions of children, old people and women, who for the most part eat meat only two or three times a year.

The Algerian Moslems are deeply indignant when they see that the cult of Islam has been transformed together with its cadis, its mufitis and all its personnel into a propaganda agency in the service of the Algerian [French colonial] administration. On the political plane, the AL-

gerians, although they outnumber the Europeans 10 to 1 are represented in the municipal and general assemblies by elected delegates whose number is limited to two-fifths of the seats of these bodies. The famous Algerian Assembly, fruit of electoral trickery, is in reality only an administrative council devoted entirely to the interests of large colonization.

RIGGED ELECTIONS

The organic law of Algeria, which was imposed on the Algerian people although it was unanimously rejected by all the Moslem delegates, is only deceit, because the skeleton reforms provided for are not even carried out. The municipal and cantonal elections and those to the Algerian Assembly and the French Parliament are more nominations of individuals who have gone over to the cause of colonialism than an electoral competition. That is why the great majority of the Algerian people clearly shows its indifference for all these pre-fabricated elections.

The political, economic, social, cultural and religious repression is a weapon of the terror in the hands of the administration, which it utilizes permanently.

Also searches, arrests and beatings are common in the country. Militants can be carried off and led to star chamber imprisonment, in defiance of the laws that guarantee respect for individual liberty. This system of repression and seizure is designed to create terror with the aim of separating the patriots from the national movements.

Racism, racial discrimination, arrogance and contempt are facts which all Algerians encounter daily. And as a final reserve of this regime of misery and suffering, there is the dramatic situation of the Algerian emigration to France, which, in its turn, though a long way from the national soil, is the object of exceptional measures and of a certain racism orchestrated by the reactionary press and the employers.

This regime of exceptional measures, of expropriation and repression is a permanent feature, which has persisted for decades.

For our part, we have condemned this regime for more than twenty years and have particularly called it to the attention of the government in order to put an end to it. Yes, this is what we have denounced in writing and speech thousands of times, and never has the government wanted to hear or consider our appeals. On the contrary, we have been mistreated and thrown into prisons for long years.

It is in this unfortunate situation in which the Algerian people has always struggled that we must find the causes of all the explosions of the past and of the events which broke out recently.

Expropriated, exploited and submitted to exceptional laws without ever being listened to or respected, the Algerian explodes because he sees all the doors slam shut before him.

Such explosions are the result of the colonial policy against which the Algerian people has not ceased to cry out since the first days of the occupation.

We have said on previous occasions, and we repeat it today, that in putting an end to this regime—in granting the aspirations of our people—an end will be put to these explosions, which are in reality only human reactions and acts of despair. One must look it in the face in order to bring about a just, humane and logical solution to the Algerian problem.

URGES SOLIDARITY

Such has been our struggle in the past, such it will be tomorrow and always.

Thus, faithful to our past and to our feelings of sympathy with the French people and its working class, we ask them to hold out a fraternal hand to the Algerian people, which right now is undergoing a heavy repression throughout the whole country.

Today as yesterday, we will continue to work in such a way that the friendship that links the Algerian workers to the French people is developed in the struggle which will permit our two peoples, freed from all colonial and capitalist enslavement, to march forward towards liberty, progress and justice, peace and solidarity among all peoples.

World Events

THE EDITORS OF TRIBUNE, newspaper of the Bevanites in the British Labor Party, refused to retract their criticism of the strike-breaking policy pursued by Arthur Deakin, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, during the recent dock strikes. Michael Foot, Jennie Lee and J.P.W. Mallalieu replied in the Nov. 12 issue of Tribune to the National Executive of the British Labor Party, which on Oct. 27 sent the Bevanite editors a letter demanding that the Editorial Board of the paper explain "how you reconcile the attack on the leadership of the Transport and General Workers' Union with your membership of the Party and that you be asked to indicate your future policy."

The editorial board in its reply upheld the right of union democracy and democracy in the Labor Party, including the right to criticize trade union leaders and concluded "we shall continue to print the truth as we see it."

HABIB BOURGUIBA, President of the Tunisian nationalist Neo-Destour Party, warned the Mendes-France government on Nov. 11 of a "new Indo-China" in Africa. Bourguiba is being held in France under guard in a hotel room. He stated in an interview, reported in the N. Y. Times, Nov. 16, that French negotiators had put down conditions for granting autonomy that were unacceptable to the Tunisians. Bourguiba accused the French government of refusing to make concessions and defended the Fellaghans partisan bands who are fighting against French troops.

THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY and the Armas dictatorship are beginning to negotiate a new contract, according to the N. Y. Times, Nov. 13. United Fruit is pressing for settlement of the diplomatic claim of \$16,000,000 in compensation for land the Arbenz government had seized from the company for distribution to the peasants and for damages it allegedly incurred through the expropriation. The popularly-elected Arbenz government was overthrown by a United Fruit Co.-State Department-backed military putsch last June.

GUATEMALA'S organized labor and peasant movement is still out of action under the Armas dictatorship, according to a N. Y. Times dispatch on Nov. 6. Right after it took power, the Armas regime decreed that all unions must be "reorganized" through the ouster of all "Communists"

before they can function legally again. Labor leaders have charged that the Government was persecuting the labor movement with false "Communist" charges. Before new union executive committees are approved they must get clearance from the National Defense Committee Against Communism, a secret organization.

NEW ZEALAND'S LABOR PARTY cut the National (Conservative) government's majority in Parliament from twenty seats to six in a national election held Nov. 14. The Labor Party raised the issue of H-bomb tests in the Antarctic in the campaign. According to the N. Y. Times, Nov. 11, Walter Nash, leader of the Labor Party in New Zealand stated that his party would oppose explosion by the U.S. Government of an H-bomb in the South Pole territory only 1800 miles from New Zealand. "You remember what happened to those Japanese fishermen twelve months ago," said Nash.

A YUGOSLAV TRADE DEL-EGATION is scheduled to go soon to Moscow to negotiate a formal trade treaty with the Soviet Union, the N. Y. Times reported on Nov. 13. Yugoslavia has already arranged barter agreements with four East European countries. At the same time Yugoslav delegates have begun negotiations in Washington on a broad range of the country's economic and financial problems.

THE REIGN OF TERROR against the Iranian nationalist movement continued unabated as Hussein Fattemi, ex-foreign minister under Mossadegh, was executed on Nov. 11. According to the N. Y. Herald Tribune, Fattemi cried out, "This is Britain's work," before the firing squad shot the volley that killed him.

THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY refused to enter the new Mendes-France cabinet last week, although the party's congress voted to support the new treaty for the rearmament of West Germany. The congress refused to enter the government unless Mendes-France agreed to a series of measures including wage raises for workers and conclusion of Tunisian independence agreements. Mendes-France turned down these conditions. On Nov. 12 the Socialist-led union of government employees went out on strike demonstration for increased pay. The union threatened to call for a general strike if their demands were not met.

Cronies Now



General Douglas MacArthur and Shigeru Yoshida, Japan's prime minister, meet in New York. They were enemies in World War II, when each sent youth of own country into slaughter for profits of own capitalist class. Yoshida came to U.S. hoping to get \$4 billion to rearm Japan. Japanese war-lords, bankers and industrialists are now Wall Street's allies against Soviet bloc and colonial revolution.

Skoglund Recuperating After Serious Operation

It is pleasant news to report that Carl Skoglund, former leader of the Minneapolis Teamster's union, has been released from the hospital and is steadily recovering his health. The 70-year-old working class leader is still under doctor's care, however, and will continue to be due to a heart condition from which he has suffered for a number of years.

Skoglund's ill health was undoubtedly aggravated by his recent imprisonment on a deportation order. The deportation case grew out of the famous Minneapolis Labor trial of 1941.

Although Skoglund, who came to this country from Sweden in 1911, had always fulfilled the conditions of his bond since the beginning of the case, the bond was suddenly canceled on May 20 of this year and he was imprisoned on Ellis Island.

SURPRISE MOVE

On the evening of Aug. 26 he was suddenly informed that he would be deported early the next morning. Learning of this surprise move Skoglund's attorney, Stanley Lowell, secured a writ of habeas corpus late that night. The authorities on Ellis Island were immediately informed of the court action holding up the deportation. A telegram was simultaneously sent to Skoglund informing him of the court action.

Nonetheless on the morning of Aug. 27, Skoglund — without time to gather his clothing and personal possessions from his home in New Jersey or to arrange a last minute farewell to his friends—was hustled aboard the ship Italia. He was taken off only a few minutes before sailing and was given the telegram sent him the night before only after being brought back to Ellis Island.

