

WHAT LIES AHEAD FOR U.S. ECONOMY?

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McCarthy Gets Hard Blow, But GOP Rift Widens

By Daniel Roberts

DEC. 2 — The United States Senate voted to censure Sen. Joseph McCarthy today.

Ringside View Of McCarthyites' New York Rally

By Dick Richards

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — There was no crowd around Madison Square Garden last night where the rally protesting the censure move against Senator McCarthy was being held.

I saw a man giving out tickets so I stood around and asked how I could get in without paying.

Inside, the meeting was not packed and there were practically no people in the third tier.

SOME OF THE TYPES

The hall was set up like a political convention with the names of states all around.

On my right sat a drunk who yelled and applauded but wasn't very coherent.

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However, the censure vote deepened the rift in the Republican Party.

Although the issue was not explicitly raised during the debates, McCarthy was censured because the dominant sections of Big Capital are opposed to his attacks on the traditional institutions and parties of capitalist rule.

But so bitter is the present conflict in the Republican party that Knowland and his supporters, such as Sen. Kuchel (Calif.), lined up with the outright McCarthyites because of the foreign policy disagreement.

McCarthy's CAMPAIGN The censure motion was brought to a vote with the cooperation of McCarthy himself.

On my right sat a drunk who yelled and applauded but wasn't very coherent.

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Govt. Witch Hunters Share Guilt in Remington's Murder

Parochial Schools Give McCarthy Aid

NEW YORK, Nov. 29. — Reports in local newspapers reveal that Catholic parochial school children in this area are being mobilized to get signatures for the anti-censure petitions of fascist Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

McCarthy protested in a letter to Cardinal Spellman that "on Nov. 23 a new low level was reached when each of my children (in the elementary school) was requested by the nun to sign one of the petitions being circulated to obtain 10,000,000 names.

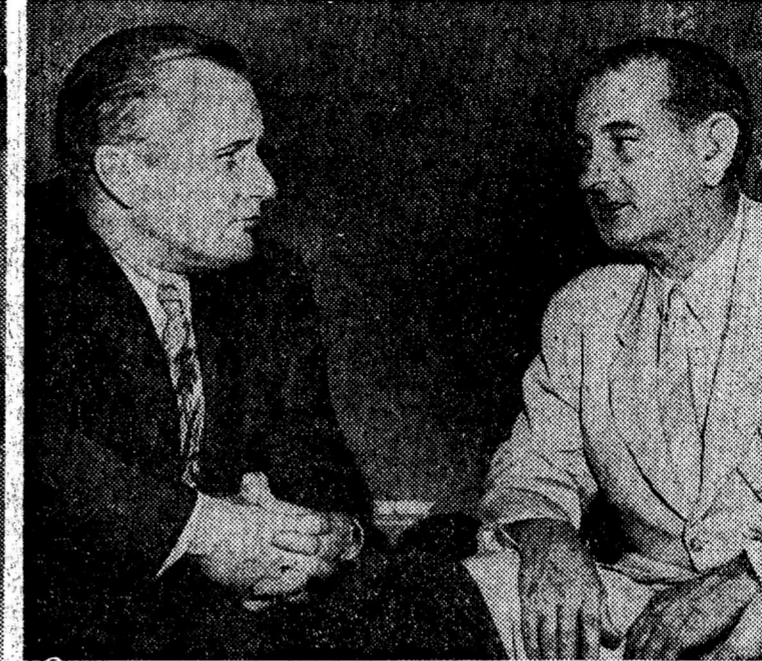
The Nov. 18 N.Y. Times had previously reported that St. Rosalia's Parochial School in Brooklyn gave upper grade pupils 110 petition forms to take home to parents.

On Nov. 28, the Times reported another complaint that a parochial school was being used by nuns as a base for distribution of the pro-McCarthy petitions.

Further evidence that Catholic clerics are helping to organize the McCarthy forces was revealed when a unit of the Holy Name Society received tickets to the McCarthy rally at Madison Square Garden tonight.

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Tangle over "Co-existence"



Conflict between Republican factions over foreign policy has come to a head with Eisenhower's shift toward a reducing of cold war tensions through a "modus vivendi" with the Soviet bloc and China.

His Blood Is on Hands Of 2 Administrations That Framed Him Up

By Art Preis

William W. Remington, a framed-up victim of the government anti-Communist witch-hunt, was brutally beaten under mysterious circumstances, in the Northeastern Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., on Nov. 23 and died the next day of a crushed skull.

The 36-year-old ex-government economist had been railroaded to prison after a number of loyalty board hearings and jury trials growing out of allegations by the sinister Elizabeth Bentley that Remington had turned over government secrets to her when she was, according to her claim, a courier for a Soviet espionage ring.

FBI and federal prison authorities are trying to make the killing out of a case of attempted robbery and murder by other prisoners. They are attempting to deny any political implications in Remington's death.

WHERE THE GUILT LIES

But whatever the immediate circumstances of Remington's death, the fact remains that he should never have been in prison in the first place.

Remington's blood is on the hands of everyone connected with the government purge and the anti-Communist drive.

(Continued on page 4)

School Integration Fight Knifed by Administration

By Jean Blake

The Eisenhower Administration added another "giveaway" to its record in its brief on public school desegregation filed with the Supreme Court last week.

The Justice Department recommendation, signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., would nullify the effect of the Supreme Court decision of last May 17 declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

(1) To turn control and enforcement of desegregation back to the local districts, and (2) to make the Jim-Crow lower courts the judge of how fast or how slow the desegregation process should be.

Whatever some double-talking politicians might have to say about Brownell's brief, that rabid foe of desegregation, Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, acknowledged the government's proposal for what it is.

into consideration. He reiterated that "segregation will not be ended in Georgia at any time."

BACKED BY EISENHOWER

That Brownell's brief has the full support of the Administration was made clear at the President's press conference Nov. 23, when Eisenhower said the matter of "decentralizing desegregation" was being explored.

"Decentralizing desegregation" is, of course, entirely consistent with the Eisenhower Republican policies of decentralization in other fields: in labor legislation and enforcement of standards, to turn control back to the most reactionary local authorities; in public power and property, to hand these over to private interests directly or through the states; and now, in a major field of civil rights, to leave implementation of school desegregation up to local officials committed to maintain segregation.

WHAT BRIEF PROPOSES

Specifically, Brownell's brief proposes: (1) A Supreme Court ruling that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional and

all laws requiring or permitting it are invalid.

(2) Return of the test cases from Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, Kansas and the District of Columbia to the lower courts where they were first heard for further action in line with the Supreme Court's decision.

(3) Entry of orders in the lower courts directing the school boards involved to submit within 90 days a plan for ending segregation in their districts "as soon as feasible."

(4) Unless a satisfactory desegregation program is submitted to and approved by the lower court, the entry of an order, by that court, directing that non-segregated schools be operated at the beginning of the next school term.

(5) Upon submission of a desegregation plan, hearings by the lower court to determine whether it provides for the transition "as expeditiously as the circumstances permit."

TIED UP IN COURTS

It doesn't take a Philadelphia lawyer — or even a South (Continued on page 4)

China Incidents Test Shift in Foreign Policy

By Joseph Keller

DEC. 1 — Two events involving conflicts between China and the United States within the past week have tested the Eisenhower administration's avowed intentions of pursuing a policy looking toward a lessening of tensions arising from the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and China and of achieving some form of "co-existence" or "modus vivendi."

One was the administration's reactions to a reported attempted Chinese "invasion" of Wuchiu Island in the Strait of Formosa. Wuchiu is in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops.

Up to recent weeks such an announcement would have evoked

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Why Churchill Bared Plan to Arm Nazis

By Joseph Hansen

During the preliminary laudatory meetings leading up to the main celebration of Sir Winston Churchill's eightieth birthday, the octogenarian boasted about his 1946 Fulton, Mo., speech that launched the "cold war," and revealed for the first time a secret order he issued as head of the war-time British government showing how early he began to plan for World War III. The statement, made Nov. 23, is as follows:

"Even before the war had ended and while the Germans were surrendering by hundreds of thousands, I telegraphed to Lord Montgomery, directing him to be careful in collecting the German arms, to stack them so that they could easily be issued to the German soldiers whom we should have to work with if the Soviet advance continued."

This order, as Churchill himself stresses, was issued in April 1945, that is, before the surrender of either Germany or Japan!

Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, who was in command of the Northern Army Group of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Germany at the time, confirmed Churchill's revelation. According to reporters, Montgomery appeared surprised that such a damaging admission had been made by the war-time Prime Minister, but he repeated over and over, "It's true."

Churchill's confession will not surprise any readers of the Militant whose subscriptions go back to 1945. In our Oct. 20, 1945, issue we called attention to a report by Gen. George C. Marshall, outlining military plans for the United States for the coming period. Here is what we said:

WAR PLANS

"The Third World War is already in the blueprint stage. Even before the official termination of the Second World War, Wall Street's newly fledged military caste has projected the

opening phases of another blood-bath so frightful and destructive it can mean the end of mankind. This is the meaning of Gen. George C. Marshall's Biennial Report to the Secretary of War."

Marshall's report, calling for the rearmament of the U.S. with atomic weapons and ocean-spanning rockets, and demanding universal military training for America's youth, clearly revealed Wall Street's intention to use the end of World War II to begin preparations for World War III.

Churchill's admission of his order to stack German arms so that they would be easily available for use by the Nazi armies in a conflict with the Soviet Union, now shows that a common understanding existed between British and American ruling circles at the end of World War II about turning upon the USSR and utilizing German imperialism as an ally in the attack.

casts new light on Truman's use of the atom bomb on the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The excuse offered at the time for this mass murder was that "it would save American lives."

However, it was revealed shortly after the war that the Japanese government had offered to surrender before the bombs were dropped. The deliberate destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki thus seemed to be a macabre case of mass murder for no other reason but to experiment with the newly developed atom bomb.

A leading British atomic scientist, P. M. S. Blackett, offered a political explanation. In his book, "Fear, War, and the Bomb," Blackett argued that the bomb was dropped hastily to secure the surrender of Japan before Soviet troops could be moved against that country and to terrorize the Soviet Union with the new weapon. The deliberate dropping of two atom

bombs on crowded cities without warning was "not so much the last military act of the second World War, as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia."

