

# Asian-African Conference Seen Momentous Event

By Art Preis

A momentous event is scheduled for the last week in April at Bandung, Indonesia — an Asia-Africa Conference to which 30 nations of the two largest continents have been invited.

This conference, which will be the greatest of its kind ever held, will be attended by government leaders of countries inhabited by more than half the world's people. Most of them have been freed only recently from direct western imperialist rule or exploitation.

The Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon — known as the Colombo powers because their original meeting took place in Colombo, Ceylon — announced plans for the conference on Dec. 29 after their meeting at Bogor, Indonesia.

Among the countries invited are new China and North Vietnam, which has just been won from imperialist France through a revolutionary independence struggle. Also invited are Turkey, Afghanistan, Cambodia, the

Central African Federation (the Rhodesias and Nyasaland), Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Lybia, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, Thailand, South Vietnam and Yemen.

**CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT**  
Conspicuously absent from the invitation list are Australia and New Zealand, two of the eight countries, including the United States, England and France, which make up the so-called South East Asia Treaty Organization organized by the western imperialists last September in Manila. South Africa, dominated by white racists, was also not invited.

Several of the invited countries especially influenced by the United States and its dollar appeal are not expected to attend. These include Turkey, Thailand and the Philippines. The latter two are signatories to the Manila Pact. But Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, has said that not less than 22 countries will participate, including the four giants, India, China, Pakistan and Indonesia, which total more than a billion population.

**SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE**  
Whatever the deliberations and decisions of the conference, the mere fact that it is held will be of the greatest historic significance. It will be a visible symbol of a titanic revolutionary transformation that has taken place in the world within the past 15 years — the crumbling of the vast colonial empires controlled and exploited by the advanced capitalist nations and the emergence of great new independent nations hostile to western imperialism. It will be a graphic demonstration that the western powers do not speak for the Asian and African people and can make no claim to their unquestioning support.

## U.S. State Dept. Seeks to Counter Asia Conference

The U.S. State Department announced on Jan. 3 that the eight signatories of the Manila Pact will meet in Bangkok, Thailand, on Feb. 23 to implement the military alliance drafted last September on the initiative of the western imperialist powers.

Although labeled the South East Asia Treaty Organization, the alliance is headed by three non-Asian nations, the United States, Britain and France. Outside of these big capitalist powers, only Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand — the latter three not parts of the Asian mainland — are associated in the alliance.

**PRETENSE EXPLODED**  
Announcement of the Manila Pact conference was intended to counter the effect of the call by India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon for a 30-nation Asia-Africa conference next April to which China and North Vietnam have been invited. This conference will encompass countries totaling more than half the world's population.

The call for the Asia-Africa Conference exploded the pretense of the Manila Pact group that it spoke for the people of South East Asia or any other part of the colonial world. In fact, there was speculation that the Bangkok conference might have to be postponed to save face for the western powers. "We're in new trouble in Asia," wrote the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers in their Dec. 31 weekly round-up. They said the Asia-Africa conference is "already a psychological victory for Reds" so "calculated to weaken and undermine Manila Pact conference" that "we may even have to postpone our meeting."

In their call to the conference, the five Colombo powers include among its purposes, "to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African people, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism."

The five Prime Ministers state their support of Indonesia against Holland in the conflict over New Guinea. They especially stress their "continued support to the demands of the people of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination."

In addition, they expressed their "great concern in respect of the destructive potential of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions for experimental purposes" and called for "a cessation of such experiments" with H-bombs and A-bombs.

Under any circumstances, an (Continued on page 3)

## Is Reuther Right When He Claims America Has No 'Fixed Classes'?

By Murry Weiss

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, made a defense of the capitalist two-party system at the CIO convention, Dec. 8, and dropped all pretense of favoring a Labor Party "sometime in the future."

"What we are trying to do," said Reuther, "is work within the two-party system of America and bring about . . . a fundamental realignment of basic political forces."

Reuther contended that the labor party idea is not for America: "In Europe where you have . . . rigid class groupings, there labor parties are a natural political expression." But, he continued, "America is a society in which social groups are in flux, in which we do not have this rigid class structure."

Reuther rested his whole case against the idea of a Labor Party on this estimate of the unique character of the social structure of the U.S. By "social groups in flux," he means that the working class is becoming more and more a part of the middle class and the capitalist class is blending into the population.

**FIXED CLASSES**  
What are the facts about the class structure of the U.S.? More than any other nation in history the U.S. has become divided into two basic classes — workers and capitalists. These two classes have become more

fixed and increasingly hostile to each other.

"In the U.S., as in all capitalist countries, the nature of the working class and capitalist class is defined by their mutual relations in the process of production. The capitalists are owners of the means of production — factories, mines, railroads, etc. The workers, as a class, own no property in the means of production. They own only their labor power, that is, their ability to work and they must sell their labor power to the capitalist in order to live.

Through the money system the workers receive wages when they are fortunate enough to be hired. With their wages the workers buy the means of subsistence, food, clothing and shelter, and are able to restore their energy for more work and raise families to provide a continuous supply of workers.

**EXPLOITATION**  
The relationship between the owners of the means of production who do not work, and workers who do not own means of production, is properly termed the capitalist exploitation of labor. Because the workers produce more value in the period they work than they receive in the form of wages, this system of exploitation of labor is the source of all capitalist profits. And profit is the motive force of the capitalist system.

Now, it is true that the capitalist system is in constant flux. Profound changes have taken place in its structure, both in the U.S. and on a world scale. The question is: In what direction is capitalism changing? Is the system of capitalism becoming less rigid and distinct, is capital becoming "democratized" as the Wall Street propagandists claim?

The evidence shows that instead of a "blending" of classes in the U.S. there has been a concentration of greater and greater wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer capitalists, and at the same time the steady growth of the working class.

According to Theodore K. Quinn, former vice-president of the General Electric Co., "More than half of all workers in the country are employed by 1% of the corporations, which control over 50% of the corporate wealth." (Oct. 25, 1954, speech before convention of the Cooperative League in Chicago.)

What about the working class? Has it declined or increased numerically? According to the Bureau of the Census, in its Historical Statistics of the United States, published in 1949, p. 65, the chart on "Labor Force — Industrial Distribution of Employed," the number of workers increased from 29,025,000 in 1900 to 56,769,000 in 1945. In 1900 (Continued on page 2)

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 2

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1955

PRICE: 10 Cents

# Labor-Haters, Racists Take Over Key Posts in Congress

## Govt. Official Sees Chronic Joblessness

A decline in the number of persons drawing unemployment compensation does not necessarily mean a decline in the number of unemployed. This is indicated by the figures on workers who had exhausted their allowable unemployment insurance benefits in the first nine months of 1954.

According to Undersecretary of Labor Larson, in a Christmas-week address before the Industrial Relations Research Assn. in Detroit, nearly 1,500,000 workers nationally used up all their unemployment payments within the first three quarters of the year. In Pennsylvania they numbered 200,000; in Michigan, 100,000; and in five other states over 75,000.

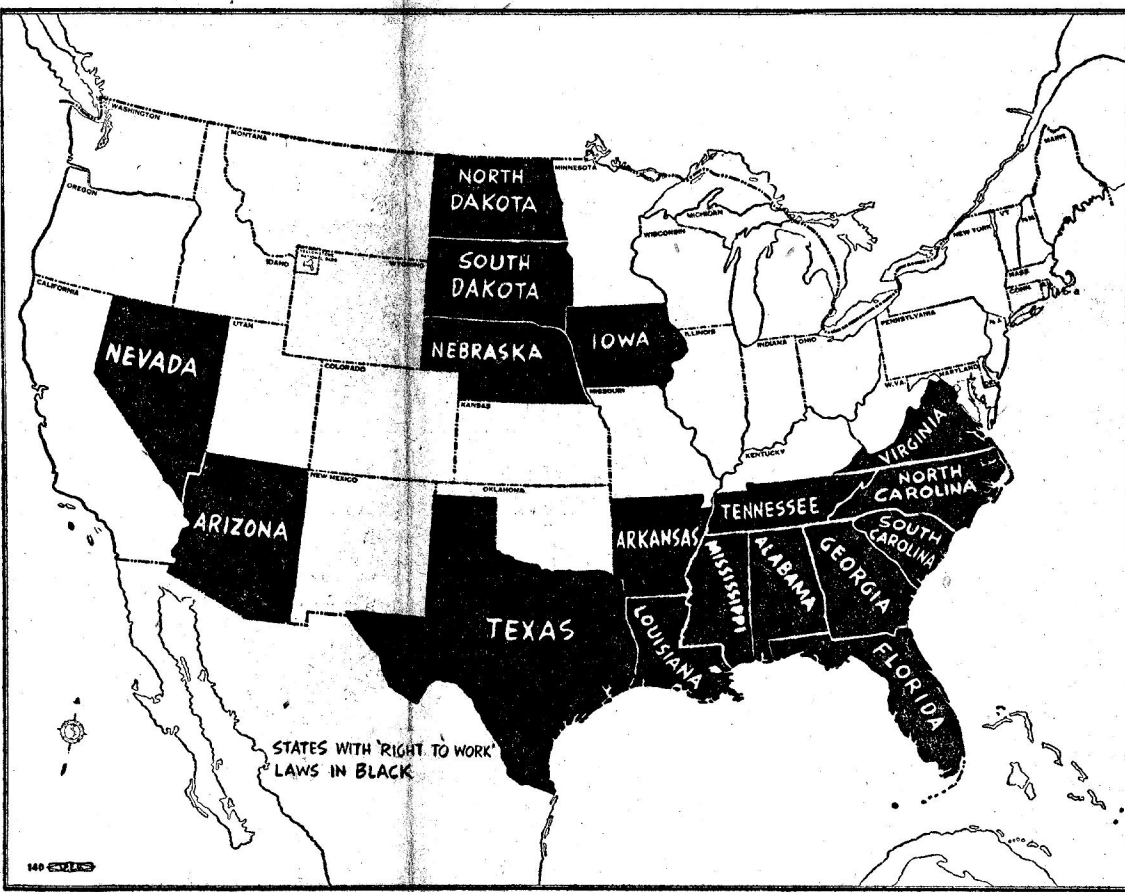
**CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT**  
Larsen called this condition "chronic unemployment" and described it as "the situation of those people who exhaust the full duration of unemployment insurance benefits and still go on unable to get work, either because of the locality or of the industry." He added that "as to him (the worker) who has exhausted his benefits but remains without a job) our available insurance and services have broken down." He then asks:

"But is it possible that the matter could be approached by means of a combination of some extension of benefits . . . coupled with an entire new special program aimed at removing the individual's cause of unemployment?"

