

Judge Youngdahl Stands Firm in Lattimore Case

In a scathing ruling that plainly revealed the frame-up nature of the Justice Department's indictment of Owen Lattimore, Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl on Jan. 18 for the second time threw out the government's key charges against the former State Department consultant on Far Eastern affairs.

The redrafted charges, which accuse Lattimore of perjury when he told a Senate committee in 1952 that he was not a "follower of the Communist line" nor "a promoter of Communist interests," were termed "formless and obscure" by Judge Youngdahl. For the Johns Hopkins University professor to suffer trial on such counts "would be unprecedented and would make a sham of the Sixth Amendment and the federal rule requiring specificity of charges," said the Judge.

6 San Francisco Teachers Defy Political Gag Rule

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 9. — Six San Francisco teachers have openly defied the Board of Education's undemocratic ban on their political rights. They took this step by advocating the reappointment of Charles Fochm, AFL electrical union official, to the Board.

The Board of Education, in a five-to-one vote on Dec. 21, had banned election campaigning by San Francisco teachers in retaliation for their opposition to John G. Levison, reactionary Board member, in the recent elections. The national Executive Council of the 50,000-member American Federation of Teachers condemned as "un-American" the San Francisco School Board action in a Dec. 28 resolution.

Faced by this challenge the Board on Jan. 4 reaffirmed its stand by a four-to-three vote. One member who previously supported the ban now voted against it. The third opponent of the gag rule had been absent from a previous meeting.

The teachers' action clears the way for a court test of the legality of the Board's action.

One reason for the Board's reactionary stand on this question can be traced to the undemocratic procedure by which members are selected. Members are appointed to the Board by the Mayor instead of being elected as in most cities. The voters have a voice only at regular elections when they can confirm or reject the Mayor's previous appointments. Should the electorate reject these appointments the Mayor appoints others of his choice. Meanwhile the rejected Board members have served many months against the wishes of the voters.

Fired for Associating With Wife's Relatives

Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 13 — Harold K. Nettle, senior border patrol inspector at Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., was fired from his job because he associated with his wife's relatives.

His employment was declared "not in the interests of national security." Nettle faces a fight to win back his government job. A security review board hearing has been set for Jan. 25.

The charge against Nettle is "sympathetic association with members of the Communist Party and persons known to be sympathetic to the Communist Party." Listed as his associates are:

Andrew Roine, who ran for office on the Communist Party ticket in Minnesota in 1930, and who is the father of the husband of Nettle's wife's sister; Reigo and Liola Roine, son and daughter-in-law of Andrew, who are said to have signed a petition for Earl Browder in 1940; Reino and Helen Nordlund, brother and sister-in-law of the suspended man's wife; and Albert and William Nordlund, brothers of Nettle's wife — who are alleged to subscribe to a radical paper. The last named associate, Gus Norland, is Nettle's father-in-law who is charged with being an associate of the first-named associate, Andrew Roine.

Nettle has submitted 55 affidavits from local, county, state and federal law enforcement officers vouching for his loyalty. He asserts that he gave the government full information about

in 1952 that he was not a "follower of the Communist line" nor "a promoter of Communist interests," were termed "formless and obscure" by Judge Youngdahl. For the Johns Hopkins University professor to suffer trial on such counts "would be unprecedented and would make a sham of the Sixth Amendment and the federal rule requiring specificity of charges," said the Judge.

FRAME-UP TECHNIQUE

He indicated that the Justice Dept. set up its own definition of "Communist line" and has been trying to have Lattimore imprisoned for "perjury" because he denied having supported a "Communist line" of that faked-up definition.

The Judge pointed out that "to ask 12 jurors to agree and then decide that the definition of the Communist line found in the indictment is the definition that defendant had in mind and denied believing in, is to ask the jury to aspire to levels of insight to which the ordinary person is incapable; and upon which speculation no criminal indictment should hinge."