This explanation would seem to be well confirmed now by Churchill's confession that in April of 1945, before the atom bombs were dropped, he ordered German arms stacked for easy re-issue to German soldiers in a projected conflict against the Soviet Union. Churchill's order thus constituted not so much one of the last acts in the war against imperialist Germany as one of the first acts in rearming imperialist Germany as an ally in the attack planned against the Soviet Union.

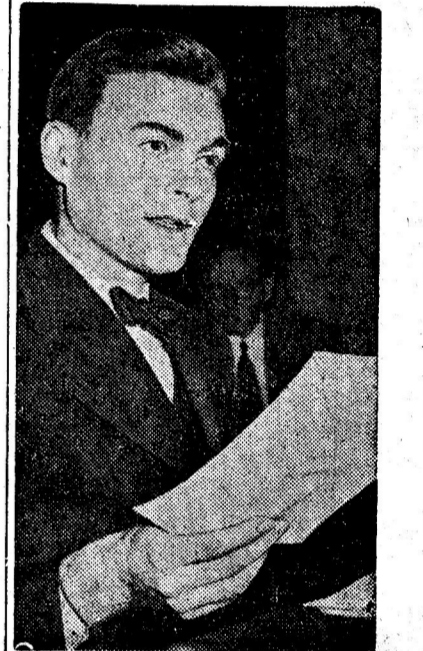
All of this confirms what the Militant has repeatedly pointed out about the origin of the "cold war." The capitalist propagandists claim that it was the attitude of the Soviet Union after the end of World War II that caused it. The fact was

that the Soviet government, whatever one may think of it in other respects, indicated in every possible way outside of abject surrender, that it sought "peaceful co-existence."

Now the evidence is conclusive that even before World War II ended, British and American ruling circles were already planning war, with the Soviet Union.

POSTPONE WAR

It would even seem that they thought of an early attack. This project, however, was blown sky-high by the action of American soldiers overseas who started a "Get Us Home" movement after Japan surrendered. This movement was irresistible. It could have ended with revolutionary consequences had Wall Street attempted to oppose it head on. Wall Street therefore temporized, conceded to the pressure and postponed the projected conflict. Shortly thereafter a great up- (Continued on page 3)



WILLIAM REMINGTON

sional committees that have whipped up the smear campaign and anti-Communist hysteria. It reddens the hands of Eisenhower and his Attorney General Brownell who have continued and expanded Truman's government purge and persecution of political dissenters.

"This is not a tragedy of mine alone — but also of the country," said Remington's be-reaved wife, Jane, on learning of (Continued on page 4)

WORLD SCIENTISTS WARN ON H-BOMB RADIATIONS

Scientists both here and abroad agree that H-bomb radiations and radioactive fallout of wind-borne dust churned up by atomic blasts have a cumulative effect and can contaminate the earth's atmosphere for long periods. There is a difference of opinion on precisely how this contamination will be caused, but none on the fact of contamination itself.

This is illustrated by the discussion aroused by recent views expressed by Prince Louis de Broglie, Nobel prize winner and secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, and by his colleague Prof. Charles Noel Martin. The French scientists warned of the

possibility that the new super-H-bombs produce immense amounts of nitric acid that could dangerously alter the composition of the atmosphere.

Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch, University of Illinois physical chemist and editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, disputes this opinion. But he affirms that "what we should really be thinking about is the danger from radiation released by the bomb." He said that "experts who know most about such things are genuinely concerned about the long term effects of radioactivity" and warned that "we should pay serious attention to what American geneticists have to say. Many of them are alarmed by the possible consequences on future generations."

The danger, of course, is immeasurably more immediate and direct in actual warfare. In Dr. Rabinowitch's own state of Illinois, the entire state, including downstate farm areas, are now considered danger areas because of proximity to Chicago or St. Louis. Robert M. Woodward, state civil defense director, recommended on Nov. 28 that all areas "must be prepared to detect and identify any radioactive fall-out developed from an air-borne attack."

The Nov. 29 Chicago Daily Tribune comments: "Hitherto downstate Illinois has been considered a support area to handle refugees or otherwise aid a stricken metropolitan area like Chicago in event of a successful enemy air attack. Now... virtually all Illinois becomes a possible target." (Continued on page 3)

Warfare in the Schools

By Joyce Cowley

THE BLACKBOARD JUNGLE by Evan Hunter. Simon & Schuster, New York. Price \$3.50.

Judging from the advertising spread they gave this novel when it first came out, the publishers consider it a major book. Reviewers, too, compared it to GRAPES OF WRATH and indicated it was a book of profound social content, and exposure of New York schools which would startle and arouse an apathetic public. I know something about the miserable conditions in New York schools and I believe a great social novel could be written about the neglect and miseducation of our young people. This is not the book.

The publishers announced that BLACKBOARD JUNGLE was the result of Evan Hunter's experience as a teacher in a vocational high school in the Bronx. One critic wrote in the N. Y. Times that Hunter had spent exactly seventeen days teaching in this school. I haven't checked, but after reading his book it seems quite probable.

Hunter is painfully superficial. He gives a fairly realistic picture of boys in a vocational high school as they appear to a prejudiced, middle-class teacher. But even from this one-sided point of view he does not attempt any background, any motivation, any analysis of how the boys felt and why they acted as they did. He cannot conceal his contempt and hatred for these boys. Among them there may be a few that can be salvaged, he infers, but the vast majority are a bunch of anti-social morons who can't absorb any education and obviously don't need it.

One fact does emerge with striking clarity. What goes on in these classrooms is definitely not just boyish mischief. It's war, a war waged against all authority with sustained intensity and bitterness.

Hunter seems to believe that this is a condition peculiar to vocational high schools in New York City. If he had only gotten a break and been a teacher in an academic high school, things would have been different, he thinks. I have news for him. First-hand information about academic high schools (I have a fifteen year old daughter) discloses that gangs, delinquency and violation of discipline are not confined to boys studying manual trades. Newspapers carry similar reports about classroom conditions from every large city in the United States.

Hunter doesn't have anything much to say about the schools. Apparently the only thing wrong with them is the pupils. He doesn't mention overcrowding or double shifts. He says nothing about buildings so old and in such bad repair that they are physically dangerous to the children attending them. Also omitted is the problem of low pay for teachers, which creates a teacher shortage by forcing competent men and women into other jobs where they can make a living.

Above all, he never asks why these youngsters are at war with authority. Presumably, from his account, because they have a low I.Q. It doesn't occur to him that their hostility to authority is based on the kind of personal experiences they have had with various types of authority.

The world in which these kids grew up was never very warm or friendly. They did not receive much affection or understanding or respect. Most of them have been kicked around since they were old enough to take their first tentative steps, so it's not surprising they learned to kick back. Since Hunter himself neither liked nor respected the boys, he was not in a position to find out how they might respond to someone who considered them human and attempted to understand their problems.

What's Ahead for the American Economy?

By John G. Wright

In the last two months we have seen the first signs of economic revival since the slump began in the summer of 1953. The index of production has finally started edging upward, nothing spectacular but a steady rise nonetheless. This revival has been sparked by steel, whose output has climbed to near 80% of capacity; by auto, now turning out new models; by the continued boom in construction; and, last but not least, by a new spurge of defense orders.

There appears to be enough power behind this upswing to carry it over into the first quarter of the next year and even longer. Barring unexpected developments, such as a prospect is quite realizable and realistic. (Among the unexpected developments, apart from war, we might list a sudden shrinkage of foreign trade or a further contraction of domestic markets which would be signaled by the failure of Christmas retail sales to come up to expectations — neither of which appears likely at this writing.)

CAPITALIST STABILITY

Among the capitalists there has been a resurgence of confidence. For all the public boasting about a "limited re-

cession," the "second best" peacetime year, and the rest of the official propaganda, the rulers of this country were badly scared. Had the fall upturn failed to materialize, it would have been dire news indeed. Only twice in the history of American capitalism has an industrial upswing failed to come in the fall — the first time was in 1929, when the Great Depression started, the second time was in the depression year of 1937.

But in the fall of 1954 the upswing did materialize and this means that there is a possibility for the capitalists to stabilize their economy temporarily at approximately the existing levels, with an army of unemployed meanwhile edging upward because of further rationalization of production (automation) plus the inability of industry to absorb the annual accretions of 750,000 to 1,000,000 recruits to the labor force. For the capitalists such a stabilization would indeed spell "prosperity."

BET ON INFLATION

The regained self-confidence of the American billionaires finds its crassest expression in the 1954 stock market boom. The 1929 levels have been cracked and the financiers confidently predict that the stock market is heading for much

higher levels. They, and their apologists, immediately add the 1954 stock boom is not at all the 1929 stock boom. That's correct. In economics, as in politics, there are no mechanical repetitions of one and the same phenomenon.

One marked difference between the gyrations of Wall Street today as contrasted with 1929 is that in 1929 the financiers and the speculators were betting on the continuation of the BOOM whereas in 1954 they are betting on the continuation of INFLATION. A far safer bet, to be sure.

A most powerful inflationary factor is the federal debt which has been growing at a rate unexampled in peace-time years. This fiscal year there will be a huge federal budget deficit, with another deficit looming in the next year's budget. The same situation is duplicated on a state and local scale. Private debt, too, has reached an all-time high, and after a brief pause is heading higher once again.

MARKETS AND ARMS

Wall Street is betting that foreign markets will be sustained by government "give-away" programs supplemented by huge, private bank loans (the program for Latin America, the "little Marshall-Plan" for Asia, etc.).

Wall Street is betting that the markets at home will be sustained by cheap credit (facilitating installment buying, credit purchases, mortgages, etc.).

Wall Street is betting on expanded arms expenditures in the next budget, particularly to rearm Germany and Japan, as well as increasing appropriations for the U. S. armed forces. A fairly safe bet judging by the pronouncements of the Democratic leaders who will control the next Congress.

STATE INTERVENTION

The chief peculiarity of the American economic scene in the post-war years has been the imperious intervention of the capitalist state into economic life. State power represents not only a political force but also an economic one. Its traditional powers have been in monetary policy, in credit, taxation, tariffs. To this might be added the production of the means of destruction for the maintenance of standing armed forces in peacetime and for military operations in war.