**SCOPE OF LAYOFFS**  
A better idea of the real scope of unemployment during the past year was given on Jan. 1 by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. He reported that altogether 6,600,000 workers received one or more unemployment benefit checks. One out of every five of these workers was dropped from the rolls while still unemployed.

Bert Seidman, an AFL staff economist, shows in the Dec., 1954, American Federationist that "more than 9,000,000 workers have been unemployed at some time during the past year."

## Blackout on Progress



## Bosses Set up Secret "Right-to-Scab" Groups

Secret national and state organizations of employers are being formed to push through so-called "right-to-work" laws in the 31 states still free of such anti-union legislation. The existence of these secret organizations to railroad through laws to prohibit union security contracts was revealed in the Jan. 4 Wall Street Journal.

"Businessmen backing the laws are forming a so-far-secret national organization and several state organizations to promote the laws' passage in the 31 states that still allow 'union security' contracts that make union membership a condition of employment," reports the Journal.

Such laws, if passed as secretly plotted by the conspiratorial employer groups, would undermine the union rights of 12,000,000 organized workers who are already protected by some sort of union security clause.

### FIGHT ON IN MARYLAND

The underground bosses' groups have selected Maryland as the first battleground in the intensified drive to subvert labor's rights and destroy union organizations. "Maryland's lawmakers will shortly clash in impassioned debate over the nation's hottest labor issue," says the Journal. "A drive is building up here (Baltimore) to get the Maryland

Legislature . . . to enact such a law. . . The fight will mirror coming strife in more than a dozen other state legislatures and in the U.S. Congress as well."

The state organizations of both the AFL and CIO in Maryland are lining up their forces and preparing for a battle. The Legislature convenes Jan. 5.

### "NATIONAL SCRAP"

But this is a "national scrap," states the Wall Street Journal, and "similar fights are in prospect in Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, California, Colorado and Wisconsin, as well as Kansas and possibly in other states also."

These "right-to-scab" laws, as unionists correctly call them, have the aim of impeding union organization and preventing organization of the unorganized. They permit the employers to infiltrate non-union and anti-union elements into the plants and to influence the weaker elements in the unions to discontinue paying dues while getting union benefits. They are especially potent as legal cover for scab-herding in strikes.

In the Democratic South, which is blanketed with 11 of the 17 existing state "right-to-scab" laws, there is little pretense that these are designed to "protect workers." Down in open-shop, white supremacist Dixieland, concedes the Journal, "the economic

argument is especially prominent. It is claimed the laws help attract Northern industry. . . Mayor H. C. Rhodes of Pelsahatchie, Miss., for instance, used his state's adoption of a 'right-to-work' law last year as an argument to encourage a Connecticut manufacturer to move to his 'veritable industrial paradise' — a 'paradise' of low-pay, unorganized, race-divided wage slaves.

### Truth about Stalin's Slave Labor Camps

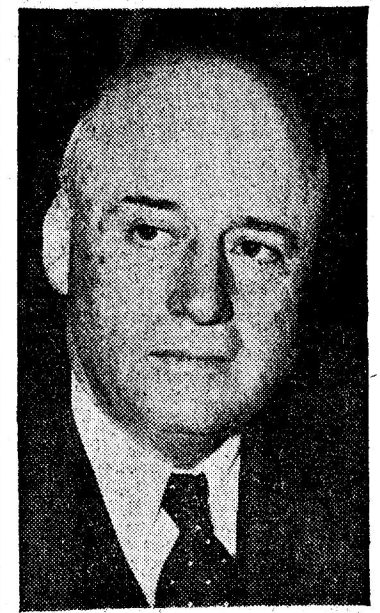
Next issue we begin a series of articles by Brigitte Gerland, German author and journalist, who spent about eight years in Stalin's concentration camps. "My Life in Stalin's Concentration Camps" offers the first authentic information published in this country concerning forced labor, camp conditions and oppositional tendencies there. The author, a German Communist militant, was sentenced by Stalin's secret police to 15 years in prison on the frame-up charge of being "a British spy." She spent over six years of her term in Stalin's Arctic Circle camps. (Brigitte Gerland's Biography — See Page 4)

## All Progressive Bills To Come under Axe Of Southern Democrats

By George Lavan

As the 84th Congress opened, the onlooker had the uncanny feeling that history had been turned back and reversed — that General Robert E. Lee and the Confederate Army had finally captured Washington and was encamped on Capitol Hill. Southern Democrats were busy taking over practically every important post in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The job of Speaker of the House — second in power only to the presidency — went to Sam Rayburn of Texas. Lyndon B. Johnson, also of Texas, took over the most important position in the Senate — majority leader.



REP. RAYBURN

### KEY POSITIONS

The all-important chairmanships of committees in both Houses went almost exclusively to Deep South and border state Democrats. In the House of Representatives, where committee chairmen wield even more power than in the Senate, 13 of the 19 committees are headed by Southern Democrats. Of the 12 most important committees Southern Democrats wield the gavel in ten.

Rules Committee chairman is labor-hating banker, Howard W. Smith of Virginia. Jere Cooper of Tennessee heads the Ways and Means Committee. Other chairmen are: Clarence Cannon of Missouri, Carl Vinson of Georgia, James P. Richards of South Carolina, Harold D. Cooley of North Carolina, Brent Spence of Kentucky, Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, Olin E. Teague of Texas and Tom Murray of Tennessee.

As if to show that there were other parts of the U.S. than the South — two chairmanships of the 12 most important House committees went to non-Southern Democrats. The Judiciary Committee went to Emmanuel Celler, New York liberal, who promptly introduced a bill to raise Congressmen's pay from \$12,500 to \$22,500, and Un-American Activities Committee to Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania banker, best known for his sponsorship of the infamous McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

In the Senate the same pattern prevails. The South is firmly in the saddle. Domination of Congress by the South will have profound effects on U.S. politics. The land of honeysuckle and cotton is also the land of white supremacy and open shop "right-to-work" laws. The most backward and reactionary section of the country is now dominant on Capitol Hill.

Two events showed which way the wind would be blowing in Washington for the next two

years on labor and civil rights legislation. When it was announced that Eisenhower's State of the Union address would recommend an increase in the minimum wage from the present 75 cents to 90 cents per hour Northern liberal Senator James Murray (D-Mont.) declared for \$1.00 per hour. This was already giving away 25 cents of the \$1.25 which the labor movement has been demanding and which Murray and other Democratic liberals had agreed to. But then Senator Russell of Georgia, the real power in the Senate Democratic majority, spoke out saying that there should be no hasty action on increasing the minimum wage from 75 cents. He wanted time to "study" and see if an increase would raise farm labor costs.

The outlook for FEPC and civil rights legislation has completely vanished in the new Congress. Indicative of the fate of such measures was the surrender by Senate liberals of the fight to change Senate Rule 22. This is the rule which makes it virtually impossible to stop a filibuster and bring civil rights legislation to a vote. It can be changed the first day of a new session of the Senate but after that it automatically goes into effect and it is then virtually impossible to change.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition group of 52 Negro, labor and civil rights organizations including the (Continued on page 2)

## Threaten New Blows to Civil Liberties

By Lewis Peterson

The old year ended and the new began on an ominous note for civil liberties. From Washington came a whole series of policy orders, rulings and statements which threaten new blows at the rights of union militants and political dissenters.

Anti-union corporations were handed another powerful juridical weapon against unionists when Judge Charles F. McLaughlin of the Federal District Court in Washington Dec. 30 upheld the firing of General Electric workers who had invoked their constitutional rights at hearings of Senator Joseph McCarthy's smear committee.

More than 20 GE workers had been fired in violation of the union contract since Dec. 9, 1953, when the company, at McCarthy's behest, started victimizing employees who stood on their rights under the Fifth Amendment. The unionists had declined to answer McCarthy's trick questions.

Judge McLaughlin claimed, however, that the constitutional right against self-incrimination does not guarantee a worker against "unfavorable inference" or dismissal from his job. In fact, he contended that the 20 were fired for "obvious cause" and he cited GE's own definition of "obvious cause" as "those things which, in the opinion of the management, made an employee an undesirable employee and therefore one who should be immediately removed from the plant."

This leaves it up to the corporations to decide what constitutes an "undesirable employee." Within four days of Judge McLaughlin's ruling, Sen. McClellan, together with Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), who succeeds him as chairman of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, were holding more inquiries of GE workers at Washington hearings.

McClellan had said on Dec. 31 that he would not hold the one-

man type of hearing which McCarthy had used to gain publicity for himself. But the Democrat also made plain that he would continue "relentlessly" the witch-hunt interrogations of alleged "communists" and "subversives" which are designed to terrorize independent political expression.

On Jan. 3, at a subcommittee session to which four witnesses from GE had been subpoenaed, McClellan backed up McCarthy in issuing a contempt of Congress order against Edwin Garfield, Allston, Mass., who had failed to show up and had sent a telegram saying he had been unable to secure counsel.

This incident highlights another aspect of the drive to establish a police state and thought-control in the United States. Now the witch-hunters are seeking to deny their victims even adequate legal counsel and defense.

This is being done under the pretext that anyone who undertakes the defense of the civil

liberties of persons accused of being "subversive" is a "subversive" himself. Thus, Professor Vern Countryman, of Yale University, who assisted the defense in two federal appeals in cases involving so-called "subversion," felt compelled to resign his job after being denied scheduled promotion at the university.

More direct denial of legal defense in so-called "loyalty" cases is the aim of an investigation to be undertaken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as announced on Jan. 3 by Chairman-to-be Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.). Rep. Walter succeeds the notorious McCarthyite Velde as head of the House witch-hunt committee.

The Pennsylvania Democrat said he would investigate lawyers who defend "communists" and groups set up to finance the defense of civil liberties and constitutional rights in cases arising out of the Smith "Gag" Act and other repressive anti-democratic laws.

In the latest moves to put the Bill of Rights in the deep freeze, Attorney General Brownell's Department of Justice has indicated it does not intend to remain inactive.