The technique of the frame-up, as disclosed by the Judge's ruling, is to have Lattimore's "sworn statements . . . tested against all his writings for chance parallelism with, or indirect support of, communism regardless of any deliberate intent on his part."

One of the most significant sections of Judge Youngdahl's ruling supports the view that a fair trial on a charge involving "subversion" or "communism" is virtually impossible in the present witch-hunt atmosphere. He said:

"With so sweeping an indictment with its many vague charges, and with the existing atmosphere of assumed and expected loathing for communism, it would be neither surprising nor unreasonable were the jury subconsciously impelled to substitute its own understanding (of the Communist line and interests) for that of the defendant."

The Justice Dept., at the start of the hearing, launched a smear attack on Judge Youngdahl, a conservative Republican, in an attempt to get him to disqualify himself.

Warfare Eats Most of Budget While Welfare Gets Crumbs

'Coexistence' Deal Posed in Far East

By George Lavan

Chinese armed forces on Jan. 18 captured Yikiang, a small island 18 miles off the China coast, from Chiang Kai-shek's forces. In itself Yikiang is not very important. However, its capture serves notice on U.S. imperialism that China is prepared to take the other 200-odd offshore islands held by Chiang Kai-shek with the assistance of the U.S. 7th Fleet.

Significantly the reaction of Secretary of State Dulles to the Chinese victory at Yikiang was to deprecate the island's importance as well as that of the Tachens, adjacent Chiang-held islands. Translated from diplomatic to military terms this means the U.S. Navy will not be used to defend these islands.

PEKING MISSION

Dulles' surprising lack of truculence about Yikiang fits in with the Eisenhower administration's behaviour pattern toward United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's mission to Peking. Hammarskjold obviously did not accomplish what was the public pretext for the trip to Peking — the release of the eleven U.S. flyers. However, much more important subjects were discussed and the trip itself was a concession to China — a sort of half-way recognition by the UN.

The declaration of Senator Knowland and the "blockade-China-now" elements that Hammarskjold had failed were forestalled, and then drowned out, by the statements of Eisenhower, Dulles and U.S. spokesmen in the UN. Henry Cabot Lodge, that Hammarskjold's trip was worth while and should not be called a failure.

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Two Banks Form \$7 Billion Merger

The biggest bank merger in history, between Chase National and the Bank of Manhattan, has created a sensation on Wall Street. Only the Bank of America, largest in the world, will exceed the new bank in size.

Even though 5,000,000 unemployed had rough sledding last year, banks did a brisk business. J. P. Morgan and Co. report a \$5,362,965 profit in 1954 — an increase of \$450,024 over 1953. National City Bank, another giant operator, "earned" \$2 1/2 million more in 1954 than in the previous year. Bankers are cheerfully predicting "substantially higher profits" for the coming year.