In the years of capitalist ascent, the bourgeoisie required the state to act merely in the role of policeman in society as a whole and also within those economic domains that were the state's prerogative. A qualitatively different role is demanded in the epoch of capitalist decay. As the state merges more and more closely with the billionaire monopolies, it adds to the role of policeman, the role

of would-be regulator of the entire economy.

It is the state as a "super-corporation" that props up foreign trade. As the dispenser of defense orders, the state bolsters the capital goods sector. Approximately one-fourth of the country's national income is spent today in the production of the means of destruction. Agriculture is held up from bankruptcy by the Commodity Credit Corporation, the single biggest corporation in this country and, by the same token, in the world's history. The CCC now holds mountains of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, butter, cottonseed, etc., a hoard of fiber and food that may shortly pass the eight billion dollar mark. Or take the construction boom. Would it have been possible without the fast tax "write-off" program and the government guarantee of home mortgages? We have by no means exhausted the government intervention in economic life. But the facts we have cited suffice to show how massive it has become.

A "SUPER-CORPORATION"

It is this massive economic intervention of the state that sums up all of the so-called "built-in stabilizers" about which capitalist economists have been boasting so much in the post-war years. Just as the great trusts entered as a new factor in economic life at the turn of this century, so the new economic role of the state as a "super-corporation" enters into the economic processes in our time.

The evolution of the trusts was hailed in its day as the birth of a "new capitalism," doing away forever with the violent leveling out of all the accumulated contradictions of a capitalist boom, that is, abolishing crises. What the trusts actually did was to invest capitalist contradictions with new manifestations. At a certain stage the role of the trusts as "regulators" was turned into its opposite — they were disclosed as the greatest disrupter of an expanding economy, as the true architects of the greatest depression the world had ever witnessed, sandwiched between two world wars.

We understand quite clearly that the massive economic role of the Super-Corporation-State is not and cannot be a simple mechanical repetition of the role of private capitalist trusts. Not at all. Capitalist contradictions have over the years expressed themselves in entirely new manifestations. So will the new role of the capitalist state.

TWO WARNING SIGNALS

Nevertheless, at a certain stage, from serving as a "regulator" or a "built-in stabilizer" the capitalist state will emerge as the greatest disrupter in his-

tory of the process of expanded reproduction under capitalism.

In the post-war years, there have already been two warning signals. The first came in the depression of 1948-49, out of which the American billionaires escaped by plunging into Korea. The second came in the 1953-54 depression out of which these same billionaires seek to escape through inflation and have evidently thus far succeeded.

When will the third, and perhaps decisive warning come? To try to guess the date is to assume the role of a crystal gazer. We leave that to Eisenhower's economic advisers. No one knows, least of all the financiers and speculators in Wall Street. The direction of current economic processes, that is, their tenacity alone can be predicted.

INFLATION AND SLUMP

Inflation does not exclude depression. It can only postpone depression for a longer or shorter span of time. Let us not forget that the 1953-54 downswing came at the height of the post-Korea inflation and lasted for months without any significant signs of deflation, except for the jobless and for lowered farm income. The next downswing, when it comes, may well repeat the same new experience.

Finally, the economic downswing does not necessarily have to manifest itself at a single stroke, in the shape of an abrupt decline over a relatively brief period of time, as was the case, say, in 1929 or 1937. It can come as a series of protracted and relatively "mild" dips with an alternation of comparatively brief and unstable phases of upswing.

There is no way of telling in advance. The scientific task is to follow closely the currently unfolding revival, analyzing the way in which the individual factors are being joined together, studying the new manifestations of the accumulating and sharpening contradictions which, amid the upswing, are preparing the next downswing, and which will manifest themselves and unfold not in some single particular branch of capitalist economy, but, literally, in any sphere.

EVEN HEARST'S FOR IT. Doing a flip-flop, the Hearst press is now beating the drum for "co-existence." William Randolph Hearst Jr. wrote in the Nov. 21 Hearst Sunday papers: "I think the entire nation will agree with President Ike that in this era of potentially total destruction, there is no alternative to peace. . . There's no reason to believe that God-fearing democracy will not prevail in a long-range showdown with God-less Communism even though we move into the phase of 'peaceful co-existence.'"

A Crime to Remember

by Amargo

The American people must not be allowed to forget Guatemala. News of this Latin American land has all but disappeared from the daily press. Only a few months ago, the constitutionally-elected government was overturned by what was undeniable force and violence. The overturn was carried out by a gang of hoodlums and thugs with the open collusion, support and leadership of the government which claims to act in the name of the people of the United States — a government which, in its own country, ruthlessly punishes not only force and violence, not only "advocacy" of force and violence, but even alleged "conspiracy" to "advocate" force and violence.

How can we forget that American planes were used to drop American napalm bombs on the Guatemalan people? How can we forget the picture of the posturing U. S. Ambassador Puerioy, that combined image of Wall Street, and Hollywood, swaggering around Guatemala City with his six-shooter in his belt, brazenly deciding who should rule the Guatemalan people? How can we forget the fact that this creature claimed to speak and act in our name — the name of the American people?

Look how Guatemala has been restored to the "Free World." All political parties have been banned. Trade unions have been dissolved. The extremely modest agrarian reforms have been nullified and the peasant "squatters" have been forcibly removed from the estates of the feudal landlords. The United Fruit Co., that giant U.S. exploiter of the Guatemalan and other Central American people, is again living high off the hog. Thousands have been imprisoned without trial and hundreds have been tortured and killed. Of freedom of expression, there is nothing. Of that "sanctity of the individual" for which Dulles and Eisenhower are waging a crusade, there is nothing. The

workers and farmers of Guatemala have only the right to pray.

And in this country there is silence. Where are the liberals and intellectuals to protest the smashing of political parties and the suppression of all freedoms? Where are the labor leaders to denounce the destruction of trade unions? Where are the mass meetings, the committees, the organizations of aid to the victims of the terror? Where is that minimum of activity to make the American people aware of the crime that has been committed in their name and to make the world aware that there is still a conscience in America?

During the darkest days of Hitlerite Nazism and Mussolini Fascism there were a Thomas Mann and an Ignazio Silone to express, even if only from exile, the conscience of the German and Italian people. Where are the James T. Farrells, the Sidney Hooks and the Max Lerner, so quick to denounce oppression in Czechoslovakia or Outer Mongolia? As for the official union picadors on the payroll of the U.S. State Department — we know where they are. They're down in Guatemala organizing scabby government-run company unions.

Intellectuals, liberals and official labor leaders have shown ample cowardice, gutlessness and hypocrisy over the years and throughout the world. But never has this breed reached the depths of degradation they have achieved in America in 1954. Never have so many of them (with a few shining exceptions like Dr. Albert Einstein) been frightened so much by so little. And truly this is a thing of shame for us.

But, with or without these gentlemen, the crime in Guatemala will be erased. It will be erased by the Guatemalan people with the aid of the American people. And the beginning of that job is to make militant American workers aware of what has happened and is happening in Guatemala.

Notes from the News

MAIN U.S. EXPORT. Fully half of the 3,278,000 members of the U.S. armed forces are estimated to be abroad. At the latest count they had with them 305,100 dependents. They are scattered from Kwajalein in the South Pacific to French Morocco, whose people are now fighting for independence from French imperialism. The biggest concentrations of U.S. armed forces are in Western Europe and Japan. Korea, still on a near-war basis, is the only major area where soldiers' dependents are still barred. The government pays cost of travel and shipping, estimated to run about \$54 million this year.

MORE FOR COWS THAN KIDS. Carl J. Meigel, president of the AFL American Federation of Teachers, refused to sign a report of a subcommittee on Federal Responsibilities in the Field of Education because it writes off Federal aid as "unnecessary." He told a New England conference of his union: "It is a perversion of logic when the Federal government accents the responsibility of financing the raising of cows and pigs, but denies the country's children." He added: "I have had occasion to visit nearly 500 schools in the last several years, and can say without reservation that the condition of our schools is a disgrace to our great nation."

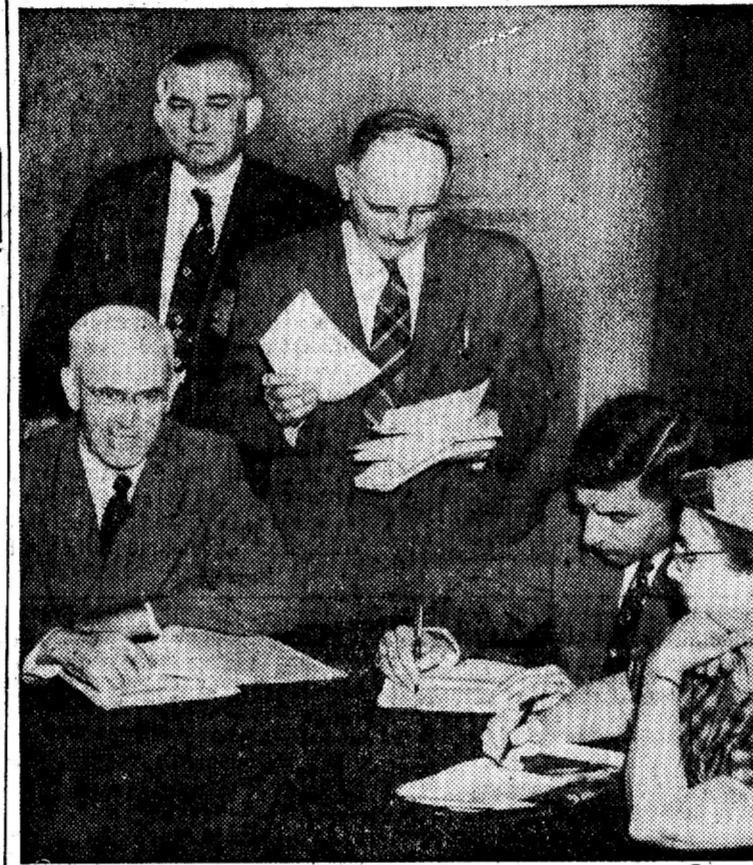
PROSPECTS BRIGHT, BUT — While the Labor Department in its latest survey says that prospects "point to a further brightening in the over-all economic picture to the year end" and the Federal Reserve Board sees "some expansion" of business ahead, the Labor Department also anticipates a "seasonal" lag in employment early in 1955.