The efforts of the Civil Rights Defense Committee were directed to getting the veteran union leader released on bond again while his case was fought through the courts. This struggle evoked sympathy and support from many who are concerned about the current threats to democratic rights. Notable among these was Norman Thomas, lead-

er of the Socialist Party. That the Skoglund case evoked such support is all the more gratifying in these days when so many former advocates of civil liberties are buckling under the pressure of reaction.

On October 7 these efforts were crowned with success and Skoglund walked off the ferry from Ellis Island.

STRICKEN

However the four and a half months of imprisonment had had their effect on the 70-year-old militant's health and undoubtedly the shock of his being put on a ship and taken off only at the last moment had not helped his cardiac condition. Less than 48 hours after his release he was stricken ill and was taken as an

... South Maps Moves

(Continued from page 1)

formation has come to light about these vigilante groups. Hodding Carter, Mississippi editor and himself an ardent supporter of school segregation, has declared that anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic elements are turning the Citizens Councils into "uptown Ku Klux Klans." That these groups are anti-Negro goes without saying. Carter told the Shreveport Bar Association that the formation of these vigilante groups had created a "very serious situation" and that segregation could be maintained without resort to such dangerous methods.

At least 32 of these semi-secret Citizens Councils are known to exist. The aim of the movement — which has support in the highest financial and political circles of Mississippi — is to have such a secret group in each county of the state. At the meeting of the 32nd Citizens Council formed, in Lowndes County, a speaker declared that white and Negro "cannot live together in peace with equal social and political liberties."

At the recent session of the Mississippi House of Representatives these new vigilante groups

were praised from the floor. Representative Sledge, from Sunflower County where the first Citizens Council was organized explained that similar groups were being organized in each of Mississippi's 82 counties and that "each council accepts the responsibility of preventing integration of the races within its immediate territory. Should a consolidation of councils be necessary for a concerted action, a centralized control could be established within a matter of hours."

The Mississippi legislator boasted: "Council leadership is composed of the most prominent, well-educated and conservative business men in each community. . . All members are carefully screened by the membership committee." Membership is open to "reliable white male citizens dedicated to upholding racial segregation."

Each council has a committee whose job is to "anticipate moves by agitators" for integration and to "recommend application of economic pressure to trouble-makers." Denying that the Citizens Councils were secret, Rep. Sledge said, "however, there are some operations of the councils which for obvious reasons cannot be publicized."

# Detroit Campus Witch-Hunt Gets Cool Reception

By Sherry Cohen

DETROIT, Nov. 14—A witch-hunting attack on the newly formed Young Socialist Club at Wayne University has met with almost universal rejection by the campus community.

Three weeks ago, for the first time on the Wayne campus, a socialist political club was organized by a group of students dissatisfied with the war-depression programs of the Democratic and Republican parties. Barely a week old, the club was confronted with a smear assault by Ken Frosliid, editor-in-chief of the Wayne Collegian, the student newspaper.

The Young Socialist Club was organized after meeting the requirements of the Government Department political education program, and immediately began participating in campus and election functions. Robert Himmel, Jr. was elected Acting Chairman and Paul Montauk, Acting Corresponding Secretary at the initial constitutional meeting.

The club organized a symposium on the question of "Which Party Can Best Meet the Needs of the American People?" with speakers from the Young Socialist, Republican and Democratic campus clubs. The club also organized an open house to introduce to students candidates from the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party, the two socialist parties on the Wayne County ballot.

Quite a few students took advantage of the opportunity to come down to the campus campaign headquarters to meet Frank Lovell, candidate for governor, Rita Shaw, candidate for U.S. Senator, and Robert Himmel, Jr., candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District in Detroit, all on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, and also the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor, James Horvath.

## "SUBVERSIVE?"

Three days later, on election day, the Wayne Collegian came out with the first of two editorials written by Ken Frosliid. In the first editorial, referring to the Socialist Club, he stated: "And who is head of this organization? . . . Robert Himmel, Socialist candidate for the First Congressional District and member of the Socialist Workers Party, which was called 'subversive' by the Attorney General."