Congress Liberals Run Before a Shot Is Fired

By Art Preis

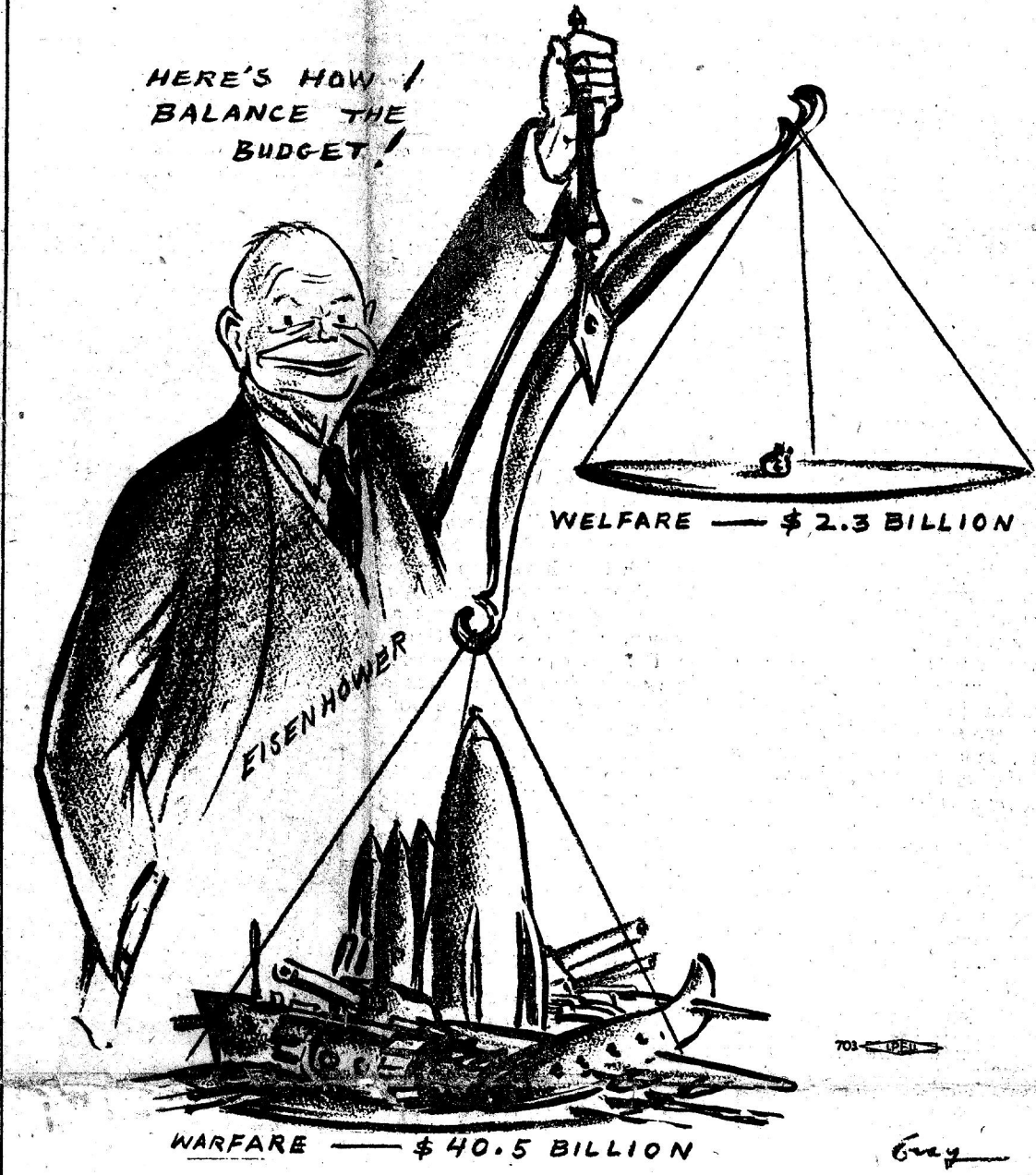
The liberal Democrats in Congress have begun ducking and scampering even before the reactionaries have had a chance to take a swing at them.

On the Senate's opening day, the liberals had their best opportunity to establish rules to pre-empt another unlimited filibuster by the Southern Democrats against a vote on civil rights legislation.

All it required on the first day, when the rules were adopted, was a simple majority vote to secure a rule on cloture, or closing debate, that would have made it a lot easier to halt filibusters. Now it requires two-thirds of the entire Senate membership — 64 out of 96 — to invoke cloture and a similar two-thirds majority to amend the rule.

WANTED "HARMONY"

If the liberals had meant business, they would have made their biggest fight the very first day.



ATTEMPTED COSTA RICA INVASION INSPIRED BY GUATEMALA OUTRAGE

By Myra Tanner

There is a vast difference between the crisis that erupted in Guatemala last summer and the current struggle now taking place in Costa Rica. Both countries were subjected to invasion by mercenary forces organized by the dictatorial puppets of Wall Street in Central America. But the reaction of the U.S. State Department has been different and consequently the course of events are different.