U.S. EMBASSY WIVES in French-controlled southern Viet Nam are assembling "welcome" kits for war refugees sent by the Foreign Operations Administration directed by Harold Stassen. These kits contain plastic toilet articles and a bottle of Vaseline hair tonic "for dry scalp." Ferdinand Kuh reporting this from Saigon adds "and this, if you please, where survival adds up to a bowl of rice and a drink of clean water."

FOR SPEEDY INTEGRATION. The American Veterans Committee filed briefs with the Supreme Court last week asking for immediate racial integration in the public schools. "There is an impressive body of evidence which supports the position that gradualism, far from facilitating the process, may actually make it more difficult," the brief said. "Our submission is that this (segregation), like many wrongs, can be easiest and best undone, not by 'tapering off,' but by forthright action."

DANGEROUS BOOKS. The Post Office has held up delivery of 75 copies of Lenin's "State and Revolution" mailed to Brown University by a Moscow printer, because the package contained "subversive literature." Material of this nature, cannot be mailed unless it is sent to members of the diplomatic corps or to a registered foreign agent. The post office said: "Exceptions have been made in certain cases where such matter is addressed to universities which undertake to study such propaganda and, of course in no way promote its dissemination." Samuel Arnold, Brown University provost, stated he would notify the Post Office that Lenin's work will be used along the lines set forth in the post office letter.

Censure Committeemen



Sen. Arthur Watkins (R-Utah), seated left, who headed the six-man Senate Committee who brought in the recommendation for a Senate censure of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Standing left to right are committee members Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) and Sen. Francis Case (R-S.D.). See story on censure vote, Page 1.

... McCarthyites' Rally ... McCarthy Gets Blow

(Continued from page 1)

real-gone alcoholic type, though not shabbily dressed. When a speaker attacked co-existence and asked, "Who wants to shake the bloody hand?" this drunk yelled "Eisenhower," while another shouted "Lehman."

An elderly woman sitting in front of the alcoholic, who seemed happy only when some high official was being exercised, tried often but unsuccessfully to snash him by saying that women were present. The phrase from the platform that really moved this alcoholic was the description of Eisenhower as a "crybaby general."

SOME ROUGH STUFF

Two incidents occurred in my immediate vicinity. One was the throwing out of a young woman. As she was escorted out under a barrage of catcalls and yells of "throw her out," some one near me shouted, "I thought she looked like the Greenwich Village type." I later learned that she was a Time-Life magazine photographer named Lisa Larsen and had tried to photograph some of the McCarthyite brass on the platform.

The other incident also involved a photographer, a tall slim young man with glasses. A well-dressed, middle-aged man grabbed him and twisted his arm behind his back. Immediately some of the onlookers started to rise and I could hear the aggressor say, "Don't start taking my picture." Finally the photographer wrenched himself loose and made for the exit amid cries of "throw him out."

COHN'S LITTLE ACT

A young fellow sitting in front of me, dressed in a jacket and corduroy pants, said: "If he takes my picture I'll crown him." He was also one of the few that yelled "we want Cohn" when the spotlight was turned on Roy Cohn, former chief investigator for McCarthy. Cohn was sitting

in the section reserved for the U.S. Armed Forces. He pretended to be reluctant to speak but quickly "gave in" to the popular demand. He took the floor briefly and in his concluding words said that this was a fight of "Catholic, Protestant and Jew, of black and white, of all Americans."

The speeches were for the most part of the "God and Country" type and pro-war. Almost every speaker attacked the Eisenhower administration.

AMONG THE NOTABLES

A Catholic bishop had given the invocation so a Rabbi Merritt was asked to give the closing benediction. He told how he had come all the way from Los Angeles for the meeting and how proud he was of Roy Cohn. Then he blasted the "eggheads." This was the end of the meeting and people were already leaving. There was no discernible anti-Semitism although I understand many race-hating leaders such as Gerald L. K. Smith, Joseph P. Kamp and others were present. Such "celebrities" as Westbrook Pegler and Ham Fish were introduced from the platform.

TURNOUT DISAPPOINTS

The crowd was disappointed by its own size — around 12,000. The Garden seats 20,000. The gathering was spirited but far from filled with fiery enthusiasm or zeal. Many people knew one another and hellos were constantly being shouted back and forth.

The outfit running the rally, the Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice, had planned to hold simultaneous meetings in Chicago and Los Angeles. These were cancelled and it was said that the advance notices had been an "error." While some 12,000 backers of fascist Senator McCarthy in the New York area is not a smiling matter, it is satisfying to note that both the backers and opponents of McCarthy were surprised that more could not be mobilized.

(Continued from page 1)

with a conveniently injured elbow) was used by the McCarthyites in an attempt to marshal imposing public sentiment against censure. The response — as measured by their failure to pack Madison Square Garden in New York (see Dick Richards' ring-side account of the rally in this issue) — must have indicated to the McCarthyites that they had nothing more to gain from delaying the vote. On the contrary, they risked advertising that their effective strength was less than they had claimed.

Just the same, it would be a serious error to write off the McCarthyite movement just because the Madison Square rally did not come up to the expectations of its sponsors. The majority of the 13,000 present were hardened McCarthyites from the New York and New Jersey area, and that is a lot of fascists. The McCarthyites still enjoy the backing of a minority wing of Big Capital, which includes the aggressive Texas oil group.

The decision of the dominant sections of Big Capital to curb McCarthy is not permanent. They still prefer to rule through the traditional means. In preference to the far more drastic and costly method of fascism, for the time being they will even choose to run the country through a Democratic-Labor coalition.

It would require a deep social crisis and the serious threat of the working people taking power for the main sections of Big Capital to support the program of fascist dictatorship.

MCCARTHYITE PROSPECTS

But precisely because it keeps this variant in mind, Big Business does not want to smash the McCarthyite movement. The McCarthyites therefore retain plenty of room for consolidating their forces and cementing protective alliances which will allow their movement to stay alive.

Big Capital may also have more immediate and partial uses for the McCarthyites. They are still the best witch-hunters. Big Business can use them as a club over the Democrats to cut down the demagogic promises the latter make to the working people. A new speeding up of the cold war also could bring the McCarthyites back into play in the attempt to whip up the population against the "communist menace."

It was because of such immediate needs of the capitalist class for their services that the McCarthyites rose to prominence during the last four years. This culminated in McCarthy's great surge forward last winter, when the Republican high command, determined to maintain control of Congress, launched an all-out red-baiting campaign against the Democrats.

They sent McCarthy on a national speaking tour last February to speak about the Democratic Party's "twenty years of treason." This was conceived as the opening gun in the 1954 election campaign. The McCarthyites seized this opportunity to build their own movement within the Republican Party and to a lesser extent, within the Democratic Party. Similar opportunities for sudden growth may be extended to the McCarthyites again.

LABOR PLAYS NO ROLE

The censure fight brought a certain amount of public mobilization for censure, but nothing that could compare in volume or noise with the campaign waged by the McCarthyites. According to the Nov. 29 N. Y. Post, a League of Twenty Million Americans for the Censure of McCarthy was formed in Massachusetts. Petitions of this group circulated in the Bronx, N. Y., received excellent support. At Harvard University a similar petition gained 3,000 signatures and there were other sporadic signature drives. However, the force that could

have undertaken a successful public demonstration against McCarthyism — namely, the labor movement, — did not launch any independent activities. Most labor leaders simply relied on the Democratic Party to curb McCarthy.

But this policy of dependence on the Democrats, if maintained in the face of a new McCarthyite offensive, can prove fatal for the working people. The record shows that in a social crisis when fascism gains real momentum capitalist politicians, including the liberals, know only how to capitulate and thus pave the way for realizing fascism's union-smashing objectives.

EVEN CHARITY IS RED. The Special House Committee which investigated educational and philanthropic foundations has issued a report that grants made by these foundations have a "Fabian socialist" tinge, if not worse.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The Communist Party: What It Is and Where It's Going
Friday, Dec. 10, at 8 P. M.
Speaker: John Austin

The Role of the Middle Class in American Society
Friday, Dec. 17, at 8 P. M.
Speaker: Sarah Lovell

No forum Christmas Eve. There will be a New Year's Eve Party Dec. 31 starting 9 P. M. Regular weekly forums will be resumed Friday, Jan. 7.

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"Boss Politics Doesn't Pay!"

While a large part of the labor movement, as indicated by the recent election results, is still willing to give the Democratic "friends of labor" another try in preference to the openly pro-Big Business Republicans, not all opinion amongst organized labor continues to cling to the bankrupt policy of supporting one or another of the capitalist parties.

We were glad to read in the November MESA Educator, organ of the Mechanics Educational Society of America which recently merged with the CIO United Automobile Workers, a strong argument for the building of a labor party. The article was entitled: "Boss Politics Doesn't Pay!"

Describing the build-up of government agencies and laws to curb and cripple labor during a generation of backing "friends of labor" in politics, the article says that this policy "has now culminated in a semi-police state for labor." It calls for organized labor to "re-evaluate and reanalyze its position and attitude toward using the various government boards and agencies."

The article continues that "the only rights we have as working people are those we make for ourselves. No political friends of labor, no government board is going to protect our rights." It points out that on the economic front "we have learned long ago, we must maintain our unions free from influence of

the boss. The labor union is the agent of the workers. It is a long established principle that an agent cannot serve two masters." It concludes:

"On the political front we must follow the same principle. Free ourselves from sharing our political agent with our economic enemies. Labor must have its own political party. Merely voting for labor's friends is not enough."

This is sound reasoning and supported by the whole weight of evidence not only in this country but throughout the world. The workers can get nowhere so long as the machinery of political rule is in the hands of those who exploit labor. And the exploiters keep this machinery — the government — through their control of political parties built and operated for the capitalists' own class interest.

We believe that further experience with the forthcoming Democratic-controlled Congress, dominated by Southern white supremacists and Dixiecrats, will further demonstrate the need for a labor party. If the Democrats are elected to power in the White House in 1956, they will only conclusively confirm that they are enemies of the working people. The time will come, in the not too distant future, when the views expressed in the MESA Educator will become the overwhelming opinion of the entire labor movement.

The West Point Debate Incident

The controversy over whether West Point and Annapolis students should be permitted to debate the recognition of China arose out of two factors: first, the prevailing national atmosphere of fear and thought control; second, the shift, dictated in the highest Big Business circles, toward a slowdown in the war drive.