Frosliid asks, "Is a program designed to create good citizenship in students going to be turned into a sounding board for those advocating overthrow of the government by violence?" In his second editorial he continued: "The Socialist Workers Party HAS NOT ADMITTED 'subversiveness.' But, on the

other hand, it HAS NOT DENIED such activities. That's why there is SOME DOUBT about the activities of its members. . . . Does the campus Socialist Club, with Himmel as a leader, represent a political philosophy, or does it advocate the violent overthrow of the government? . . . Are the Young Socialists going to become a sounding board for those who talk socialist, but practice something else?"

## PROTESTS

The reaction to these editorials was immediate. Numerous letters were sent into the Collegian from students protesting Frosliid's smear tactics. Peter Albertson, Managing Editor of the Collegian, and Ralph Nicholas, Collegian News Editor, printed an article in the Collegian stating: "It should be remembered that the Attorney General's subversive list (that to which Mr. Frosliid refers) is not legal nor is it accepted as evidence in any court of the nation."

The Student Committee on Rights and Reforms unanimously passed a resolution condemning Frosliid's witch-hunting tactics and the Student Council itself, the official representative of students on the Wayne Campus held a hectic meeting at which Frosliid was severely called to task and a motion was introduced to censure him for his editorials. This motion was not submitted to a vote because a quorum was lacking one at that time. The Student Council will take up this motion at its next meeting and there is every indication that it will be passed.

## HIMMEL REPLIES

What most effectively refuted Frosliid's smear, however, was contributed by Himmel, as Acting Chairman of the Young Socialist Club, in an article printed in the November 8 Wayne Collegian. (See article below.)

In addition, the Young Socialist Club at a well attended meeting passed a resolution unanimously condemning Frosliid's editorials.

The Young Socialist club has embarked on an ambitious program of bringing to the attention of the Wayne student body events and issues that not only directly concern students but also the nation as a whole.

Next week the Socialist Club is sponsoring a public meeting featuring Paul Silver, President of UAW-CIO local 351, and one of the UAW leaders in the recent Square D strike. Silver will speak on "Why the Detroit Labor Movement Came to the Aid of the Square D strikers."

# THE MILITANT

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## UAW Delegates Draft '55 Contract Demands; Scrap Five-Year Clause

### Why Senate Threatens Censure

By Art Preis

When we examine the actual findings of the two recent Senate probes involving Sen. Joseph McCarthy, there would seem to be little reason for the great furor surrounding these events. The Mundt committee hearings on the Army-McCarthy controversy were concerned chiefly with the fact that McCarthy permitted one of his staff members to seek favored treatment in the Army for another former McCarthy aide. That's the sort of thing that goes on all the time in the capitalist government and McCarthy has been no more reprehensible in this respect than a great many other Senators.

In the second probe, that of the bi-partisan Watkins committee whose censure recommendation is now being debated in the Senate, McCarthy is charged with nothing more than affronts to certain Senators and Army generals. There is nothing connected with McCarthy's politics, his aims and program—that is, with McCarthyism as such. The Senate has heard remarks from Southerners like Eastland and the late Bilbo full of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic or anti-labor filth without blinking an eye.

If McCarthy faces a possible Senate censure and has been called before two probes on the initiative of Republicans, it must be for reasons not connected, at least immediately or directly, with his ideology. Nor can it be simply for rudeness and lack of courtesy toward his Senatorial colleagues—the Congressional Record is replete with examples of harsh retort and personal innuendo among Senators.

The opposition to McCarthy within the Republican Party and in the Senate as a whole is based on his threat to the traditional machinery of political control and the traditional institutions of government that American capitalism has used with such effectiveness up to now in keeping the American people under capitalist domination. McCarthy challenges the effectiveness of these institutions as they now operate and seeks a drastic alteration in their function and structure to set up capitalist rule by fascist dictatorship.

The Republican high command only last February regarded McCarthy as their prize campaigner. He made the opening '52 election tour for the Republican Party.

The Republican high command only last February regarded McCarthy as their prize campaigner. He made the opening '52 election tour for the Republican Party.

But by August he was embroiled openly with the Eisenhower administration because it was apparent he was building his own machine and following and was using the Republican Party as a vehicle for aims that encompassed the ultimate destruction of that party if it did not acknowledge his supreme leadership.

The Republican leaders were more than willing to use McCarthy so long as he remained a disciplined member of their machine. But when he added a "one" to the "20 years of treason" charge and attacked the Eisenhower administration, especially, for its foreign policy, appealing to the public against Eisenhower, then it became clear that what was involved was nothing less than control of the Republican Party. That was McCarthy's "asking price" for laying off the Republican leadership.