On Dec. 30 Brownell announced he intends to place another 27 organizations on the Attorney General's list of alleged "subversive" organizations, which already contains the names of 254 groups. This political blacklist, begun under an executive order issued by former president Truman, will be broadened to include the National Lawyers Guild and a number of civil liberties defense groups.

This announcement was followed on Jan. 1 by a statement from William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Internal Security Division, who threatened that the Justice Department and FBI will "accelerate" their drive to "railroad" "subversives" to prison under the Smith Act and other police-state laws.

# The American Way of Life

## Taxes and Justice

Justice in America inexorably grinds away. No criminal big or small can escape, and all are treated with equal severity. If you don't believe it, look at the case of Stanley Roman, a \$75-a-week crane operator. He pleaded guilty to a charge of evading taxes to the tune of \$255.61 over a two-year period. Today he faces a 5-year jail term and a \$10,000 fine.

Flushed with victory, Edgar G. Brisach, Assistant U.S. Attorney in charge of the criminal division in Brooklyn, said, "Criminal fraud is punishable in every tax bracket from the lowest to the highest." And so justice is meted out impartially to all.

Of course, cheating the government out of \$255.61 would be peanuts to any self-respecting millionaire. Hundreds of thousands of dollars never reach the government coffers after smart lawyers get the loop-holes figured out. The trouble with a crane operator is that he has no business to hide his income in, and no high-priced lawyer to make it legal.

The most important method businessmen use to hide their real income is to charge profit up to capital depreciation. The trouble with a crane operator is that he doesn't have any capital to depreciate.

The capitalist can take his friends out to lunch, treat them all to a case of good bonded whiskey, take his secretary to Florida, and charge it all up to business expense, thereby reducing his taxable income. A \$75-a-week crane operator can't even buy his buddy a glass of beer and reduce his taxable income. He has no business front to hide behind.

Aside from direct and indirect tax evasion, covered by their legal eagles, Big Business enjoys a few other advantages over the crane operator. During 1954, Congress and the Administration eased the tax load for corporations enabling them to reap a golden harvest in the second best business year on record.

But the picture wasn't so bright for the crane operators and other workers. Unemployment at the end of Nov., 1954, was more than double the 1953 figure.

Taxes can also be viewed as payment for services rendered. Here too Big Business has the advantage over the crane operators. Two-thirds of federal taxes go to protecting foreign capital investments — the so-called "defense" expenditures, all of which provide the corporations with a market enabling them to realize more profits. If the worker is lucky, he may get a job out of the deal. But don't let him get the idea that he's in the upper brackets and can get away with tax evasion!

In addition, the tax dollar of the worker cuts into his income for necessities. The tax dollar of the capitalist only touches his luxury income. But American justice today can't be bothered with all these complicating factors. The law can't be held responsible for class differences and their unfortunate effects on the application of pure justice.

Debtors' prisons may have been abolished. But the shadow of prison walls is cast on the lives of working men and women. The government takes big chunks out of the workers' paycheck to pay for their wars, past and future. And while protecting the war profiteers, the billionaire thieves, and the large-scale tax evaders, they are hinting at a crack-down on working people who try to make ends meet by some minor tax irregularities.

Shirley Clark

# ... Racists Take Over

(Continued from page 1) NAACP, AFL and CIO, has campaigned for years to change Rule 22 on the first day of Congress. Fifteen Northern liberal and labor-supported Senators are committed to changing Rule 22. This time, however, a conference of these Senators, led by Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Morse (Ind.-Ore.) decided not even to bring the proposal up at the first session. Thus the possibility of ending Southern filibusters has been lost for at least another two years.

## NO SOFT TREATMENT

The most publicized Senate body — the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations — McCarthy's committee — goes to Senator McClellan of Arkansas. His first act was to announce that he would complete the investigations McCarthy hadn't finished and that uncooperative witnesses should not expect soft treatment from him. Indeed the witch hunt committee chairman seem to be trying to outdo one another in fierce talk. Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee has announced sweeping investigations aimed at disbarment of lawyers who have dared to defend Communists.

Union men and women who worked hard at election time to get a better Congress may have some misgivings when they get a look at the physiognomy of the 84th Congress. It is no better than the 83rd as far as friendliness to labor and the Negro people is concerned. Although it may engage in demagoguery for the purpose of corraling labor votes again in 1956, its deeds will be those that Big Business, not the labor movement, wants.

On foreign policy, the Democrats have pledged to support the administration's Wall Street line. Domestic policy confronts the Democrats with a dilemma. The reactionary Southern Democrats see eye to eye with the Repub-

licans. This makes it difficult for the Northern labor-supported wing of the Democratic Party to use Congress as a campaigning ground for the 1956 presidential election.

The solution that is being attempted is to give the Southerners all they want on essentials and in return the Northern Democrats will be allowed to talk liberal and to introduce bills which the Southern wing doesn't want. These will be vetoed by Eisenhower and no attempt will be made to pass them over the veto. Thus the anti-labor Southern wing will lose nothing and the labor-supported Northern Democrats will have good campaign issues.

**MIDDLE CLASS**  
Last week we showed how Reuther called into evidence an argument against the Labor Party the existence of the middle class (small farmers and small businessmen). Aside from his astonishing notion that this was something unique to the United States, and aside from the point that it is precisely by independent political organization that the working class can become a positive pole of attraction to the middle class, we must assess the relative social weight of the workers and the middle class in the U.S.

One reference will suffice for our present purposes. In the Twentieth Century Fund study, "World Population and Production," by W. S. and E. S. Woytinsky, p. 364, the number of the agricultural population relative to the rest of the population from 1870 to 1948 is discussed: "As recently as 1870, agriculture in the United States employed more workers than all other pursuits together. . . Then the situation changed radically. Before World War I, agriculture employed about a third of all gainful workers in the United States, while a third were employed in mining, manufacturing and building construction combined, and a third in trade, transportation and communication, public and professional service and other pursuits. . . After World War II, in April, 1948, only a sixth of the nation's labor force was employed in agriculture."

These striking figures demonstrate indirectly the growing social weight of the industrial

# Who Owns the Democratic Party?

By Joseph Keller

The most insidious political lie circulated by the pro-capitalist union leaders is that, while the Republican Party is controlled by big money, the Democratic Party belongs to the "little man." Many labor bureaucrats concede defects in the Democratic Party, and even deny they are tied to the tail of either of the big parties, but they always wind up by going along with the Democrats.

Occasionally, an event occurs which demonstrates the falsity of the union leaders' line so sharply that it causes them considerable embarrassment. But they try to brush over the significance of the event and continue to peddle the same old lie. This happened in the New York state election when the Democratic machine, controlled by powerful moneyed interests, ignored the appeal of the union leaders to nominate a Roosevelt for Governor and selected W. Averell Harriman, a scion of one of America's wealthiest families.

## BIG MONEY IN POLITICS

With the restoration of their power in Congress, the Democrats should be drooling at the mouth at the prospects of exposing the political influence of the ruling financial and industrial interests. Thomas L. Stokes, Washington columnist writing in the Jan. 1 N.Y. Post, notes that "for the first time in a couple of decades — and high time, indeed — Congress will have an opportunity to expose the impact and influence of 'big money' — our industrial and financial giants — upon our politics and our government."

Stokes observes that the Democrats are looking for issues and the Republicans, who run the administration, are vulnerable. Yet he is not certain how deeply the Democrats will delve into the cesspool of big money in politics. "How much of the story we will get remains to be seen," he admits.

"We are not likely to get it all because big money plays both sides of the political street and Democrats also are vulnerable and guilty of 'pay-off' favors, and so will naturally try to play down the part of the story that involves them — and that is quite a part in 20 years."

"We hardly will get, for example, anywhere near the com-

plete story of how big oil operates in our politics; though we know already how government protects its special privileges, including the tax bonanza in the 27 1/2% depletion allowance which the big companies just mark off before they begin to figure their income tax. . .

Many of the free and easy political dollars originate with the 'fabulous oil barons of Texas, who deploy them all over the country. Texas, as we know, is well-entrenched in the seats of power in the incoming Democratic Congress, and so big oil

seems assured of protection from too great exposure."

It is quite true, as Stokes says, that the Democrats as well as the Republicans, have been getting the "pay-offs" from Big Business. But it is not simply a question of politicians being bought off. The party machines are actually owned and controlled by wealthy interests. They select as candidates those who can be counted on to defend and preserve the basic interests of the capitalist class.

There have been some studies made of the capitalist interests

which have "paid the piper and called the tune" for the Democratic Party. As recently as March 1950, during Truman's administration, The Machinist, official publication of the International Association of Machinists, showed who owns the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Machinist published a list of 78 big money boys who in 1949 contributed from \$2,000 to \$5,000 each to the Democratic National Committee. These individuals, who made the largest contributions to the Democratic Party, included some of the coun-

try's richest tycoons and worst labor-haters — manufacturers, liquor distillers and dealers, motion picture producers, aircraft corporation executives, etc.

The Machinist published the list "so that union members may know who is putting up the big money to help finance our major political parties."

One of the most revealing, and still invaluable, studies of Big Business and politics in America was Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's 60 Families," published in 1937. He lists a group of just 31 individual multi-millionaire donors to Roosevelt's 1932 campaign who contributed a total of \$408,528. Lundberg records that "about \$1,000,000 of the Democratic fund appears to have come from the wealthiest families. The remainder was collected by professional politicians from the host of aspirants to political berths in the new administration."

The situation hasn't changed since that day — it has just become worse. Big money rules both major parties completely. If you don't think so, just count the number of unionists in Congress.

## DEMOCRATS TO RETURN TO HOUSE CHAIRMANSHIPS

 Brent Spence Kentucky Banking	 Omar Burlison Texas House Admin.	 Graham Barden North Carolina Labor	 Francis Walter Pennsylvania Un-Amer. Activ.	 Clarence Cannon Missouri Appropriations
 Harold Cooley North Carolina Agriculture	 Howard Smith Virginia Rules	 Percy Priest Tennessee Commerce	 Charles Buckley New York Public Works	 Olin Teague Texas Veterans
 Wm. L. Dawson Illinois Gov't Oper.	 Carl Vinson Georgia Armed Services	 Emmanuel Celler New York Judiciary	 J. P. Richards South Carolina Foreign Affairs	 Herbert Bonner North Carolina Merchant Mar.