It is embarrassing to the administration to put the issue of diplomatic recognition of the Republic of China on the list of *verboden* topics at exactly the time when, for reasons of its own, it wants to move more flexibly on this and related questions.

But there is ample evidence that in the military there is a powerful faction which has favored a mad plunge into all-out war. The story has just been "leaked" from the White House that Eisenhower vetoed a recommendation from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, endorsed by Secretary of State Dulles, to allow Chiang Kai-shek to bomb inland China and to commit American planes to join in the bombing if Quemoy island was attacked.

This shows how the military were determined to push matters to a decision in Asia. It is clear however, that for the time being this tendency is not dominant in policy-making circles of American capitalism.

The incident around the ban on debating China recognition obviously arose from the conflict between the belligerent current in the military brass and the new "co-existence" decision of the top policy makers.

Meanwhile, we got another glimpse at the depth of the witch-hunting atmosphere in this country. Debating is supposed to be part of the training of students. If no one is to be per-

mitted to debate a proposition that contradicts the administration's policy, how will future officers learn to think for themselves, something that is presumably a necessary qualification for commanders?

Also, the speed with which other colleges removed the issue from their debating schedules showed how the witch hunt reflex has become ingrained in the institutions of education.

One sidelight illustrates how deep the fear of controversy runs. A student from Duke University, not a military academy, wrote to the Library of Congress to request its brief on the "pros and cons of recognizing Communist China." The student, Edwin Thomas Chapman Jr., was referred to his Congressman, Edward J. Robeson (D-Va.) for the document.

The N. Y. Times, Nov. 24, reports that the student received "in reply a fatherly note of caution." Rep. Robeson wrote to him: "I certainly hope you will not underfake to debate the positive position of this subject as quotations from your statements may embarrass you for the rest of your life."

The Congressman apparently believes the witch hunt will last forever. He tells America's youth not to seek the truth but to play safe, protect themselves in advance from future witch hunters. This kind of shameful advice, coming from educators, politicians and other "leaders" will not be heeded by the awakening young minds in our universities. Neither the military brass nor the thought-control brass will stop debate, discussion and enlightenment. The authors of this kind of "fatherly advice," and not truth-seeking students, will have cause for real embarrassment for the rest of their lives.

"Architect of the Atomic Age"

The death of Dr. Enrico Fermi at the age of 53 removes from the world one of the most gifted scientists of the 20th Century. He has been called both "the architect of the atomic age" and the "architect of the atomic bomb." He made not only the epochal experiments that led directly to the discovery of uranium fission but he was the chief creator of the atomic "pile" or reactor which permitted construction of the first atomic bombs.

Dr. Fermi's life work thus sums up the contradictory aspects of science in the age of the decline of capitalism. He gave the world the gift of the potentially greatest source of controlled power for industry and transport. He helped the world to obtain the most murderous weapon that mankind has ever confronted.

It is ironic to contemplate that Fermi might still be alive now, might still be making vast contributions to humanity, if the war uses of his atomic discoveries had not blocked the possibilities for the full development of atomic fission for peacetime purposes. For there is reason to believe that radioactivated elements produced in the fission process may one day

help provide a new and effective approach to the treatment of the very cancer which took Fermi's life while he was still at the height of his creative scientific powers.

That treatment might well have been available by now if Fermi's discoveries had not been used to a very large extent for purposes of death and destruction. The government spent \$12 billion to perfect the atomic bomb and more billions are being spent each year to perfect the even more horrible H-bomb and to stockpile both.

If only a fraction of the vast sum of money spent on atomic bombs had been used for cancer treatment study, if the scientists who had been mobilized by the government and given every facility for speedy perfection of the deadliest war device had been provided equal means to seek the cure of cancer, we might today be free of fear of the greatest killer disease.

Fermi was an Italian Jew who escaped from Mussolini's rule in 1939 and secured refuge in this country. He saw no prospect for the defeat of fascism except by support of American imperialism, and he himself first suggested the possibility of utilizing atomic fission for an atomic bomb. He lived to see the day when his life's work and achievement, as embodied in the new H-bomb, filled the nations of the earth with their greatest fear.

That fear will never be lifted until the day when the working people of the world end the rule of war-breeding capitalism and establish world socialism, the international classless society based on a planned, cooperative, non-profit economy. Only then will Fermi's great achievements come into their own. The day will come when he will no longer be remembered as the "architect of the atomic bomb" but as a great benefactor who helped pave the way for the conquest of cancer and other diseases and one of the true architects of the atomic power age of plenty.

By Carl Goodman
THE WEB OF SUBVERSION
 Underground Networks in the U. S. Government, by James Burnham. John Day Co., New York. 248 pp. Price \$3.75.

This book is the first offering of James Burnham in his new role of propagandist for the McCarthyite movement. In 1940, when Professor Burnham deserted the working-class movement, he repudiated Marxism — the principles of Socialism derived from a scientific understanding of society. He claimed this science was a "dogma" and was "immoral" into the bargain. But Burnham's own writings after he became a renegade have all been travesties of objective thinking. In *The Web of Subversion*, he finally abandons all pretense of social thinking based on an honest examination of social trends.

"CONSPIRATORS" ALL
 What Burnham serves up is a more polished, more urbane, but no less monstrous presentation of the gigantic frame-up and lie contained in McCarthy's charge of "twenty and twenty-one years of treason."

"During the 1930's and '40's," he says, "an invisible web was spun over Washington" — namely, the "underground Communist apparatus."

There are "dupes," "victims," and "unwitting helpers" — "spiders and flies" — in this "web of subversion." The "conspiracy" managed to penetrate all branches of the Federal government, including the White House staff. Harry Dexter White, Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, Owen Lattimore — all the victims of the witch-hunters' persecution and McCarthyite smears — are listed by Burnham as part of the "Communist infiltration."

WHERE IS THE PROOF?
 Where is the proof that this giant conspiracy exists? The man

who broke with Marxism because it wasn't truthful or moral enough dishes up the testimony of such professional informers as Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch and Whittaker Chambers.

Is more proof required? There is the refusal of countless witnesses, fingered by these stool-pigeons, to answer the questions of Jenner, Velde, and McCarthy by invoking the Fifth Amendment. They must be guilty, Burnham asserts, "or else they are perjuring themselves when they say that a truthful answer would tend to incriminate them."

This specious McCarthy argument has been thoroughly shattered by such eminent lawyers as Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School and Leonard B. Boudin. Individuals lead the Fifth Amendment, they demonstrated, to protect themselves from frame-up by the witch-hunters and to keep from informing on others.

WAVES LOGIC ASIDE
 Burnham waves this aside. He is not concerned with genuine proof or logic. The fascist movement does not seek to win adherents by these means. It seeks to capitalize on the feelings of insecurity in the middle class. Frenzied under conditions of social crisis, they can be won with the demagoguery that the nation is rotted with "treason" and must be rescued by a strong-arm savior.

Once Burnham has "proved" the existence of a conspiracy by McCarthyite logic and facts, he broadens it out in all directions. President Roosevelt, he charges, allowed the "subversives" into the government in a time when "the White House climate was not unfavorable to 'left wing' and even pro-Communist persons and ideas."

But how do things stand now that Roosevelt is no longer president and that a Republican

holds office? The conspiracy still goes on. It has not yet been uprooted. There are more years of "treason" ahead. "Actually a number of the now exposed cells and individuals were only half-underground anyway. . . . The underground that remains, and perhaps even expands . . . will be still harder to uproot." "From the fact that fishermen have caught a good many fish in it, you don't conclude that a lake is empty."

HEART OF DEMAGOGY
 And now Burnham comes to the heart of the McCarthyite demagoguery. The real danger does not lie in espionage, he says. It lies in the way the Communists "exploit and deepen conflicts that already exist" and, through the "underground" and the "dupes," influence policy to their advantage.

"I do not think that the Communist victory in China was 'inevitable,'" Burnham proclaims, echoing McCarthy. "I believe that it would not have occurred without a breakdown in U. S. policy, and that this breakdown could have been avoided . . . if not for the influence of the web of subversion."

BURNHAM'S PROGRAM
 What's to be done, according to Burnham? The "conspiracy" must be rooted out. The proposals he sets forth explicitly are to scrap the Fifth Amendment, permit wire-tapping, send more spies into the "Communist underground," strengthen such Congressional "investigating" committees as those headed by Jenner, Velde and McCarthy.

But a great deal more is left to the imagination. What Burnham seeks to create is the demand for strong arm methods. Storm troopers, lynch law and a fascist dictatorship — this is the solution Burnham implies in *The Web of Subversion*.

China Incidents Test

(Continued from page 1)
 the most war-like threats from Washington and a blood-thirsty campaign in the capitalist press for forceful retaliation. But the initial reaction of the White House and State Department was the assurance to relatives of the imprisoned men that the U.S. government would do everything possible "within peaceful means" to get the Americans released.

Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.), who has been the most outspoken in attacking the administration's "new look foreign policy . . . a calmer, more conciliatory policy," as a Scripps-Howard commentator called it, tried to use the occasion for a big blast at Eisenhower's course. He demanded a blockade of China to force release of the Americans.

In a lengthy foreign policy statement broadcast to the country, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated on Nov. 29 that "our first duty is to exhaust peaceful means of sustaining our international rights and those of our citizens, rather than now resorting to war action such as a naval or air blockade of Red China." The White House promptly backed up Dulles with a press statement saying that a blockade would amount to a "war action."

THE NEW SLOGAN
 Part of the resistance to Eisenhower's shift toward emphasis on "co-existence" is nothing more than objection to use of a phrase originated by Moscow. Thus, some union leaders, anxious to show their "alertness" to the "Communist menace," complain of the slogan "peaceful co-existence." The AFL International Association of Machinists leaders, in the Dec. 2 Machinist, claim that "what our diplomats and our United States Information Agency have failed to provide is a phrase or a name for our own foreign policy that will explain our purposes as honestly as the Communist slogan is dishonest."

This objection has already been satisfied. The administration has come up with the slogan of "competitive co-existence." As explained by James Reston in the Nov. 23 N. Y. Times, "What is new is that the Eisenhower Administration, which emphasized the military aspects of security early in its term, is now reconciling itself, not to 'peaceful co-existence,' but to competitive co-existence and to placing more emphasis on the long-range aspects of economic policy."