The forces of Castillo Armas which invaded Guatemala last June, and in conjunction with the officer caste overthrew the elected government of Jacob Arbenz, were given full support by American Big Business. The current invasion of Costa Rica; on the other hand, under the leadership of Teodoro Picado, recently the private secretary to the Nicaraguan dictator, General Somoza, is an embarrassment to the State Department.

The Central American puppet

dictators had their appetites whetted by the Guatemalan affair. In Nicaragua they eyed Costa Rica as a possible target for another "Operation Guatemala." The temptation to invite Wall Street to support another "crusade against Communism" and thereby expand the power of General Somoza was very great.

"TRUE DEMOCRACY"

Costa Rica is called by the N.Y. Times "one of the few true democracies in Latin America." This is hardly accurate. But the president, Colonel Figueres, while fully subservient to Wall Street, does have some political support in the population — unlike the average Central American puppet dictator. A somewhat larger class of small landholders and native capitalists form the basis of his rule.

Since 1953, when Figueres was elected to a four-year term as president, the minimum wage has been increased, trade unions have successfully fought for higher

wages and better working conditions, and a "socialistic" housing program has been launched. But the Figueres regime, unlike the Guatemalan, never dared to touch the property of the United Fruit Company, and although at times reluctant, they have lined up with the U.S. State Department policy for Latin America.

That's why Washington, instead of hailing the invasion, responded with the statement: "We are neutral. We are playing no favorites. We are blaming no one."

The Organization of American States dispatched a committee to the scene of action and without naming Nicaragua they confirmed Figueres' charge that the invading forces came from the "north."

On Jan. 17, the U.S. State Department released four F51 Mustang fighter planes equipped with machine guns. Washington made clear that it had declined

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"Peacetime" Economy Claim of Eisenhower Exposed by Figures

By Lewis Peterson

Eisenhower's program, previously veiled in the cheap "New Dealish" demagoguery of his State of the Union message, has been exposed in naked dollars and cents terms. His proposed federal budget for the fiscal year starting July 1 allocates \$40.5 billion for direct war spending and only \$2.3 billion for combined welfare, health and educational projects.

Of the \$62.4 billion Eisenhower proposes to spend in fiscal 1956, expenditures for major national security programs . . . are estimated at . . . 65 per cent of total budget expenditures." The entire welfare program will get but little more than 3 1/2%.

Atomic warfare development alone will get \$2 billion, compared to \$338 million for "promotion of public health." \$212 million for "promotion of education" and just \$35 million for "public housing programs."

Boston--181 Years After the Famous Tea Party

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

(The author of the following article is on a national speaking tour and will report from time to time his impressions of the working-class centers he will visit.)

BOSTON, Jan. 16. — To walk upon Boston Common is to tread the path of revolutionary history. Here Sam Adams rallied the Sons of Liberty in the revolution against British rule. Here the abolitionists raised the revolutionary banner against Negro slavery. On this ground some of the first Union regiments mobilized in the Civil War. Today the storied Common is just another city park. In that too it is a symbol, marking a periodic ebb in the tide of American revolutionary history. The ebb is particularly deep in this area due to several unique circumstances.

Boston's population is predominantly working class. For employment the workers depend mainly on a group of diversified industries such as leather, shoes, garments, printing, electrical and rubber products, steel processing, electronics. Some of these have become sick industries. Wages are universally low by Northern industrial standards. Yet they are high enough that companies continue to run away to the open-shop South where wages are lower still. In general the city has fallen into chronic economic stagnation.

Frustrated economically, the more aggressive workers tend to migrate elsewhere. Their place is then taken by backward elements coming in from rural areas. As a result militancy becomes weakened and conservatism strengthened. The strongest nationality groups in the population, listed

This sum is arrived at only by an arbitrary deduction of \$1,750,000,000 for an "unallocated reduction in estimates: Department of Defense." This means they intend to cut expenses, but they don't know how. We are told simply that Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson believes "that he will find more opportunities for saving and economies." It is also admitted that "in addition" to the major Army, Navy, Air Force and foreign military aid programs, "many items of smaller size scattered through other parts of the budget . . . are related in various degrees to protection. Examples are the Coast Guard and the Selective Service System."