With House control swinging back to the Democrats, these 15 Democratic representatives are scheduled for committee chairmanships. Ten are from the white supremacist Deep South.

# On the Civil Liberties Front

Mrs. Morton Sobell, whose scientist husband was given a 30-year sentence in the hysteria surrounding the Rosenberg spy trial, has asked Eisenhower to transfer her husband from Alcatraz to some other prison. Reason for the request is fear that Sobell may suffer the same fate as William Remington who was beaten to death. Alcatraz, an inhuman torture cage for maximum-security prisoners, has a record of five prisoners murdered by fellow inmates. Further increasing the anxiety for Sobell's safety is the recent transfer to Alcatraz of Alexander Pavlovich, who in an attempt last year to ingratiate himself with the authorities nearly beat imprisoned Communist Party leader Robert Thompson to death with a lead pipe.

Although the U.S. Bureau of Prisons has not indicated that it will comply with the many requests that Sobell be transferred from Alcatraz, the campaign already appears to have won a minor concession. For over two years Sobell has not been able to see his five-year old son and 15-year old daughter because Alcatraz rules forbid visitors under 16. Now special permission has

been granted for Sobell's children to visit their father. At Alcatraz the few visitors allowed must look at the prisoners through a small bullet-proof window and speak over telephones. Mrs. Sobell hopes that the children will be allowed to be in the same room with their father.

Another indication that the U.S. Bureau of Prisons is feeling the wave of indignation and criticism that followed the brutal beating-to-death of Remington is the recent transfer of Smith Act prisoners John Williamson and Maurice Braverman from Lewisburg Prison where Remington was killed, to prisons housing less violent inmates. Moreover, Braverman was allowed to attend his mother's funeral in New York under guard.

The hypocrisy which comes so naturally to the "loyalty" purgers in Washington is well demonstrated in the case of Robert W. S. Browne, discharged employee of the Smithsonian Institute. To his knowledge, Browne had been under investigation for four years, he was quizzed by the FBI and had to fill out numerous political questionnaires

which he did in great detail. Moreover, he freely admitted his membership in the Libertarian Socialist League. Despite all this, when he was fired it was not on political but "moral" grounds. Before this, however, he was asked several times if he would help the FBI investigate the LSL — which isn't even listed on the Attorney General's political blacklist. Unable to persuade him to be an informant the Washington witch hunters decided to fire him for "falsification of official employment papers."

"Falsification" turned out to be that on a job application form Browne had not listed the fact that in 1947 he had been fined \$2.50 in Alexandria, Va. for "necking" with his fiancée in a park and that he once had received literature from the LSL under another name. Mrs. Browne, also an active socialist, was summarily fired from her job in private industry and told by the personnel officer, "This affair is extremely confidential, and will not be discussed even with you."

Eugene Cuevas Arbona, a Puerto Rican now held in the West Street House of Detention in New York City, was denied his

Dec. 29 request for a lower bond. He is charged with Smith Act violations in Puerto Rico. The reason given for the refusal of a lower bond was that because he was young and unmarried he might be more prone to jump bond.

Dr. Vannevar Bush, speaking in Berkeley, Calif., before the American Association for Advancement of Science on Dec. 30 said that "ruthless, ambitious" men were using government loyalty procedures for political purposes. A principle has been adopted which is abhorrent to American traditions — establishing guilt by association among scientists. The system he said "seems almost calculated to destroy their reputations by innuendo and charges based on spite."

The chief of the Army's psychological warfare section in Tokyo, Col. Kenneth K. Hansen, said on Dec. 30 that a corporal had been shifted and a woman allowed to resign because they had "swallowed a portion" of the Communist line on China. Both had attended a lecture at the Harvard Club Oct. 22 where Lord Michael Lindsay, who had just returned from China, talked about the "flexible" British policy toward Red China "as opposed to the inflexible U.S. policy."

The "Joe Must Go" club was fined \$4,200 on Dec. 31 in Baraboo, Wisconsin, for violating a law prohibiting corporations from contributing money for political purposes. Leroy Gore, founder of the Club, announced he would appeal the decision and said: "Not only would it be impossible to conduct a recall, but any political campaign, if the decision stands."

A partial victory was gained in the fight David Hyun was waging against deportation to his native Korea. Hyun maintains that he would face death at the hands of Syngman Rhee. Military men, diplomats, trade union leaders, and clergymen have supported his claim. Hyun lost his fight against deportation but did get the right to seek asylum in a country of his own choice. His deportation was ordered under provisions of the infamous Walter-McCarran Law which makes it possible to deport anyone of foreign birth, even if they have been naturalized.

# SOME IMPORTANT LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE ASR STRIKE

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 — The twelve-week old strike of the American Safety Razor employees in Brooklyn is passing from the scene as an active strike. It has been

converted into a union boycott campaign against ASR products. ASR has moved its stocks and machinery unhindered and unchecked to a new location in Virginia. The union fight to keep ASR in Brooklyn has failed and its sole hope to force ASR to pay severance and pension demands rests on its boycott campaign against Gem, Pal and Persona blades.

The ASR strike was an isolated strike conducted by an isolated union. The responsibility for the sorry state of the ASR battle rests in the confusion of the United Electrical Workers leadership and above all on the callous indifference of the leadership of the New York labor movement.

The ASR workers put up a spirited and militant battle, the likes of which has not been seen around these parts for some time, but the handicap of poor leadership and isolation were too much for them to overcome.

The ASR corporation has done well in this area. Its profit statement as reported in the Wall Street Journal in October showed a steady and even phenomenal 40% jump every year for the past three years. But this corporation like many others decided to free itself from the demands of the union by moving to an open-shop area in the south where "right to work" laws make organization almost impossible for a union like the UE.

When the company announced its decision to move early last year the UE fought under the slogan of "Keep ASR in Brooklyn" and tried to prevent the move. A new contract was being negotiated and the union's principle demand was around this slogan. However the final contract agreed upon secured some concessions in severance pay and pension rights. The union dropped its demand to keep ASR in Brooklyn and agreed to the concessions as a final settlement.

Before the contract was officially signed however, the UE leadership advanced a program to keep ASR in Brooklyn and began public agitation to prevent the move. The company seized upon this. It claimed that the union campaign violated the spirit of the negotiations and used that as a pretext to repudiate the contract it had orally agreed upon. In plain words they decided to rob the ASR workers of \$1,000,000 in pensions and severance pay — and blame it on the "communist" UE.

The UE had no recourse but to call upon the ranks for a fight and a sitdown strike was organized. All production ceased.

But the public campaign to keep ASR in Brooklyn met with no response. Although the prob-

lem of runaway plants from the New York area is a serious one the leadership of the New York labor movement has tried to meet it in every way short of an active fight.

The ILGWU-AFL, during the course of the ASR fight publicly demonstrated its program on the runaway by giving its blessing to one large runaway plant in return for a cash payment to the union of a quarter-million dollars. The CIO for its part has been trying to induce leaders of the Democratic party to take some kind of steps to stop the runaway. During the election campaign the Democratic party included in its propaganda the charge that the Dewey political machine had fostered runaways from New York. This was enough to help the union leadership paint up the Democratic victory as an answer to union-busting thru runaways.

The UE leadership of ASR took the same line as the CIO. Prior to the elections the daily union strike bulletin kept up a running agitation for support to the Democratic party with the added Stalinist gimmick that the ALP was good too. The day before the elections the strike bulletin, UE Blade, called upon the ASR workers to vote Democratic and praised Democratic politicians for "making the job question a key point in their campaign."

The day after elections the Democratic administration of New York City sent down squads of police to smash the picket line. Following this the trucks moved in and ASR began to ship its equipment down south. This was the pay-off for UE support to the Democratic party!

Even after this outrageous smashing of the ASR picket line the New York labor movement remained unresponsive to the call for help that came from the ASR workers. And by turning their backs upon these strikers the labor officials of New York served notice to every boss in New York that they can conduct union-busting runaways without interference.

MARK BERNZ will discuss  
**The American Folk Song**  
from a Marxist viewpoint with song and guitar illustrations  
Fri., Jan. 14, 8 PM  
MILITANT HALL  
(near Union Square)  
Contribution 25c.  
Free to unemployed Refreshments

**New York Winter Dance**  
• Entertainment  
• Free Food — All the cheeseburgers you can eat  
• Door Prize  
Sat. Jan. 15, 8:30 PM  
MILITANT HALL  
116 University Pl.

**Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum**  
"Big Business Is a Crime and Crime Is a Big Business"  
Speaker: Rita Shaw  
Fri., Jan. 14, at 8 P. M.  
at 3000 Grand River (Room 207)  
Donation 25c.  
Free to unemployed

**Subscribe!**  
Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.  
Name .....  
Street ..... Zone .....  
City ..... State .....  
 \$1.50 Six months  \$3.00 Full year  New  Renewal

For only \$1.25 you can get a one-year subscription to the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

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

**THE MILITANT**  
Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460  
Editor: MURRY WEISS  
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Monday, January 10, 1955  
Vol. XIX — No. 2

### Is the Witch Hunt Abating?

The fading of McCarthy from the headlines and the Democrats taking control of Congress has led a number of well-intentioned people to conclude that the witch hunt is passing from the American scene.

"If wishes were horses, then beggars would ride," goes the old proverb. Similarly if wish-thinking could do it, the Bill of Rights would already be back in operation. It will take much more to restore civil liberties in this country.

Just what is the actual status of the witch hunt today? McCarthyism, has suffered a defeat. But McCarthyism was the ugly Gothic steeple which jutted out crazily from the much solidier main edifice — the witch hunt proper.

This grim structure has not been perceptibly affected by the setback suffered by McCarthyism. Both big parties swear its architecture is of the purest American style. It must be remembered that many who spoke out against McCarthyism were opposed only to his methods and "excesses" and were for the witch hunt itself — "properly" conducted by the Attorney General and the FBI.

The witch hunt proper is the official persecution of the Communist Party and other political organizations and of thousands of individuals closely or remotely connected with these organizations at present or in the past. Such persecution for political beliefs — Stalinist as well as anti-Stalinist — can be carried out only by suspension of the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guarantees.

This has been done so well by the ruling class of this country and its kept press and politicians that an atmosphere somewhat resembling Orwell's fantasy, "1984," prevails.

### AFL-CIO Unity

There are indications that serious merger moves are being considered by the leaders of the AFL and CIO. A meeting of unity committees from both organizations in Washington, Jan. 4, agreed to consider a draft next month specifying concrete steps towards unity.