In actuality, what has deterred the ruling capitalist circles in America from a more belligerent course leading to an open attack on the Soviet Union and China is fear of the consequences to the U.S. in an H-bomb war, the isolation of the U.S. from large sections of the world outside the Soviet bloc, the suspicion of Washington's allies and their

reluctance to pursue a warlike policy that could mean their annihilation. This leaves the U.S. only the course, for the time being, of competing economically with the non-capitalist countries.

Reston describes Washington's "genuine apprehension over the long-range trend" in Asia, the greatest center of world population. This "apprehension" is based not on any desire to improve the lot of the Asians but on the fact that "Communist China is concentrating on capital development" and "capital development is going on much faster in China than in India," a capitalist country. Moreover, capital investment in the Soviet Union is increasing "at the rate of between 6 and 7 per cent per annum, which is faster than capital development in the United States."

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR
 William H. Stringer, chief of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington Bureau, described on Nov. 29 how "the Soviet rulers are staking their own popularity rather heavily on peace and prosperity, for the present at any rate. An atomic war — any war which hit home in the Soviet Union — would smash these fondly held dreams of pie in the sky. Any war would reverse the reconstruction under way since World War II."

As for China, writes Stringer, the prospect that this vast backward land of 560 million people might be "able, through successive five-year plans, to become a modern industrial giant — this prospect gives shudders to Washington officialdom."

In short, it is taken for granted that Russia and China, given long-term peace, can reach and surpass American industrial development. Why, then, would these countries want war at any time? The capitalist propagandists can give not one single reasonable argument to substantiate their claim that Russia and China are "aggressive." Their own reports on economic progress in these two countries make such a claim silly, unless we are to believe the Soviet and Chinese leaders are psychopaths who plan to go to war for the love of it.

Dulles, in his foreign policy talk on Nov. 30, pointed to the real economic basis for "competitive co-existence" rather than "peaceful co-existence." He complained that the nationalized planned economies of the Soviet bloc countries and of China "have a certain fascination for the peoples of the underdeveloped countries who feel their own economies are standing still."

But, he says, the United States "has the most capital available to help to develop other countries. We must find a way to make our capital work for such a develop-

ment. And this is good business for provident loans are usually repaid with interest. . . . This stress on "the most capital" which America has piled up and which seeks investments that are "good business . . . repaid with interest" hits the heart of the dilemma, the insoluble contradiction of American capitalism.

CHOKED BY CAPITAL
 Why should the accumulation of capital for investment constitute such a terrific problem for the American capitalists? The U.S. Chamber of Commerce recently published a pamphlet, "Investment for Jobs," which says that rising population will require 1,000,000 new jobs a year for the next twenty years, backed by \$13.3 billion annual investments for new factories and equipment. The insurance companies alone must invest more than \$1 billion every day of the year. Shouldn't an addition of 1,000,000 jobs every year relieve the pressure of this accumulated capital?

But that's the hitch. It can't be done profitably. So, private capital investment totaled \$23.3 billion in 1953; fell to an estimated \$21.8 billion this year; and is expected to decline another 5%, to \$20.7 billion in 1955. Yet the net working capital of American corporations by June 30, 1954, reached an all-time high of \$94.1 billion. "This imposing total of working capital," reports the National City Bank of New York in its Monthly Letter of Nov., 1954, "contrasts with approximately \$52 billion at the end of 1945, and only \$25 billion in pre-war 1939."

NO CONFIDENCE
 But there is no confidence that American capitalism can, in fact, profitably invest these vast sums in Asia or Africa or South America, let alone create a million more jobs every year in this country. The Nov. 26 Wall Street Journal, writing editorially on "Competitive Co-existence," concedes that "it is not evident that the Soviets have tons of extra rubles to pour into uncommitted Asia," but it is skeptical of American capitalism's prospects with all its capital. "What we would respectfully request the gentlemen in Washington to abandon is the wishful and foolish thought that dollars alone will keep Asia from Communism."

All that is left for Wall Street is to choke on its cancerous growth of giant capital until it strikes out in sheer desperation, in an agony of economic crisis, for a forceful solution of its distress. That is why the capitalist press speaks of "co-existence" as "a cool peace" and an "armed truce," while the military spending continues at record "peacetime" peaks.

Prof. J. Burnham Spins A "Web of Subversion" . . . Why Churchill Bared

(Continued from page 1)

surge of revolutionary forces occurred in many countries, the most important being in Europe and in the Far East. The victories of the colonial peoples in China, Korea and Indochina forced further postponements of the war. Finally, production of atomic weapons, including the hydrogen bomb, by the Soviet Union brought new delays. The series of defeats and setbacks made still worse the unfavorable diplomatic position of Wall Street, giving additional impulsion to the Eisenhower administration to reach a temporary "modus vivendi" with the Soviet Union.

"ILL-TIMED"?
 In view of Eisenhower's current moves toward a temporary deal with the Malenkov regime, Churchill's revelation of his secret 1945 order has been criticized, especially in England, as "unwise" and "ill-timed." The conservative London Times used its Nov. 25 lead editorial to deplore Churchill's disclosure, declaring that it would not help to convince Russians that the Western powers were straightforward in their declaration of peace today.

Churchill, however, brushed all this aside and even emphasized that in May 1945 he urged General Eisenhower, then Supreme Allied Commander, not to destroy captured German arms. "We may have great need of these some day," he said he told Eisenhower at the time.

The old Tory war dog argued that the present situation, where an understanding with the Malenkov regime seems to be well advanced, stands in contrast to the tension of April 1945. And also that rearmament of Germany must be the basis for any approach to Moscow.

This sounds, of course, like pure poppycock, which is only natural since that is what it is. The spring of 1945 marked the highpoint of Soviet popularity. The public knew of no tensions, because the propaganda of the time stressed the friendly relations existing with the wartime ally. The rearmament of Germany today occurs amid sharp tensions. And the actual rearmament will surely lead to even sharper tensions tomorrow.

REAL MOTIVE
 The real motive behind Churchill's declaration is not difficult to discern. He took the occasion of his eightieth birthday, not to engage in some vainglorious boasting, as some might assume; but to perform a political service for Eisenhower.

Eisenhower, in moving toward a temporary period of "peaceful co-existence" is troubled by the blind and stubborn opposition of the wing in the Republican Party headed by Senator Knowland. Eisenhower's political authority is not great enough to curb this opposition and make them shut up.

Churchill, however, is the elder statesman of the world cap-



CHURCHILL

italist class, one of their last remaining political brains. The facts of life indicate that the capitalist class, headed by Wall Street, must come to at least a temporary agreement with the Soviet Union. In throwing his weight in this direction against the Knowlands and know-nothings, Churchill reminds them of his authority in the question by citing his record as the leader who launched the policy of rearming Germany as well as the policy of "cold war" and that, therefore, when he calls for a temporary turn in line it is with good reason.

In political language he is telling the Knowlands that a temporary understanding with the Soviet Union is now in the interests of the capitalist class on a world basis, that it is not proper to try to take factional advantage of this against Eisenhower, and not to worry about getting on with the eventual war — he, their elder statesman, has had it in mind since April 1945 and he hasn't forgotten it today. That's why he is backing the rearmament of Germany.

World Events

KARL MARX, co-founder with Frederic Engels of the modern school of scientific socialism, died on March 14, 1883, at the age of 65. He was buried in London's Highgate Cemetery. Countless thousands of workers, from all countries have since then visited this historic site. The flow of those who wish to honor Marx's memory has grown so much that a new and bigger site has been decided upon by the authorities. A large memorial will soon be erected. Marx's body has already been reburied in the new plot, along with the bodies of his wife Jenny, and Helene Demuth, their devoted servant and almost a member of the family.

THE RIGHT WING OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, headed by Clement Attlee, at the Nov. 24 Executive Committee session of the party, voted to revoke three editions of Tribune, newspaper of Aneurin Bevan's left wing, for their attacks on Arthur Deakin, chief of the Transport and General Workers Union, for his strikebreaking policy during the recent British dock strike. Tory reactionaries and Laborite Tories had hoped for the expulsion of the three editors, Jennie Lee, Michael Foot and J. P. W. Mallalieu.

BERLIN SPORTPALAST, where Hitler, Goebbels, Streicher and others held many a meeting, was the scene, on Nov. 23, of a neo-Nazi outburst. At a German party rally (this party supports Adenauer's government), members of the audience who refused to sing "Deutschland Ueber Alles" were assaulted and jeered at as "Jewish swine." Among the favorite taunts was: "You seem to have just escaped the gas chamber." Strong protest from the trade unions, Jewish organizations, and others compelled the embarrassed West Berlin Parliament to pass a resolution condemning this outburst of "anti-Semitism and violence" as reminiscent of the "state-destroying radicalism of 1933." (United Press, Nov. 25.) The resolution naturally avoided mentioning that the U.S. sponsored program for West Germany, plus the projected rearming of West Germany, has obviously embold-

ened the most reactionary elements, particularly the militarists and the neo-Nazis.

THE REPRIMAND of the Laborite left, which has a powerful mass following, was a milder move than the one taken by the right wing on Nov. 23, when Attlee and Company moved to exclude seven members of the House of Commons from the Laborite parliamentary fraction. Aside from McGovern, who voted "yes" on West German rearmament, six others had voted "no" on pacifist grounds. None commanded a large mass following. Yet a motion merely to reprimand failed to pass by only 21 votes.

The motion to exclude, coupled with a strong "hint" by the Attlee right wing that no further disciplinary action would be taken, was carried by 131 to 93, also an embarrassingly narrow margin for the right wingers. The excluded seven retain their party membership.

THERE WILL BE NO MORE NATIONALIZATIONS in Bolivia, announced President Estenssoro in an interview on Nov. 23. Henceforth, he and his regime propose to cuddle up to the imperialists in order to "Jure" foreign capital.

DEIFICATION of those in power is an indispensable ingredient in the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Since Stalin's death, not individuals but the Central Committee as a whole, has been the subject of deification. But recently a new and not too subtle, change has become discernible. Especially in the case of Malenkov. The latest volume of the Big Soviet Encyclopedia to reach this country carried a new biography of Stalin's successor. To believe this version, it was Malenkov, not Stalin, who was at all the critical fronts in wartime, including Stalingrad. It was he, not Stalin, who played the role of military genius and at every front "carried out great work in organizing the forces for struggle with the German-Fascist usurpers." Stalin became a "genius" exactly in the same way, through the repeated rewriting of "historical" documents.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

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

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Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

The root cancer of Jim Crow in this country is Southern agriculture. This is the economic base and point of origin for super-exploitation of the Negro people in all other sectors of the economy and their second-class citizenship in social and political fields.