COLOSSAL TAX BITE

Eisenhower's message speaks of "the present tax take of nearly one-fourth of our national income." This colossal bite out of the national income, which is mainly wasted on capitalist war preparations, could go far to replace the 15,000,000 substandard dwellings in America and to build the thousands of public schools and hospitals the people need.

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But they refused to fight. The liberal N.Y. Post, in a Jan. 9 editorial, revealed that a caucus of Northern liberal Senators, before the opening of Congress, had discussed the question of an anti-filibuster fight. "Most of those present reportedly agreed with Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) that the project was 'impractical' and that it could only destroy the 'harmony' now prevailing in Senate Democratic ranks."

But the Post doesn't believe its readers will go for such an explanation. So it concedes the truth: "What has happened is, in fact, abject surrender to the Dixiecrat bloc. 'Harmony' can always be won by craven capitulation disguised as masterful strategy."

It did find words of praise, however, for Sen. Lehman of New York who "appears unwilling to ratify the surrender." Lehman, whose constituents include the world's largest Negro community, in Harlem, found it

expedient to "threaten" to introduce a cloture rule motion on his own. But his "threat" never survived the evening headlines.

HUMPHREY "EXPLAINS"

But even if Lehman had gone through with his "threat" as a one-man gesture to placate the large Negro, labor and liberal voting population in New York City, what about the bulk of the "Fair Deal" liberals in the Senate? And how is the conduct of that darling of the liberals and pro-Democrat union leaders, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, to be explained?

The Jan. 14 Post published an interview with Humphrey. The newspaper's correspondent, William V. Shannon opened his report on the interview by raising the question, "being asked more and more as a result of Humphrey's refusal last week to join Sen. Lehman in a fight on Rule 22 which protects filibuster, whether "the dashing young

Galahad of the Liberal bloc in the Senate (is) becoming more conservative . . . ?"

The reporter also notes that Humphrey's decision not to open the anti-filibuster fight "follows his sponsorship last summer of the sweeping, loosely-drawn 'anti-subversive' bill, which dismayed many of his admirers. That bill was widely regarded as a cynical and opportunistic political maneuver." Shannon omits the fact that Lehman also sponsored this police-state bill and voted for it and the anti-union Butler bill combined in one final measure.

THE OLD EXCUSE

On his Rule 22 retreat, Humphrey told Shannon: "I could have made a whizzbang speech on civil rights on opening day . . . But what good would it have done? We would have made our fight and lost like we did two years ago. "I had learned that Sen. Knowland (Republican floor leader)

had been over to Dick Russell's office (Sen. Russell, a Georgia Democrat, is leader of the Southern Democratic bloc) the week before and told Russell that if he wanted to make a fight on us he would support him all the way and had 30 sure Republican votes against a rules change.

"In other words, an opening day fight on the rules would have cemented the old Republican-Southern alliance before we Democrats had a chance even to get organized."

THE REAL ALLIANCE

This excuse leaks like a sieve. Wouldn't "the old Republican-Southern alliance" be cemented any time a bill to protect civil rights is pushed and not just on opening day? Wouldn't it be smarter to make the fight when a mere majority of those present is needed than when a two-thirds vote of all members is required? Besides, haven't the liberal and Northern Democrats been in the

real alliance with the Southern Democrats and isn't that the true reason why Humphrey and his pals refused to act?