While the moves are taking place primarily behind the scenes, and the jockeying of power groups in the American labor bureaucracy plays a considerable role, the consummation of a merger between the two major sections of the American labor movement could have profound progressive significance.

No doubt a powerful factor in the trend toward unity is the desire of the labor officials to strengthen their hands in their relations with the Democratic Party machine. With a unified bloc of 15,000,000 unionists behind them the heads of the labor movement could hope to strengthen their bargaining position with the Democrats in deciding candidates and posts.

But the plans of the labor bureaucracy are one thing and the logic of the political struggle of the labor movement is another. The merger of AFL-CIO would underscore the enormous power of the American working class on the political field. Already the American workers feel that they are intervening in elections as a cohesive force, voting as a class bloc.

### Why Soviet Union Is Catching Up

Iron Age, national weekly of the metal-working industry in the U.S. reports that Soviet bloc nations produced 7.7% more steel in 1954 than in 1953, while steel production in the capitalist nations declined 9 per cent. In the U.S., steel output fell by 20.8% since 1953, while in Soviet Russia it gained 7.4%. In actual volume U.S. steel mills turned out 88,300,000 tons in 1954 while USSR produced 44,900,000 tons.

These figures by themselves testify to the steady growth of Soviet production under a planned economy and nationalized ownership of industry. But they do not yet tell the whole story of the giant leap forward of Soviet economy thanks to the new property forms and production relations created by the workers' revolution of October, 1917.

Prior to the revolution, Russia was an economically backward area of the world, hardly more advanced than India is today. It was a land dominated by Czar, feudal landowners and foreign capital. In 1913, the ratio of steel production between the U.S. and Russia was 7-to-1 in favor of the U.S.

In 1929, at the peak of the boom of the twenties in the capitalist world and at the start of the first Soviet Five-Year-Plan, the U.S. advantage in steel production was nearly 11-to-1.

Since then, although U.S. steel production bounded forward during World War II, while the Nazi invasion devastated Soviet industry, the Soviets began systematically to catch up. In 1947, U.S. advantage was 5.6-to-1. (Soviet economy was just beginning to repair the war-time destruction of its industrial equipment.) In 1950, U.S. advantage was cut to 3.2-to-1. In 1953 it was 2.7-to-1, and in 1954, 2-to-1.

It can be argued that the comparison of U.S. and Soviet steel production in 1954 is not

The defense of political liberty in the U.S. now means, according to official propaganda, jailing those believing in certain political creeds. Defense of constitutional government means persecution and loss of livelihood for those who invoke the guarantees of the Constitution's 5th Amendment.

The witch hunt proper rests on four main supports. (1) The Smith Act; (2) the Attorney General's arbitrary political blacklist; (3) the McCarran "concentration camp" Law; and (4) the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act. The witch hunt will have suffered a serious setback when any of these supports has been smashed. It will have been destroyed when these infamous laws (one is merely an executive order) have been wiped off the books.

Until then there can be no question of the witch hunt abating. There can only be minor fluctuations in the intensity of the witch hunt. As long as the witch hunt proper exists as a base it is always possible for McCarthyism to start reconstructing its tower of darkness on top — and once again the threatening gargoyles of American fascism will reveal itself.

Only a steady and determined counterattack by all those believing in civil liberties can destroy the bases of the witch hunt. Such a counterattack can be launched only from a principled position — defense of all victims of political persecution regardless of their political beliefs. In this period to refuse, or to lack courage enough, to defend the constitutional rights of the Communist Party is to concede in advance over half the battle to the witch hunters. The slogan should be: An injury to anyone's civil liberties is an injury to all.

This tendency to act as an organized class in the political field remains hemmed in by the class-collaborationist political policy of the labor officials and the illusions of the workers. The idea of winning basic concessions through a coalition of the labor movement and the Democratic Party liberals is undoubtedly dominant at this time.

But the greater the power, cohesiveness and experience of the labor movement, the more the idea of launching an independent political party will arise at every turning point.

For this reason labor unity is not separated from the basic problem of political action and program. If unity maneuvers, and even merger, are subordinated to the factional struggles within the bureaucracy for the extension or preservation of this or that bureaucratic clique's power; or, if labor unity remains merely a bargaining weapon in negotiations between the officials and capitalist politicians, it cannot in any way serve the interests of the American working class.

But if unity is tied to the opening of a militant struggle to beat back the anti-labor drive, to defeat Taft-Hartleyism, the Right-to-Work laws, and the menace of the witch hunt against the labor movement, it can become the prelude to labor taking the road of building its own class party and liberating itself from political serfdom to capitalism.

fair to the U.S. industry, which operated well below capacity for a good part of the year. The Soviets on the other hand kept their plants at full production.

However, this too, is to the credit of the Soviet economy. This meant no unemployment there and a steady increase in the national wealth, while the steel that was not produced in the U.S. and the wages the workers didn't receive are lost forever. Soviet planned economy does not move from boom to bust — or even from prosperity to "recession" — as does the capitalist economy of the U.S., but maintains full employment and planned growth year-in, year-out.

This principle of socialist production, applied to the U.S. would produce conquests of economic growth on a scale far larger than those shown in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, a socialist economy here would not have to contend with the parasitism and dictatorial rule, mismanagement and inefficiency of a bureaucratic caste such as the Soviet workers have had to endure.

This bureaucracy is not an inevitable component part of the new mode of production. On the contrary the Stalinist rule impedes and distorts Soviet growth. Stalinism has arisen from the Soviet Union's heritage of Czarist poverty and backwardness, from the years of imperialist intervention, civil war and blockade, the constant threat of imperialist aggression, and the country's isolation from world economy.

Socialist United States on the other hand would start from the highest levels of industrial and cultural achievement. A bureaucracy would have no basis. The rest of the world would rapidly become socialist once the U.S. took the road. All peoples would move forward to universal abundance and freedom under the planned world economy.

# Out of Their Own Mouths

## What They Say About North Vietnam

(What the capitalist press now admits about the Ho Chi Minh regime in North Vietnam.)

All reports agree that North Vietnam is being well and enthusiastically organized by the Communist Vietminh, with a strong army, civic discipline and social reforms. . . . This is the true picture. . . . It will take extraordinary efforts to save Indo-China from communism. . . .

—N.Y. Times editorial, Dec. 30, 1954

NEW DELHI, India, Dec. 30 —The Indian chairman of the International Armistice Commission for Vietnam said today that the Communist Leader, Ho Chi Minh, was "the symbol of nationalism" in both parts of divided Vietnam. M. J. Desai, head of the three-nation commission supervising the Geneva armistice agreement expressed the opinion that Ho Chi Minh had substantial support in South Vietnam, as well as in the northern part of the country, whose government he heads. . . . The northern administration of Hanoi looked good in comparison with the regime set up under the French, Mr. Desai indicated. To many persons the city's new administration must seem "cleaner and more honest" than under the French, he said.

—A. M. Rosenthal, N.Y. Times, Dec. 31, 1954

On one side in this crucial struggle are the passionate conviction, the frightening dynamism, the remarkable power to do much with little, which this reporter saw at first hand in the main southern base of the Vietminh. There is also the power, never forgotten in Southern Indo-China, of the big Communist military force that the Com-

munists are building up here in the north.

—Joseph Alsop, N.Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 31

North Vietnam's top administrators are Communists hardened by long experience in tackling almost insuperable problems in conditions of almost unimaginable difficulty. . . . Non-Communist correspondents could not fail to be simultaneously impressed and depressed by the smooth, disciplined efficiency of the Vietminh in taking over the northern metropolis of Hanoi from the French. Throughout the latter years of the war, the Vietminh effectively controlled the countryside and villages of North Vietnam and some of the south and center, not only through governmental and party organs but through all the innumerable "people's" organizations to which every single individual, young or old, must belong: associations of women, children, Buddhists, Catholics, old men, families of soldiers and so on. . . .

In Saigon ask any Frenchman or Vietnamese who is not afraid of you who would win nationwide elections in Vietnam today and he will tell you bluntly, "Ho Chi Minh." . . . this sixty-two-year-old Vietnamese . . . is still regarded by most Vietnamese, north and south as a tireless fighter for his people's independence, a selfless ascetic patriot and the father of his country.

An effective drive against illiteracy and for land reform on the China pattern has made the Communists friends among the poorer villagers. Westerners tend to forget that independence is real and tangible in the north. . . .

—Peggy Durdin, The Reporter Dec. 30

## What They Say About South Vietnam

(What the same capitalist press admits about the anti-Communist regime in "Free" South Vietnam.)

The Government of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem is riddled with feuds and incompetence and is woefully weak. The playboy Emperor Bao Dai is enjoying himself uselessly on the French Riviera. The most respected Vietnamese General, Army Chief of Staff Nguyen Van Hinh, is at odds with his Premier. The police force is also under dissident control. Communists have infiltrated in ever-growing numbers. There is widespread corruption.

—N.Y. Times editorial, Dec. 30, 1954

On the struggle's other side, meanwhile, there is nothing as yet but an obscene basket of eels. After months of open warfare between the civil and military branches of the non-Communist government of southern Indo-China, the crisis has ended in a "solution" which parodies the worst solutions of Chiang Kai-shek's last year on the mainland.

The army is demoralized and disorganized. The civil administration is generally corrupt, where it exists at all, and in most places it has less authority than the underground administrations of the Vietminh. . . .

As one peers out these grim perspectives out here, the bland language and optimistic actions of the Washington authorities seem more and more inexplicable. Consider the hideous fate, for instance, of the 500,000 Indo-Chinese Catholic refugees from the North, who now crouch in squalid camps in the south. . . .

—Peggy Durdin, The Reporter Dec. 30

It may be shocking to say so, but the refugees would have been better off in their own homes and fields. . . .

—Joseph Alsop, N.Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 31

South Vietnam's administrative machinery creaks and cracks. . . . Last year the south experimented with elections on a local basis, but there has never been a national or constitutional assembly. Corruption, though widespread, is probably no more corrosive a force than plain inefficiency.

Unless one counts the underground Communists, there are no political parties in South Vietnam, largely because throughout the war the French permitted no real political activity by nationalists. . . .