But if the dominant sector of the Republican Party, as it now appears, has been reluctantly driven to seek a curb on McCarthy, there are other factors that make them want to soften the curb and to patch things up with him.

Big Business does not wish to destroy McCarthy. He is considered a most valuable weapon to hold in reserve as a threat over labor. He is a super-witch hunter whose services they would like to continue to use to terrorize the workers and political dissenters. Moreover, the Republicans cannot drive him and his followers into direct opposition without destroying the GOP's chances in the '56 elections. A break with McCarthy, leading to a new fascist party competing with the Republicans, would wreck the GOP's chances in the next presidential election.

On the other hand, the Republican leaders can read the trend of the latest elections. They see the powerful hold of liberalism and consider McCarthyism's rude methods as a detriment at this stage.

The Republicans are torn by contradictions and dilemmas. These parallel, in some respects, the conflicts within the Democratic Party—the struggle of the liberal-labor faction with the Southern Dixiecrats and Farley-type Northern bosses. The differences in the Democratic Party were

### Favor "Free Enterprise"



Edgar H. Dixon and E. A. Yates (right), who were awarded contract to build a new generating plant and supply power to the Atomic Energy Commission. The government supplies the money and they take the profits. (See story, page 1.)

patched up on the basis of concessions by the liberal-labor faction to the Southerners. But McCarthy is no weak-kneed compromiser. He is sticking tough and not budging an inch. He is demonstrating to all the fascist elements that they make no mistake in choosing him as their fuhrer.

The contradictions surveyed above are the key to the apparently furious struggle against McCarthy within Republican ranks and their unwillingness to break with him or go beyond a mild censure.

If the ruling American capitalists are unwilling to dispense, as yet, with the traditional two-party system of political control and therefore must put limits to the advance of McCarthyism as a movement to establish one-party fascist domination, they are likewise unwilling to have the existing parliamentary governmental institutions undermined.

When McCarthy puts to ridicule and scorn this institution, defies its decorum and rules, he not only threatens individual Senators but the Senate as an effective instrument of capitalist rule. It is not for any reasons of democracy, therefore, but to maintain the necessary aura of wisdom, dignity and sober thought the Senate must wear to keep its influence as an institution that has moved the Senate to select six of its most conservative members, of both parties, to try to keep McCarthy in line with Senate rules of conduct.

DETROIT, Nov. 13 — Some 1,100 local delegates of the CIO United Automobile Workers met here yesterday and today in an extraordinary national "economic conference" and drafted a program of contract demands for next year's negotiations with General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and other auto concerns.

The conference reaffirmed the guaranteed annual wage as the chief demand for 1955. This had been previously approved by the last UAW convention and the UAW's Unemployment Conference in Washington. But this time the demand was spelled out to call for 52 weeks of work or the equivalent in pay for auto workers with two or more years of seniority.

### REUTHER'S RETREAT

At the same time, CIO and UAW President Walter Reuther retreated on his open opposition to the growing demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to the extent that he made no frontal attack on the shorter work-week program.

Reuther's program as offered to the conference deferred the shorter work-week demand but said that it "will take its place at the top of our collective bargaining agenda" after the "annual wage is secured." Reuther insisted that no contract will be signed next year which does not include the guaranteed annual wage.

The softening of Reuther's attitude on the vital "30 for 40" demand reflects pressure from the ranks that also forced him to retreat on another big issue, the question of the long-term five-year contracts that he foisted on the union back in 1950 and which have been a source of dissatisfaction among most of the auto workers ever since.

A limitation of two years was fixed by the conference for future contracts and one year if contracts fail to include cost-of-living and improvement factors clauses.

### OTHER DEMANDS

A series of other demands were adopted providing for a 25% increase in pensions, health insurance fully-paid by the companies instead of one-half by the workers as at present, increased overtime and holiday premium pay, and preferential hiring for laid-off workers.

Although it is claimed that the demands total a "package" of from 40 to 50 cents an hour in increases, wage raises asked that would actually appear in the regular pay checks total 10.3 cents an hour. Of this sum, 5.3 cents is needed to rectify the

past lag in the so-called productivity improvement factor which was fixed first at 4 cents, then at 5 cents per hour annually. The average productivity rise is based, however, on a continually larger man-hour output and must be figured on a compounded basis, like interest on bank savings. Another 5 cents is asked for the next improvement factor due after the contracts are signed starting May 29, the GM expiration date, June 1 for Ford and Aug. 31 for Chrysler.