The liberals are committed to preserving the Democratic party. The most solid base of that party is the open-shop, Jim Crow Southern Democrats. A majority of all Democrats in the Senate and House come from the 13 former slave states in the South. The New Deal and Fair Deal politicians, echoed by the union leaders, for more than two decades have been putting the blame on the Southern Democrats for every retreat and failure to fulfill Democratic liberal promises. CIO President Walter Reuther even complained recently that this had prevented the passage of any new social legislation since 1938 — 16 years! And we'll be hearing the same story for the next 16 years, if organized labor remains tied to the capitalist two-party system and fails to build its own party.

The American Way of Life

'The City With a Heart'

Carmen Olavarria and her four children came to New York City a year ago from Puerto Rico to escape poverty and squalor. For the last six months she and her five children (a month ago she had a baby) have been sharing two cramped rooms at 81 Allen St. in New York City's lower east side with Mrs. Anna Masonett and her child. Eight people in two rooms with only one bed.

"I came here a year ago and we all lived with my sister in Brooklyn. Then she got married six months ago and her husband threw us out," said Mrs. Olavarria.

The family was taken in by Mrs. Masonett, who paid the rent but was unable to give them any food. Mrs. Olavarria and her five children, Nydia, 12; Mirna, 9; Jesus, 7; Santiago, 4; and the one month old baby, have been able to eke out a precarious existence from the food friends of the family occasionally gave them.

Since the gas and electricity were turned off because the two women couldn't scrape up \$35.33 they have been using an old kerosene lantern for light. For cooking (when there was any food) they used an old battered portable kerosene heater.

Illness, one of the camp followers of poverty, has dogged the footsteps of the family. All the children have been sick at one time or another.

School authorities tried to find out why the three older children didn't attend regularly. The children did their best. When they were well or had something to eat or some clothes to wear they attended. The truant officer reported that the family hadn't eaten for three days the last time he visited them.

The school principal asked the Welfare Department to do something. They did. They sent an investigator to see the family. But Mrs. Olavarria said that nothing came of the visit.

The school principal tried to help the family with a few dollars from his own pocket. He also called in the neighborhood Parent Teachers Association and asked them to find shoes for the oldest boy.

The PTA president visited the family; "When I started trying shoes on him I saw he didn't have any socks. I went home to get him some."

On Jan. 11 the PTA president again visited the family with a committee of women. They brought some food for the family. "The three of us couldn't keep from crying at what we saw," she said. "We couldn't believe such poverty existed in New York."

The plight of the Olavarria family came to light as a result of a Jan. 14 story in the New York Post. The Post follows the policy of occasionally exposing cases of poverty, somewhat in the spirit of the N. Y. Times' "100 neediest cases" around Christmas time.

After the Post stepped in the Welfare Department moved with haste. Another investigator was sent — this time with emergency cash so that the family could eat.

When Mrs. Olavarria heard that help was coming she said with tears in her eyes, "All my life, things have been hard for me. Maybe now there will be a chance for us to live like human beings."

The Post reported the story of this family under the headline: "Foodless Migrant Family of 6 at Last Finds City Has a Heart." The headline isn't quite accurate. The Welfare Department didn't show any "heart" — only a sensitivity to exposure. And what about the thousands and thousands of Olavarria families that don't get rescued by a good "human interest" story? When will they find that the city "has a heart."

Roy Gale

Strikers' Wives Spike "Back-to-Work" Move

WINDSOR, Ont. — The wives of striking Ford workers in this city, just across the river from Detroit, gave a stirring demonstration Jan. 5 of their support to their husbands' union struggle. Five

thousand members of Local 200, United Automobile Workers (CIO) who work at Ford's Windsor plant have been on strike for more than three months. The union asked for a four-and-a-half cent raise and fringe benefits. The company offered half of the fringe benefits and no raise.

The wife of one of the strikers rented an auditorium, issued a statement to the press about how pinched the strikers' households have been and said she was calling the wives of the strikers together to get their viewpoint on the strike. Some 250 housewives showed up and gave their viewpoint in no uncertain terms.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

Negroes and The Labor Movement
Fri., Jan. 28, at 8 P.M.