There is not one public figure in South Vietnam who commands widespread respect and support. . . . Bao Dai has squandered whatever popularity he once had. . . . living in luxury in Dalat and on the Riviera, accumulating a tremendous personal fortune, and holding corrupt friends in office. . . . Skillfully reared by the French to be a puppet, this blank-faced, cynical and intelligent man is backed today chiefly by those Vietnamese who count on him to unseat their enemies. . . .

No government of South Vietnam has had popular support or done much to get it. Neither propaganda nor social and political reform has been undertaken on a broad basis. Under the French Army still around, independence cannot be dramatized very effectively.

—Peggy Durdin, The Reporter, Dec. 30

## United Fruit Gets Deal in Guatemala

The Guatemala dictator, Carlos Castillo Armas, has paid off his debt to his Wall Street allies who helped him overthrow the popular government of Arbenz in June last year. On Dec. 31 he signed a bill approving of two agreements with the United Fruit Company. One of the contracts returns the uncultivated land to the United Fruit Company that had been expropriated by the Arbenz Government. In the other agreement the Company "settled" its tax obligation to the Guatemalan government.

The Arbenz government had expropriated, with offers of compensation, 234,000 of the 600,000 acres of land owned by the United Fruit Company. The US Ambassador demanded that the Arbenz government pay over \$15 million to United Fruit for this land. The Guatemalans refused, providing added incentive to the subsequent armed invasion of their country by a United Fruit inspired "army."

In the new agreements, with the return of the expropriated land, the Company "gives" to Guatemala 100,000 acres of its land. The company also drops the demand of the U.S. Ambassador for payment of the \$15 million.

The N.Y. Times, Jan. 1, editorially hails the signing of the agreements as a step "toward normalcy. . . . closing another chapter in the stormy history of that great American company." The editors regard the new contract as "eminently fair" and hope that the settlement will help to overcome "a historic background that the United Fruit would like to have forgotten."

Before the Arbenz regime was overthrown last summer the uncultivated land reclaimed by the government was parceled out to peasants. In addition, workers on the banana plantations of United Fruit were permitted to organize unions and struggle for higher wages.

The return to "normalcy" means an end to the improvement of the living standards of the Guatemalan people. United Fruit, through the Armas dictatorship, is firmly back in the saddle. Fabulous profits are once more guaranteed.

Furthermore, with the smashing of the union movement by the Armas dictatorship, United Fruit will no longer be plagued by demands for a living wage from the railroad workers on the International Railways of Central America (a United Fruit subsidiary.)

But perhaps the most important gain of all to United Fruit is the lesson it is trying to teach all of Central America where it owns around three million acres of land. Ruthless suppression will follow in the wake of any and all attempts to limit the power of United Fruit in behalf of native populations. The cry of "communism" will be raised and the US State Department will intervene.

### Tito Visits Nehru



Pres. Tito of Yugoslavia (right) and Premier Pandit Nehru of India are shown during an informal chat in New Delhi. They voiced opposition to establishment of any "third force" or "third bloc" of nations, but called for "co-existence." Tito is the first head of a foreign state to visit independent India.

## ... Asia-Africa Parley

(Continued from page 1) Asian-African conference, "composed of nations that for the most part have been the colonized underdogs of the last two centuries," as Tillman Durdin puts in the Jan. 2 N.Y. Times, would be galling to Wall Street imperialism. But, in addition, the invitation to new China and North Vietnam has the American ruling class shaking with rage and fright.

The conference, regardless of any formal stand it may take, is almost certain to strengthen the drive to recognize new China and give it a seat in the United Nations. Tillman Durdin writes from Jakarta, Indonesia: "With some reservations on the part of Pakistan, the Colombo powers believe the way to deal with Communist China in the world picture is to accord Peking a seat in the United Nations and full acceptance in world councils. They believe in addition that trade should be developed with Communist China and an opportunity be afforded the Red regime for settling into peaceful reconstruction and normal international relations."

On the other hand, "for Asian nations to join military pacts with Western nations, and particularly the United States, contributes to the polarization they oppose."

HAMMARSKJOLD'S TRIP Even Japan, in which American troops are still quartered, is pressing for a renewal of peaceful ties both with China and the Soviet bloc. Thus, Premier Ichiro, Hatoyama declared in To-

kyo on Jan. 4: "I am of the opinion that to normalize our country's relations with Communist China and the Soviet Union is the way that will lead to world peace."

United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold's trip to China to appeal for release of Americans imprisoned as alleged spies is generally regarded as a "de facto" recognition of the Mao Tse-tung government and a long step toward actual "de jure" recognition and admission of new China into the United Nations.

The Asia-Africa Conference will likely demonstrate how little support Washington has among the nations rising up out of colonialism — more than half the world — for the policy of non-recognition and counter-revolution against the Chinese people.

### Why South Africa Wasn't Invited

Explaining why the South African government was not invited to participate in the Asia-Africa conference next April, one of the five Prime Ministers who called the conference, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon, said, with obvious allusion to South Africa's racial laws: "I can't go there; we can't go there, so why the hell should we invite them here?"

## "HOW FREE IS FREE WORLD?" ASK LIBERALS

"The West (is) determined to safeguard the 'free world' against the encroachment not only of communism but also of freedom." That is the verdict of the editors of the liberal magazine The Nation,

whose entire Jan. 1 issue is devoted to the question of colonialism, under the title "How Free Is the Free World?"

"That we (the United States) have lost our zest for revolution, our own as well as others, is nothing new," says Victor H. Bernstein in an editorial entitled "Containment of Freedom." "What is startling is how quickly and how far we have traveled in recent years toward complete identification with the interests of the dwindling but still powerful imperialism of the West."

"We have ourselves become a colonial power. . . . The sun never sets on the American empire," says Bernstein. The United States holds military bases in Europe, North Africa and throughout the Pacific. In addition it holds Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Hawaii and Alaska as territories deprived of the right of self government.

But "beyond our visible empire is another and greater one." That is the subjugation of nominally "independent" states who continue in a colonial status because of their economic dependence on the United States.

However, The Nation does not investigate all the ramifications of imperialism. It directs its attention to the problem of outright colonial holdings of the Western powers. Two hundred million people are still held in outright colonial bondage. This includes most of the population of Africa.

In the article, "American Policy — the Status Quo," William Bross Lloyd Jr. shows that the U.S. delegates in the United Nations since 1946 voted uniformly with the imperialist powers or abstained in every dispute involving a colonial holding. For example, the U.S. representatives in 1951 voted against even discussing the complaints of Morocco and Tunisia against the French in the General Assembly.

The U.N., too, stands exposed as an instrument for the imperialist powers. A colony under U.N. trusteeship is supposed to achieve its independence. But John V. Murra, though a supporter of the trusteeship system, nevertheless gives numerous examples in his article of how it keeps the imperialist system in full control.

He cites the case of the Ewes, an African people numbering more than a million, who were partitioned among three powers under trusteeships and in consequence "have suffered endless economic, social and religious difficulties." "Since 1947," says Murra, "the Ewe petition (for unification) has annually reappeared on the agenda" of the

United Nations. But unification is not in sight.

The hypocrisy of all talk by the United Nations and the U.S. government of bringing freedom to the colonies is best exposed in the article by M.O.M. Madagwu, a leader of the Nigerian independence movement. Madagwu sums up his recital of broken promises of colonial freedom by the imperialist powers by quoting the Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy:

"I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all possible means — except by getting off his back."

## World Events

U.S. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION in Italian union affairs was bitterly attacked by L'Unita, a newspaper described as "Communist" by the N.Y. Times, Dec. 31. The Times reported that many unions are voting out "Communist" shop stewards because Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, American Ambassador to Italy, started a "get tough with communism" policy and ordered the cancellation of two off-shore procurement contracts where Communist Party influence among workers was rising. L'Unita said: "Mrs. Luce's declarations confirm that the American Ambassador considers Italy on a par with Guatemala and that the Italian Government permits a diplomatic representative of a foreign power to behave as in a protectorate."

GOLD COAST RIVAL OF SOUTH AFRICA. The Gold Coast (in West Africa) which is expected to get dominion status in 1956, is causing concern to the racist regime in the Union of South Africa. Some of the most astute and dedicated leaders of African nationalism are to be found in the Gold Coast, the first African colony that has won an independent Negro-administered regime. Recently the Union of South Africa closed its door to "foreign" African Negroes. Daniel F. Malan, former Prime Minister of South Africa, said on one occasion: "If the other African territories are, with the same success, going to demand what the Negroes of West Africa have gained, then it means nothing less than the exclusion of the white man from

virtually everywhere from the Union to the Sahara."

THE BRITISH RAILWAY WORKERS are all set for a national walkout scheduled to begin at midnight Jan. 9. Prime Minister Churchill has been moving to prevent the strike. James Campbell, General Secretary of National Union of Railwaymen, declared that the decision to strike was not taken lightly. He said the men had been denied a square deal for a long time. Wage increases of \$1.12 to \$1.32 weekly are the main demands sought by the union. They now make from \$17.78 to \$24.44, weekly. Campbell said that the union was involved in the 1926 general strike but that they had not been out on purely economic issues since 1919.

OIL-RICH VENEZUELA is experiencing an unprecedented economic boom. More precisely it is being enjoyed by the handful of militarists, landowners and native capitalists, who run the country under agreement with the international oil cartel. Luxury spending by this corrupt class compares with the heyday of the robber barons in the U.S. Examples: a \$3,000,000 officers club, a \$6,000,000 rifle range for the military, lavish statuary etc. The workers live in shacks in slums and are sent to concentration camps for union activity or criticizing the government. Ruler is U.S. State Department favorite, Colonel Perez Jimenez, who was recently decorated with the Legion of Merit by Eisen-

# The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Department has made its report for 1954. Besides the historic Supreme Court decision against school segregation it lists an impressive number of other legal actions against Jim Crow. NAACP lawyers took part in over 100 judicial and administrative proceedings. They put ten briefs before the U.S. Supreme Court and another ten before state supreme courts and federal courts of appeal.

Of one category of cases the report states "... our job is far more than to expand the law, it is also to vigilantly protect the enjoyment and unrestricted exercise of rights already clearly defined as being constitutionally protected."

In other words it went to court not only to establish new legal principles of equal rights but to enforce rights where the principle has been previously established.