In addition, the conference proposed to include into the permanent base wage rate the 7 cents an hour now paid under the cost-of-living escalator clause and to limit the amount that could be taken away, if the price index declines, under future escalator agreements.

Although Reuther did not oppose the 30-hour week for 40 hours' pay, he gave no real assurance that he really intends to press for this demand at any time in the future. Rather he has indicated that he considers a shorter work-week would be wrong if there is a greater demand for war production. Thus, in reality, he counterposes full employment based on war spending and war to the reduction of the work week with increased hourly wages.

### BITTER FIGHT AHEAD

The conference met amidst growing threats to the auto workers — technological unemployment due to automation, speedup and pressure from the companies who are protected by Reuther's five-year contracts, spreading wage cuts approved by the UAW international leaders, new union-busting legislation, etc. Bitter corporation opposition to the new contract demands is foreshadowed by the prolonged Kohler strike and the Ford strike in Canada.

Awareness that the UAW will gain little or nothing without a strong fight is reported among the conference delegates. Reuther himself reflected this concern of the membership when he told a press conference today (the UAW conference was closed to all but delegates and union officials) that if the union's major demands are denied "then we will have to exercise our economic power." He indicated that "if there is a strike" it will take place "in the corporation that has demonstrated the least moral responsibility" — generally believed to be a reference to Ford's.

This would imply a continuation of the one-at-a-time strategy that so weakened and prolonged previous struggles, rather than a unified industry-wide fight. Reuther did ask for a \$25 million strike fund through an additional membership assessment. But two big questions remain to be answered. 1. Will the UAW make real preparations in the ranks for a militant struggle? 2. Will Reuther give away most of the other demands in an attempt to clinch the GAW program without a fight? The kind of fight the UAW will make will become of crucial importance as the UAW national convention comes nearer, next March 27, when final strategy will be decided.

### 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

## Text of Himmel Statement

(Following are extracts from an article in the Nov. 8, 1954, Wayne Collegian written by Robert Himmel, Jr., Acting Chairman of the Young Socialist Club.)

"Frosliid's case against the Young Socialists is based essentially on the concept of guilt by association with me. This in turn is based on my association with the Socialist Workers Party, a legal political organization, which I have never tried to conceal.

"He calls attention to the fact that the Socialist Workers Party is on the Attorney General's 'subversive list,' assumes that it is actually 'subversive' and then assumes that the Young Socialist Club must be 'subversive' too because I am associated with both.

"But there is a considerable difference between being called 'subversive' and actually being 'subversive.' Frosliid may not be aware of such a difference, but the U.S. Supreme Court is.

"On April 30, 1951, the Supreme Court by a vote of 5 to 3, severely criticized the Attorney General's 'subversive list' and the way in which he prepared it. It said: 'The organizations received no notice that they were to be listed, had no opportunity to present evidence on their own behalf and were not informed of the evidence on which the designations rest. . . . Under such circumstances his (the Attorney General's) own admission renders his designation patently arbitrary. . . . The situation is comparable to one which would be created if the Attorney General, under like circumstances, were to designate the American National Red Cross as a communist organization.'

### HEARING REFUSED

"On six different occasions the Socialist Workers Party asked the Attorney General for a hearing at which it could answer the smear charge and present evidence to show why it should not be listed. Neither before nor after the Supreme Court rebuke has any Attorney General granted this request. The listed groups thus have never had their 'day in court.'

"On August 22, 1951, the U.S.

Circuit Court of Appeals condemned the Attorney General's list in even sharper terms as 'a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed associations.'

### LEGAL TEST

"In 1952, the Socialist Workers Party was ruled off the ballot in Michigan under the anti-subversive provisions of the Trucks Law. The case was taken to the courts and settled on February 19, 1954, in the Wayne County Circuit Court when Attorney General Millard was forced to stipulate in court that despite two years of litigation and investigation, he had no evidence to support allegations against the Socialist Workers Party.

"As the Detroit Free Press reported (Nov. 3, 1954): 'A court appeal rescinded this ruling and brought official comment that no basis could be found for the subversive allegation.'