A good picture of actual peonage is given by the tale that managed to break through the curtain of silence surrounding a typical back country Mississippi plantation.

A young Negro sharecropper, named Lofton, desperate beyond fear, ran away from a Delta cotton plantation to Jackson, Mississippi and sought out the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He told his story to them and to reporters for the Northern press.

He had fled the plantation of A. A. Mabus, a small feudal kingdom of several thousand acres, located ten miles from the nearest highway. He and his family along with about twenty other families are sharecroppers there. Thus, the kingdom contains about 100 peons. The rules are simple.

"Everybody has to pick cotton every day in picking time, and if you miss one day, you get a beating and then are put in jail until the man says let you loose. Ain't no charge except that you wasn't picking cotton."

Lofton told how he and his wife had picked nine bales off their plot even though his wife had to bring their sick baby to the field and leave it on the wet ground while they picked.

Finally the nine-month old baby caught the flu and Lofton told his wife not to go to the field but to stay home with the child. Only one more bale of cotton remained to be picked anyhow.

Mrs. Lofton went to the company store to get the day's provisions. The zealous storekeeper called Mabus, the plantation owner, to report that she was not in the field during work hours.

Mabus had no patience for any explanation about a sick child so he beat her up and knocked her down in front of the store. When she tried to run away he caught her and beat and kicked her again.

She finally got to her shack where she took up her baby intending to go to her parents' shack on the same plantation. Mabus caught up with her and proceeded to give her another beating. Then he called the local constable who put both her and the baby in the local jail.

This accomplished, the constable went to the cotton field and arrested her elderly parents and threw them in jail where they remained for five days without any charges being lodged against them.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, head of the Mississippi NAACP, took Lofton to see Governor White. He promised to investigate. The "investigation" took very little time. A phone call was made to the sheriff of the area. He reported that Mrs. Lofton had been beaten because she was disorderly in the company store. The parents had been arrested for "selling liquor."

The runaway Lofton, said this voice of Jim-Crow law, had raised no crop this year and owed the master money from last year. The governor was satisfied.

To this Lofton says: "Last year I picked 14 bales of cotton off my plot. When it was sold I was due to get \$1,400 minus the \$132 Mr. Mabus had advanced me for provisions. Instead he only gave me \$250." His main concern now, however, isn't loss of his share of the crop — sharecroppers are used to being cheated — but how to rescue his wife and baby.

Gas Toll Rises; N. Y. Landlords Scoff at Laws

By Marvel Scholl

NEW YORK, Nov. 29 — A Brooklyn magistrate who "doesn't like all this hysteria" on Nov. 19 refused to grant a delay in the trial of Abraham A. Hitzak, landlord of the building at 475 Chauncey St., Brooklyn, where a man and his wife met death on Nov. 7 from gas fumes of a defective hot-water heater.

Judge James E. LoPiccolo told defense attorney Harold J. Levy, who had requested a continuance in the case, "Not in the face of all the hysteria going around. We judges are subject to hysteria and pressure groups we don't like."

What the Judge called "hysteria" is the mounting protest in slum tenement areas where, within the first 24 days of this month, nineteen persons have been killed by lethal fumes from defective gas appliances installed in cold-water flats without central heating. The landlords are coining millions every month from these death-traps.

FUNNY JUDGE

On Nov. 17, Justice James V. Flood indulged himself in some "judicial humor" at the trial of the elderly brother-landlords, Benjamin J. and Victor L. Weil, owners of the building at 176 W. 87th St. where, more than a year ago, Edward Brandeis, 82, was killed by carbon monoxide fumes from a defective gas refrigerator. An inspector from the health department had testified that he had tested the amount of carbon monoxide in the kitchen of the Brandeis' flat with a mine safety appliance gauge. Whereupon this pxy judge asked the witness to test the atmosphere in the court room because "laymen frequently suspect that judges and lawyers give off lots of gas."

While the judiciary either complain of "pressure" or wisecrack about cases involving landlords of tenements where murder instruments of silent death are in operation, the death toll from carbon monoxide poisoning, chief killer, continues to mount.

In most of the cases, the defective devices have been side-arm hot-water heaters which are the only means to heat either water or atmosphere in those vile slums.

Thus on Thanksgiving Day, Rudolph Stolver, 77, his wife Rosa, 67, and their boarder, Rudolph Tittman, 70, died of carbon monoxide poisoning in their cold-water Queens flat. The old people had closed off the kitchen and bathroom in order that the hot water heater could both heat their bath water and warm up the two rooms so they could bathe and dress in comfort. They were preparing for what was to have been a gala Thanksgiving feast at the home of their married daughter in Brooklyn.

But instead of going to a happy family party, the three old people went to their death. The next day their daughter came to find out why they hadn't come to the dinner. She found their bodies. The ironical thing

in this case was that their landlord was their own daughter.

On Nov. 27, four more victims narrowly cheated death — also from a side-arm hot-water heater. They were women workers assembling cartridges for ball-point pens in the basement factory of the G & R Swiss Screw Company on lower Broadway. The women realized their danger in time to call for help. All were rushed to the Columbus Hospital for emergency treatment.

Meanwhile, what is being done to stop the mounting death toll? Dr. Leona Baumgartner, city Health Commissioner, is carrying on an intensive "educational campaign" in the newspapers, designed to acquaint cold-water flat tenants of the dangers of using defective gas hot-water heaters for heating purposes. She has issued a warning to the 3,000 licensed plumbers of New York, warning them against the installation of defective equipment, and of the loss of their licenses if they are found guilty of installing such equipment.

Unlicensed plumbers found guilty of installing defective equipment are to be prosecuted. In every building where deaths have occurred, all other gas equipment is being tested and the landlords served with warnings. Inspectors from the health department are supposed to be making an exhaustive check of all tenement dwellings using gas equipment.

Dr. Baumgartner's campaign may stop a few people from using the only heating devices they have. But the people who live in cold-water flats live in them because they are cheap. The tenants are workers and they are all poor. Many of them are unemployed and on relief. They can't buy coal or oil, even if they could use such equipment in the flats. Therefore they have a grim choice to make — use the gas and die of carbon monoxide, or stay cold and die of pneumonia.

LAW FULL OF HOLES

New York City's building code, revised recently, is as full of holes as a sieve. The landlords thumb their noses at the warnings and summons. And even if they are hauled into court, it doesn't cost them too much. Take the case involving the Weil brothers, mentioned above.

Edward Brandeis died on Sept. 26, 1953. For thirteen months and through eight adjournments, this case hung fire. Now it has been brought to trial. Under the original indictment the Weil brothers were charged with twelve separate offenses. They are being tried now on only one of the twelve.

If they are convicted they face a fine of \$500 or one year in jail. For murder.

Serve Soup to Sitdowners



Sitdown strikers at the New York Shipbuilding Corp. yard in Camden, N. J., line up near gates waiting for a wives' committee to serve soup. The week-long sitdown of 2,000, provoked by firing of two union officers employed at the yard, was settled by agreement between the company and Local 801, AFL Boilermakers.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

(Continued from page 1)

Carolina lawyer — to see how Brownell's proposals lend themselves to the strategy already mapped out by white supremacists from Georgia to Hillsboro, Ohio, for tying up desegregation in the courts for generations.

Tactics already in effect, ranging from re-zoning school districts where segregation is illegal to provisions for abolishing the public school system where it is not, provide adequate models for maintaining Jim-Crow schools under Brownell's proposed Supreme Court ruling.

But even if, taking what seems the less likely variant, the Supreme Court should reject the Administration's wishes in the matter and decree that segregat-

ed schools are outlawed and must be abolished forthwith — who would enforce the decision?

If the ruling recognized that Jim-Crow state and local authorities must not be trusted to carry out the decision, enforcement would then rest with the same Justice Department which has already made it clear that its policy is to "decentralize desegregation."

The result of such a situation can already be seen in the anti-labor rulings of the National Labor Relations Board and in the program of the Housing Authority which is bluntly opposed to public housing.

The futility of trying to achieve thorough-going social reforms through the Democratic and Republican parties and their government is made even clearer by the fact that the only alternative to relying on the courts is appeal to Congress. And Congress — the newly elected Congress — has merely changed from a Republican-Dixiecrat dominated body to one in which the Dixiecrats hold senior partnership.

THE ROAD TO TAKE

The road to abolition of Jim-Crow schools, as in every other phase of American life, is not the blind alley of reliance on the parties of the bosses and the white supremacists. The only path to victory is uncompromising struggle of the Negro people on all fronts — legal, legislative, industrial — in alliance with the only force with the same basic interests and needs, the labor movement.

WORKING WIVES. 94% of the women college seniors engaged to be married report that they expect to work after graduation and plan to continue activities outside the home as long as possible after marriage, a recent survey discloses.

Hit Defense Dept. For Union-busting

DETROIT, Nov. 27 — The U.S. Defense Department, headed by former General Motors President C. E. Wilson, was accused today of "actively participating in strikebreaking and union-busting activity" by giving a \$2 million order for shells to the strike-bound Kohler Company at Kohler, Wis.

CIO United Automobile Workers Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey wrote Wilson that the union "was shocked to learn" that the order was given to a plant "where a strike for economic justice has been in progress since April 5, 1954."

The Kohler strike, led by UAW Local 833, has been one of the longest and most bitter of recent years. The company, which smashed a strike with force and violence in 1934 and remained organized for two decades, is attempting a repeat performance. The company has offered an insulting three-cent wage increase.

ILA Dockers Win Union Shop Pact

NEW YORK, Nov. 29. — This city's dock workers scored a significant victory on Nov. 25 when the independent International Longshoremen's Association negotiated a two-year contract with the New York Shipping Association. The contract grants the ILA a union shop and thereby puts an end to the AFL drive to supplant the ILA with a new union more firmly tied to the employers and the government. The contract also provides for

a 17-cent hourly package increase — 13 cents in wages and 4 cents in pension and welfare contributions. Last October, the ILA won an 8-cent hourly increase retroactive to Oct., 1953, after a two-day walkout which completely tied up the New York harbor.