Are laws enforced automatically once the courts have interpreted them? Sad experience teaches they are not. Everyone knows how the laws involving civil rights are enforced below the Mason-Dixon line. That is the key to the struggle over the coming installment of the Supreme Court's school segregation decision. Who will enforce the outlawing of segregation? The white supremacists want the local authorities to "enforce" it because their kind of enforcement means no integration.

Not only does enforcement of the law work against the rights of the Negro people in the South but in practically every city in the country the Negro people live in fear of police brutality.

Since the executive branch — the enforcing branch — is so all important, what can the Negro people do to get fair, unbiased enforcers? The answer is obvious — political action. It

may be replied the Negro people have been playing an active role in politics. That's true, but what kind of enforcers of the law (as well as lawmakers) have their votes been going to? The answer is mostly Democrats and in a few places Republicans.

There's the hitch! The kind of "enforcement" Democrats in the South give to civil rights is well known. But in the rest of the country — it doesn't matter whether the mayors or governors are Democrats or Republicans — police brutality towards Negroes, discrimination in hiring, segregation in housing, schools etc., are thriving.

A basic change in enforcement of civil rights — from the lowest enforcement agency to the highest — will come only when Republican and Democratic executives are replaced by independent representatives of labor and the Negro people who are committed to war against Jim Crow. This means independent political action by the Negro people. It can't all be done in one day but a beginning can be made. In many places the Negro people are numerous enough to run and elect their own independent representatives against the candidates of the old political parties. On a state and national level the Negro people are already learning that the Democratic Party will not root out Jim Crow. This disillusionment will coincide with a similar disillusionment on the part of the white workers with the Democratic politicians.

These two great and interrelated sections of the American population will then see the need to build a new independent party that will pass and enforce laws in the interests of all working people regardless of color. The road to this new kind of party is the way out of the political dilemma the Negro people are in today. Negro militants should get out their political roadmaps now and start studying for the journey ahead.

# Prefabricated Bureaucrats

By Henry Gitano

At 1710 Broadway in New York City, a sign points to the "Institute," up one flight of stairs. Beneath the indirect lighting, around tables set up in one circular pattern sit seventeen male and four female future administrators of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

A class on "comparative economic systems" by Mr. Belfer is in session. The instructor's observation that the class absorbed remarkably little of its previous readings, evoked a kidding response from one of the students, that "a good administrator doesn't have to understand what's going on, he has enough good subordinates for that." Mr. Belfer summarizes his 75 minutes by saying that "the future belongs to the sophisticated 20th Century capitalism represented by groups of the Fortune and Business Week variety."

A discussion of individual projects is next on the agenda. One of the students is working on a paper dealing with union dues. A comment is made that only 30 cents a week goes to New York and that one wage increase far outweighs this piddling amount. A discussion ensues: "When I was in the field, the workers asked if we were living in the best hotel in town, and they wanted to know what's happening to their dues."

Another project deals with "over the top organizing," organizing without involving the workers. This topic posed problems: "When I was in the field, this shop was all lined up, the teamsters union wouldn't deliver, the contract was in the bag. We had to kill the day, so we went to visit a few workers, is that over the top organizing?" A job evaluation for a business agent was another's theme.

During the lunch period, one of the students explains the set-up to me. You train at the

Institute for one year, it's a study-work program. Part of the time is spent in the field, part at the Institute. You come out as an organizer or business agent. "But even if you graduate as an organizer it's not too bad, because you can move up to business agent."

The prospectus says that "the primary purpose in setting up the Institute is to train young people to qualify for job opportunities in the ILGWU," and that "any young man or woman between the ages of 21 and 35 with high school education or its equivalent may apply for admission to the Institute. . . . In the selection of students, only those interested in the ILGWU with a view to making it their life work will be enrolled." Dubinsky wrote that "graduates of the Training Institute are guaranteed staff jobs with the ILGWU."

The students feel that the labor movement is a good field to enter. It offers good pay, status and opportunities for travel, there are possibilities of entering a world of power and prestige. But aside from aiming at a career, there is a spark of genuine feeling for the aspirations of the workers in these leader trainees.

But this spark is sure to be extinguished in the further experience they will have in the Dubinsky trade union machine. In the union, these uninitiated will owe their position entirely to the ruling labor-bureaucrats. They will learn to conform to all the standards imposed by the cynical officialdom.

Genuine leaders of the labor movement are not manufactured this way, they are brought forth in the course of actual struggle. They become leaders because they are capable of outstanding service in the class struggle of the workers. They are selected and tested in the heat of battle.

# Notes from the News

**MIDWEST TRUCK DRIVERS, 250,000 strong,** are demanding pay raises of 25 cents an hour. The present International Brotherhood of Teamsters' three-year contract for the 12 midwest states over-the-road drivers expires Jan. 1 and Feb. 1. The earliest expiration affects 25,000 truck drivers in Chicago. The 12-state drivers' contract grew out of the militant Minneapolis Local 544 which was active in organizing the North Central District Council of Drivers. Farrell Dobbs, first secretary of the council, headed the organizing committee which signed the first contract in Aug. 1938. Dobbs is now National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

**BOWING TO AMERICAN LEGION CENSORSHIP** the new edition of the Girl Scout handbook has 60 changes from the 1953 edition. Denouncing the "unwarranted" criticism of the earlier handbook Mrs. Marshall Simpson, head of the organization, said: "... (this criticism) made us aware of the climate in which we have to live." Examples of changes: "You are preparing yourself for world citizenship" (page 190 old edition) now reads, "You are preparing yourself to be a friend to all." The "One World" badge in the 1953 edition now reads "My World" badge.

**UNION PROTESTS DEFENSE ORDERS.** A delegation from Local 833 UAW-CIO, representing the Kohler Company workers on strike since April 5, 1954, protested Dec. 29 the recent orders for 105mm. artillery shells placed by the Army with Kohler Company.

**BANKER RETRACTS RED SMEAR.** Conrad E. Aronson, assistant cashier of the Toy National Bank of Sioux City, Iowa, charged that Local 70 United Packinghouse Workers of America was "Communist dominated" but had to retract the statement three days later. The Dec., 1954, Packinghouse Worker in an editorial said: "The

original sin, however, must be laid at the door of those in high places who have built the "red scare" into such fantastic proportions that gossips are able to make headlines out of their irresponsible chatter."

**DISCRIMINATORY EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES** cost American business 30 million dollars every year says Elmo Roper in a pamphlet issued by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. "By 1980, industrial concerns will no longer even think in terms of race, religion or nationality when they hire employees," he said. "It seems like an awful long time to wait," commented the Dec. 30 N. Y. Post.

**THE MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY HIT A FOUR-YEAR LOW** as November orders dropped to \$35 million, the lowest since May, 1950. Orders for all 1954 — \$535 million — showed a sharp drop from the \$862 million 1953 total. (Wall Street Journal, Dec. 28, 1954).

**A ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST,** Father Norman Stuber, revealed that he had severed his connection with the church so that he could marry Dorothy Rogers of Corpus Christ, Texas. "I have experienced many difficulties and threats since my decision and I want no further publicity," he said.

**A PROGRAM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT** was outlined in Business Week Jan. 1, 1955. They said that factory production was rising without a "commensurate rise in employment" and called that "good sense, from a cost standpoint." They then advised employers that it was "good sense to hire rather than pay overtime. . . . Besides, there still is considerable need for workers in lower-paid lines that can be satisfied by growth in the labor force."

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1955

NUMBER 2

# THE MILITANT

## Lamont Fund Aids Civil Liberties

The Bill of Rights Fund, founded last November, has already granted \$10,750 to aid the legal defense in numerous civil liberties cases now pending in the courts.

The cases aided form a representative and non-partisan cross section of the resistance to the witch hunt.

All involve important legal points which must be defended in the courts if political freedom is not to disappear completely from this country.

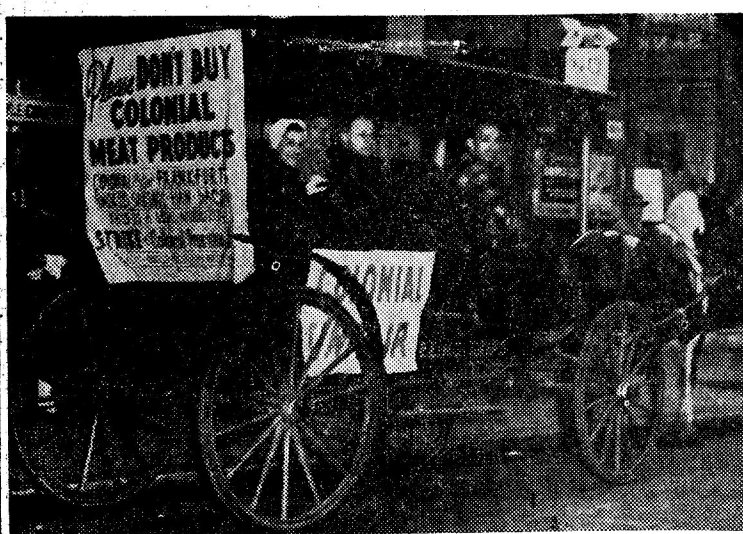
The highest grant, \$2,000, was to the defense of Dr. Howard Chandler Davis, mathematics teacher at the University of Michigan, who invoked the First Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Seven grants of \$1,000 were made, four of \$500 and three of \$250. A grant of \$1,000 went to the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union as the beginning of a \$10,000 special legal action fund the branch is planning. Another \$500 went to the AGLU's Northern California branch. Other grants were for cases involving use of the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments; defense of a Communist Party leader indicted under the membership clause of the Smith Act; the Louisville Seditious cases growing out of the case of a Negro buying a home in a white neighborhood; and a test of the Florida Subversive Law. A grant of \$250 was made to the defense of Vern Davidson, a prominent member of the Socialist Party, who was sentenced to three years imprisonment because his pacifism is not based on religious but on social and ethical convictions.

Another \$1,000 was granted for the legal defense of James M. Staebler, a private in the Army who received an undesirable discharge because of alleged association with the Socialist Workers Party before his induction in the Army.

A grant of \$1,000 went to the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles which is contesting a state law that religious organizations claiming tax exemption execute a loyalty oath.

## In "Don't Buy" Campaign



Striking members of CIO United Packinghouse Workers Local 11 hitch old Dobbin to the shay and ask Boston shoppers not to buy scab-produced hams and sausages from the Colonial Provision Co.