### WHY THIS SMEAR?

"Condemned by the highest federal courts and withdrawn by state officials, these stale and unsupported charges against the Socialist Workers Party are now revived by Editor Frosliid. I wonder why. Doesn't he understand that the aim of this guilt-by-association technique, most assiduously practiced by Senator McCarthy, is to intimidate the American people into conformity?

"Editor Frosliid owes the readers of the Collegian an apology. If he does not make it, I hope that the readers will repudiate his attack on the Young Socialist Club and resist all other efforts to silence the voices of students who want to discuss freely so that they can find the answers to social problems that face us all."

(Continued from page 1)

advance again under more advantageous conditions.

In the first place, McCarthy is using the censure fight to consolidate his own independent fascist movement. The McCarthyites are building their cadres. They are building an organization that recognizes in McCarthy the fascist leader. This was demonstrated at the rally in Washington which ended on a fuhrer principle note. When the chairman, announced there would be no resolutions, voices from the crowd cried out, "Joe McCarthy is our resolution."

Among the speakers at the mass meeting was the notorious labor hater, Westbrook Pegler, who last Spring openly advocated a fascist type dictatorship to crush the union movement. According to Drew Pearson, Gerald L. K. Smith, rabid anti-semitic and leading fascist contender in the 1940's was one of the organizers of the Washington rally.

"The McCarthyites," wrote Drew Pearson in his Nov. 17 syndicated column, "were recruited from Freedom clubs and McCarthy clubs that Joe has been organizing in Brooklyn, Boston and a few other cities." They went to Washington in special trains from Boston and New York. "As the train chugged toward Washington," says Pearson, "professional organizers wandered down the aisles, giving instructions and whipping up enthusiasm. Significantly, they denounced both Republicans and Democrats alike. One beetle browed pep leader assailed President Eisenhower as 'soft' on communism."

The "March on Washington" and the rally of his supporters

## ... McCarthy Mobilizes His Followers



McCarthy

had an independent character and brought together many of the leading fascist figures.

On the other hand, these recent events show that the fascist movement is still in its beginning stages. It does not yet operate as an independent political party but continues to work within the Republican and to a lesser extent the Democratic party.

At the same time that they seek to consolidate their cadre, the McCarthyites have cemented alliances with ultra-reactionary groups in the country. These include the isolationist crowd around Col. McCormack, publisher of the Chicago Tribune and General Wood, head of Sears and Roebuck as well as most of the Catholic hierarchy. These alliances give the McCarthyites added forces with which to pressure the Senate. It is through these alliances that the ten million signature drive was launched. These groups provide the hardened fascist cadres with a broad arena in which to operate, recruit and conduct their campaigns.

Thus, according to Wm. Michelfelder and Fred Cook, writing in the N. Y. World Telegram on Nov. 16, "volunteers — all said they were strictly volunteers — dropped in (at the McCarthyite headquarters) to pick up batches of petitions to be distributed through the ranks of the insurance company employees, American Legion posts, Catholic church groups and patriotic societies."

McCarthy has cemented an alliance with a faction of the Republican Party headed by Sen. Knowland (R-Cal.). The Knowland crowd charges that the Eisenhower Administration is

"appeasing" Russia. The factional struggle between the Knowland group and the Eisenhower supporters in the Republican Party gives the McCarthyites an open arena in the Republican Party and provides them with supporters in the present fight in the Senate.

### LIBERALS SILENT

Of course, the McCarthy-Knowland faction is a minority in the Senate and the Republican Party. But most of the other Senators are silent, including the liberal Democrats. The Democrats seem to be for censure judging by the speeches of Sen. Stines (Miss.) and Ervin (N.C.) Democratic members of the Watkins committee. But they are incapable of waging a genuine struggle designed to inflict a serious defeat on the fascist Senator.

To conduct such a struggle they would need to repudiate the witch-hunt on which McCarthy bases his demagogic charge that there is an all-pervading "Communist conspiracy" at work in the country. And they would need to call on the labor movement to mobilize its strength throughout the country to counter the McCarthyite pressure with demands for censure.

But the Democrats are capitalist politicians. They are thoroughly committed to the witch-hunt and fear to mobilize the labor movement. They fear above all the strengthening of labor's independent political role in the United States.

Thus the Democrats allow McCarthy to make the most of the censure fight to consolidate his fascist movement and buttress it with protective alliances.

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