The new contract marks a defeat for the employer and government inspired drive to break the ILA and sets back their drive to regiment the longshoremen through the means of a

bi-state Waterfront Commission. The capitalist N. Y. Times complained on Nov. 28 that "over the past two years, a massive array of legal, political and economic artillery has been leveled against the notorious International Longshoremen's Association in an effort to break its hold on New York's 30,000 dock workers. . . . The one thing these salvos apparently never succeeded in accomplishing, however, was to turn the majority of the dock workers against the ILA."

... Remington Murder

(Continued from page 1)

his horrible death. "It is terrible that something like this can happen."

She added that Acting Warden Fred T. Wilkinson had told her that "as far as they knew it was not a personal attack against Bill for what he had done, but just the actions of a couple of hoodlums who got all worked up by all the publicity about Communists."

Was there an even more immediate and direct inspiration for the murder than the general witch-hunt atmosphere generated by all elements of capitalist reaction? Was the whole thing planned, with the connivance of persons who had access to the prisoners, and wanted to make a frightful terroristic lesson out of the beating of Remington?

FBI HUSH-HUSH

There is small likelihood that we shall find out the real facts. The investigation of the murder was promptly placed in the hands of the FBI, which maintained a hush-hush attitude for several days, then claimed that the act was done by three prisoners in the course of a raid and attempted robbery of Remington's cell.

But Acting Warden Wilkinson immediately stated that "there was nothing in Remington's room of any value. Only cigars, a few candy bars and personal items. Absolutely no money."

Why would other convicts risk their necks for such trifling objects? Why didn't they wait until Remington was out of his cell and they could rob it without resort to violence or the danger of his giving an alarm? Whatever the answers, the smell of political violence arising from anti-"red" terrorism clings to this case.

STINKS OF FRAME-UP

The Remington case has stunk of frame-up from start to finish. The key witness against him was Elizabeth Bentley. She claimed before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 that she had received war secrets from Remington in 1943 when he was with the War Production Board. Subsequently, Remington told how Bentley had come to him representing herself as a newspaper reporter and he had given her perfectly

harmless information about rubber production. Miss Bentley repeated her allegations before the Senate Investigating subcommittee on July 30, 1948. As a result, Remington lost his job.

But when Elizabeth Bentley was requested to testify under oath before a U.S. Loyalty Review Board, she refused to appear where she could be cross-examined by Remington and his attorney.

She made a lot of jack out of the publicity she got from her Congressional appearances, through book, lecture and radio fees. On Sept. 12, 1948, she appeared on a National Broadcasting Company television show, "Meet the Press," sponsored by the General Foods Corporation. She repeated her fantastic story about Remington. Remington sued her, NBC and General Foods for slander. A federal judge on Dec. 7, 1949, ruled that her statement was slanderous on the face of it and refused to dismiss Remington's suit.

The slander case against her was settled out of court for the sum of \$10,000 paid to Remington.

USE NEW GIMMICK

But the government's attorneys figured a different gimmick which would not require Miss Bentley's "spy" testimony, for which there was not an iota of proof. He was accused of denying falsely before a federal grand jury in 1950 that he was ever a member of the Communist Party.

Remington's divorced wife, who was personally bitter against him, testified for the prosecution. As a result, he was convicted and sentenced to five years for alleged perjury. But a U.S. Court of Appeals threw the conviction out.

So the Justice Department drew up completely new charges — that he had perjured himself in the first trial. This time they "got" Remington. A hand-picked jury convicted him and a hand-picked judge sentenced him and a hand-picked Supreme Court upheld the verdict. He entered the Lewisburg prison on April 15, 1953.

During Remington's final appeal before imprisonment, it was disclosed that John Brunini, foreman of the first grand jury which indicted Remington and which had opened the way for the two trials, had an arrangement with Miss Bentley to collaborate on a book that is said to have netted them both a considerable sum.

WARNING TO LABOR

Remington's death, as his wife truly said, is a tragedy for the whole country. It is a warning to the American people — especially to the organized workers and racial minorities — of the police-state menace of the witch-hunt and the fearful dangers to civil liberties that confront us.

Had a mighty protest led by organized labor resounded against the persecution of Remington, the frame-up that led to his murder would have failed.

BACKGROUND OF BATTLE

Until 1953, the employers supported the gang-ridden rule of Joseph "King" Ryan in the ILA as a means of disciplining the rank-and-file. They supported the notorious shape-up method of hiring, with its evil system of favoritism and kick-backs, as a way of eliminating the militants. The employers bribed the racketeers and bureaucrats freely, since this was cheaper for them than granting the workers substantial gains.

But beginning in 1945, the dock workers in New York and other East Coast ports repeatedly launched unauthorized strikes. The longshoremen tore through the sell-out agreements negotiated by Ryan and forced the employers to grant concessions. It was clear that Ryan had lost the power to straitjacket the workers. It was only then that the employers raised a hue and cry against gangsterism in the ILA. The AFL executive board and the Dewey Administration in New York followed suit. Together they offered to "liberate" the longshoremen from the very hoodlums whom the AFL tops and Dewey had supported up to that time.

BOSSSES' ALTERNATIVE

But the alternative the employers held out was only a new way of policing the longshoremen. They offered rigid government control of hiring and firing through hiring halls run by the Waterfront Commission and instituted compulsory registration and fingerprinting of longshoremen. Although ostensibly directed against crooks and racketeers, this regimentation was really to be used against the militants. The boss elements also backed a new AFL-sponsored union headed by Dave Beck and Paul Hall that alienated a majority of the longshoremen with its support of government control over hiring and firing.

The longshoremen saw no reason why they should exchange one group of labor lieutenants of the shipowners for another. By voting for the ILA, the militants hoped to force Capt. William V. Bradley, who replaced Ryan as president of the ILA, to purge the union of racketeers and grant democratic reforms.

BATTLE NOT YET OVER

The long battle of the longshoremen for a democratic union serving their interests is not yet over. The militants will now have to wage a determined struggle against the gangsters and former Ryan machine men for control of the ILA. They will have to prevent the officials from using the no-strike clause in the contract against the rank-and-file's aspirations.

Furthermore, despite the gains made under the new contract, the longshoremen do not yet control hiring and firing. The Waterfront Commission continues to determine the livelihood of the dockworkers under its power to screen. What the longshoremen need is a union hiring hall enforcing rotary hiring such as the longshoremen have on the West Coast.

"They Are Speaking for Labor Solidarity"

By A Westinghouse Worker

BUFFALO — It's just about dawn when the Buffalo Westinghouse workers begin to struggle into the huge plant. It is Friday. In little stands in the entrance the local union paper is waiting for them.

Sleepily they take copies, stuff them into pockets, fold them under their arms with the morning paper, carry them through the aisles of machinery, assembly lines, storerooms, deep into the plant. Sometimes they look at them but not often. It's just about dawn, and the world isn't awake yet.

The whistle blows, and the machinery begins to turn. The hammers, fall, the shears scream. The union papers lie on work

benches, propped up in the lavatories. The shop wakes up. Late the men glance at the paper while their machines cut. One after another the workers read with disbelief . . . and then with anger. Their union paper, the Union Member, the official publication of Local 1581, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, the voice of the militant Westinghouse workers — this paper has turned strikebreaker!

The whole front page is devoted to a story, entitled "Misleadership," giving not the union's, but the company's version of the American Safety Razor strike in Brooklyn. The paper (speaking for these Buffalo Westinghouse workers who only three years ago starved out a three-month strike of their own, who froze on the picketline and worried about the coal bill at home, who saw week after week full page newspaper ads maligning them and their union, who felt company pressure and attacks in their own strike) this paper is attacking the strikers at the American Safety Razor Company in Brooklyn.

The shop begins to buzz. Those who picketed most regularly in 1951 grow tight-mouthed with anger. This attack on the ASR strikers is an ugly thing. It has a smell of strike-breaking.

The Union Member paints a beautiful picture of the razor company's offer. It calls it "very generous" and quotes Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor, who terms it "a statesmanlike approach." It tells how the company investigated the Virginia town where it planned to move and found it had adequate "facilities for recreation, for worship and for education." It says ASR offered to move the families and households of all its people who would go to Virginia, run newspapers ad to get jobs for those who wanted to stay in Brooklyn, and sign a pension and severance pay agreement into the contract, as well as a \$2.00 a week pay raise. This, says the Union Member, would cost the company \$2,600,000. Then it ends up by claiming that the strike was communist-led and inspired — you know, "un-American."

The Westinghouse workers don't know all the issues. They work in Buffalo, and this strike is in Brooklyn, four hundred miles away. They don't know that the union accepted the company's "generous" offer (which even the

company said amounted to \$1,000,000 and not \$2,600,000) and that the company reneged, refused to sign the contract that they themselves had written. They don't know that this "generous offer" was phony from the very start, even before the company wrote it, that they had up their sleeve a plan that would void it completely . . . a clause that would prevent the union from even speaking out against the company's moving to the south and would hold the union responsible if anybody else spoke out against it.

The Buffalo workers don't know there would be a terrific wage cut when the ASR started operations in Virginia. And there are other things they don't know either. About a quarter of the ASR workers are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Others are Catholics and Jews, and all of these would face vicious discrimination in Virginia. There is inadequate housing in the new location. Many workers are too old to pull up stakes and settle anew, friendless in a strange place.

These points aren't brought out in the Union Member. Even the critical problem of runaway plants isn't mentioned, and this problem is a terrible menace to ever greater numbers of the American workers.

But then, after all, you don't have to know everything, do you? Isn't it enough to know that your brothers are out on strike? In the lavatories, on the assembly lines, men and women are talking about the company propaganda Westinghouse put out during their own strike three years ago. They are remembering the slash of the pre-dawn wind, the snowdrifts they waded through on picket duty. They know the ASR strikers are fighting hard, fighting like they fought themselves three years past.

And it hurts. It hurts and it rouses them to anger to read their own union paper supporting the company and attacking the strikers.

So what's next? This can't go unanswered, and it won't. The Union Member is supposed to speak with their voice, but it isn't. Their voice hasn't been heard yet. But listen awhile. It will be heard. They are speaking in the shop, on the job and in the cafeteria. They are speaking wherever militant workers gather in the corners and the corridors of the factory. They are speaking in angry whispers that are growing louder. They are speaking for labor solidarity, and they will be heard!

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