## LADEJINSKY CASE REEKS OF VILE ANTI-SEMITISM

The fantastically reactionary logic of the witch hunt has revealed itself fully in the case of Wolf Ladejinsky. Ladejinsky is an agricultural expert who has been employed by the government for the past twenty years. Since the war he has directed the timid land reform programs sponsored by the U.S. in Asian countries in an attempt to stave off agrarian revolt.

Last month the Agricultural Department fired Mr. Ladejinsky for security reasons. The reasons are most revealing. First, Mr. Ladejinsky was born in Russia. Although in 1919 he fled the Russian Revolution and is now a naturalized citizen, his foreign birth is highly suspicious in the eyes of the security snipers. In 1930-31 while working his way through Columbia University he took a job as an interpreter for Amtorg, the Russian trading agency. This is also highly suspicious. No evidence of leftist political sympathy by the Agricultural Department was discovered by the Agr. Dept. Indeed, they found just the opposite.

In the 1940's Ladejinsky wrote anti-Soviet articles. This, declared the Agricultural Department's security chief, one J. G. Cassidy, was the most highly suspicious thing of all. Ladejinsky still had relatives in the Soviet Union. Doesn't the fact that he dared

## N. Y. Longshore Pact Approved In Light Vote

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 — A new contract between the shipping bosses and the independent International Longshoremen's Association granting a 17-cent an hour wage

and welfare package increase became the legal agreement covering the dockers of this port after a long and difficult campaign by the union leaders to put it over.

The last hurdle was membership acceptance. It was a rough go for the new leaders of the ILA to get that acceptance, and it will probably be argued for a long time to come on the waterfront that they didn't really get membership approval. But it is clear that regardless of how much support or non-support the new contract has it is now the legal contract.

Four weeks ago the rank and file dockers stunned their leaders, the shipping bosses and so-called public opinion with their rejection of the contract in a secret vote. It was widely conceded that the proposed contract provision against strikes caused the rejection.

Many important conditions of work on the docks have been established through rank-and-file strike action. These so-called wild-cat strikes have brought into existence a body of procedures known as existing port practices and customs. These bar many of the more nefarious tricks of the boss stevedore who would like to treat the dock wop as a piece of cargo . . . throw him into his place and keep him there.

To bar strikes and not have existing practices and customs

written into the legal agreement was clearly inviting trouble from the shipping bosses. These latter are a hard-headed lot not known to have ever given anything away. And the dockers have little illusion about the "Christian charity" of these gentlemen.

The new contract contains a clause recognizing existing practices and customs and hedges on the no-strike clause. The dockers cannot be forced to cross a picket line. Furthermore the powers of the umpire set up to arbitrate differences are restricted. The original agreement gave him the considerable power of exacting penalties from dockers who violate any provisions of the contract.

Nevertheless the ILA leaders took no chance on a second rejection by the ranks. The first balloting was conducted by the Honest Ballot Association. The new balloting was put into the hands of the officials of the thirty-one different locals of the ILA. Furthermore other groups belonging to the ILA, the privileged groups like the carpenters, coopers, checkers, etc., were allowed to vote. These latter number about 4000, and were known to back up the leadership solidly.

With all these steps taken the outcome was a foregone conclusion. The vote was announced as 11,266 for and 4,206 against. Virtually half of the port's longshore workers did not vote at all.

## Labor News

### Women Workers Gain Increases

Women workers of Local 707 International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) Cleveland, Ohio, won a fight to break through the General Electric Co. wage-calling formula which stipulated that no woman could make more than the lowest-paid man. G.E. at first refused to grant the women's demands for rates higher than common labor rates. When the 1,200 women workers said "No contract, no work," G.E. caved in on Dec. 6 and granted the women two job ratings higher than the common labor rate.

### Union Man Shot

Al Hernandez, member of Los Angeles Cutter's Local 84 of the International Ladies Garment Workers was shot down last month by Ellis Poole, a strike-breaking cutter working for Jeri Holmes of California — a non-union shop. Instead of arresting Poole, the police arrested Hernandez and Robert Villalobos, another union cutter. The scab Poole is being glorified by the Los Angeles labor-hating press. According to Jan. 1 Justice, the union's newspaper, Hernandez is still in the hospital with two bullets in his body. He and Villalobos have each been released on \$20,000 bail.

### CIO Scores

The CIO Textile Workers Union won bargaining rights for 6,000 workers of the Cone Mills Corp. Five of the mills were in North Carolina.

### IUE Defeats Open Shop

The CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers won a Dec. 16 NLRB election held to determine whether the IUE-CIO or no union would represent the 350 workers at the Humphreys Manufacturing Co., Mansfield, Ohio. The plant has been open shop since 1949 when the company broke a strike called by the independent United Electrical Workers.

### Runaway Plant Must Pay Workers

Job reinstatements for ten auto workers plus \$6,193 was won in an NLRB ruling by the CIO United Automobile Workers. When the Waco Manufacturing Co. moved operations from Elyria, Ohio, to Cleveland, the company refused to take a single applicant from the Elyria plant. The UAW-CIO took the case to the NLRB and won.

## Victim of Stalin Labor Camps

Brigitte Gerland, German author and journalist, whose articles on "Stalin's Concentration Camps" will begin in next week's Militant, was born 36 years ago in Dresden, Germany. Young Brigitte's first experience with jails and with concentration camps came at the age of 16, when Hitler's police jailed her for membership in an outlawed youth group, the "Red Falcons." She was opposed to Hitler and everything he stood for. She believed in socialism.

Two years later, upon falling gravely ill, she was released. No sooner did Hitler's "Third Reich" crumble, than this courageous woman decided to make her way to East Berlin, despite all the barriers set up by the "democratic" occupying powers.

She believed that Soviet occupation would help bring about

the birth of a Socialist Germany. She immediately joined the German Communist Party in the Soviet zone. As one of the few who had not compromised with Nazism in the past, she was appointed the political director of the East Zone Soviet Information Agency. A cushy career was hers for the taking.

### BREAKS WITH STALINISTS

But six months of association with Stalinist bureaucrats sufficed to disillusion her completely. Her first-hand acquaintance with the bureaucrats' fear of the masses and of the revolutionary movement, repelled her. The decision she had to make was how the workers were demoralized by the regime. She escaped from the East Zone, with the primary intention of telling the workers the truth. Shortly there-

after, while on a visit to her home city, she was kidnapped by Stalin's secret police, "tried" on a frame-up charge of "a British spy" and imprisoned first in Germany (15 months) and then in the Soviet Union (for over six years).

She was transported from one Stalinist concentration camp to another, more than 20 all told, including those beyond the Arctic Circle.

At the age of 35, in Dec. 1953 she regained her freedom, after the amnesty proclamation by Malenkov & Co. Her eyewitness account is authentic — one of the few authentic stories about Stalin's forced labor.

The English translation of her articles, which the Militant starts with the next issue, has been made from the French text published by Verite, the revolutionary socialist periodical in France.

## Stalinists Warm to Quill's Political Line

By Carl Goodman

The Communist Party leaders have welcomed the political stand taken by Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO. At the recent CIO convention, Quill advocated that labor consider building its own party as a means of pressuring the Democrats for more concessions. Two weeks ago in the TWU Express, the newspaper of his union, Quill repeated the proposal.

As the Militant has already explained, Quill and other N.Y. CIO leaders do not really want a Labor Party. They want more influence and posts in the Democratic Party. It galls them that Tammany Hall disregards their wishes as to candidates, although it was primarily labor's vote that elected the Democrats in 1954.

Quill himself said in the TWU Express article that he wants labor to engage in "collective bargaining" with the Democrats over candidates. Quill doesn't want to smash Tammany Hall's power in N.Y. He only wants to

compel the Tammany machine to nominate "New Deal" liberals.

"Most of the Tammany gang despised the New Deal program and the men chosen by Roosevelt to make that program work," said Quill. "Tammany bosses are not stupid . . . and they grudgingly supported the Democratic New Dealers because the people supported them. Today it's another story." Pressure is required to bring Tammany back into line.

The Stalinists hope for their part that by joining forces with Quill they can win influence in the Democratic Party, too. In addition, Quill's tough talk gives them the chance to pacify those militants in their own ranks who rebel against the CP's support for the Big Business dominated Democratic Party.

The Stalinists explain this policy to their ranks on "tactical" grounds. They claim that since the labor movement as a whole is still backing the Democratic Party, the CP would isolate itself from the working people by advocating a Labor Party now.

Therefore they say the CP must support the Democrats at this time and must not advocate a break until the labor movement is ready to make that move. The Stalinist leaders point to Quill's demagoguery to bolster their arguments that their policy will ultimately lead to the creation of a Labor Party.

The Stalinist position was presented on Dec. 23 by George Morris, labor editor of the Daily Worker. This is how Morris portrays Quill's declarations: Quill "is pressing his fight against 'writing' blank checks for the Democratic Party" by the CIO and for genuine independent political action by labor, even the formation of a labor party . . . The Democratic Party politicians are taking it seriously. . . . They see a trend for political independence by labor and towards a stiffened labor backbone in relations with the Democratic Party's leaders."

The hoax Morris plays is to call Quill's agitation "genuine independent political action by labor"

and a "stiffened labor backbone." In what way do Quill and other CIO officials show their political independence by bargaining for the nomination of New Deal candidates on the Democratic ticket? These are not even union men and women. In some cases — as for instance Lehman and Roosevelt — they belong to the wealthiest families in the land. In all cases they are loyal to the interests of Wall Street. How will their nomination and election end Big Business domination of the Democratic Party or of the nation?

What Morris conceals with his talk about Quill's course towards "independent political action" is that as long as labor is tied to the Democratic Party the best it can hope to get — even by pressure moves — is a few more favors from Big Business. The greater part of these won't even be of use to the ranks of the workers but will serve the ambitions of the union bureaucrats exclusively.

Big Business will never share control of the Democratic Party

with labor nor share political domination of the U.S. with the working people. Quill's policy of "bargaining collectively" for favors only spells more subservience to Big Business.

For a union leader to genuinely advocate labor's political independence, he must on principle refuse to support Democratic or Republican candidates. He must advise that since labor and capital have no interests in common, the working people must build their own party.

**A Marxist Classic**  
**The Foundations**  
**Of Christianity**  
 by  
**Karl Kautsky**  
 Originally published at \$5.50  
 Now only \$2.50  
 Order from  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
 116 University Place  
 New York 3, N. Y.