Socialism — What It Is and What It Isn't
Fri., Feb. 4, at 8 P.M.

Detroit Celebration Of Negro History Week
Fri., Feb. 11, at 8 P.M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

Automation -- Shadow that Hangs Over Auto Workers

By Joseph Keller

A little more than a year ago, on Jan. 11, 1952, The Militant first drew attention to a new development in industrial production — automation. "You won't find the word 'automation' in the dictionary, as yet," we wrote. "Yet it may become the most important word in your life and the lives of millions of other American workers. It may wipe out your job — permanently."

Since this was written, if "automation" still has not found its place in the dictionary, it has nevertheless become almost a household term to millions. It is a shadow that hangs over the CIO United Auto Workers for example, and has formed the basis of extensive discussion and study in several of their recent conferences.

At last November's UAW-CIO Economic and Collective Bargaining Conference, an extensive report on Automation was presented and adopted. This report contained a series of demands, including the guaranteed annual wage, geared to the prospects of growing technological unemployment as a result of automation. The findings of this automation report also guided the discussion and decisions of the UAW's General Motors and Ford contract strategy conferences held simultaneously in Detroit, Jan. 12, 13 and 14.

"STRIKING CHANGES"

The UAW's automation report also began by noting that the word's definition is not yet in the dictionary, "but already it is making striking changes in our industrial systems." Technological developments "involving the greater use of automatic machinery and the automatic regulation and control of this machinery are giving rise to radical changes in the factory. These changes, sporadic at the outset, are now constantly increasing in velocity and volume."

Numerous instances of the possibility for displacement of workers by new automation processes are described in the report. Ford's automatic engine plant, for instance, can produce twice as many engines as an old-style plant with but a tenth of the manpower. "Approximately 10,000 men in the foundry and engine division of a major auto company now turn out the same

production which formerly required more than 23,000 men. Only a large increase in total output prevented wide-scale layoffs in those divisions," the report states.

A Ford spokesman is cited as saying: "Automation reduces labor tremendously. Our experience has shown that we can count on a reduction of 25 to 30 per cent in what we call 'direct' labor."

4 OUT OF 5 MAY GO

The report further points out: "Traditional workloads and manpower requirements are being drastically changed by automation. Until recently the post war expansion of the market has concealed the fact that far fewer men are now needed to turn out the same production. Not only has there been a reduction in the number of those workers directly affected by automation, such as machine operators, foundry men and press operators, but the indirect effects have spread throughout the plants reducing the numbers required to turn out each unit of production in such groups as sweepers, inspectors, clerks and office workers."

Within a decade, according to technological experts cited in the report, just 200,000 workers will be required to "match the present output of the million UAW members in the automobile industry."

A subsequent CIO convention resolution, summarizing the potential effect of automation throughout industry, concluded: "The result of these new technological advances has been an unprecedented displacement of manpower from those operations to which they have been applied. Reductions of manpower by as much as 80 or 90 per cent are common, and examples can be found where one worker operating new equipment produces as much goods as 100 or more workers produced before."

The answer of the UAW leadership to the job-elimination threat of automation is the guaranteed annual wage, says the Nov. report. "The establishment of the guaranteed annual wage becomes imperative for workers in the face of these new and revolutionary technological changes developing in our economy."

The demand for the guaranteed annual wage stands No. 1 in the forthcoming UAW negotiations

with General Motors and Ford. This "guaranteed wage" is actually a form of severance pay for laid-off workers with a certain minimum seniority. It would provide the equivalent of up to a year's wages. The total payment would include government unemployment compensation.

The guaranteed annual wage might serve as a deterrent to layoffs of workers in the higher seniority brackets. But it is obvious this demand does not contemplate the provision of jobs for those already unemployed or the creation of new jobs for the expanding labor force. This fact is observed in the Nov., 1952, Mill and Factory magazine:

"CIO still sticks to its position favoring Guaranteed Annual Wage. CIO would protect the income of the union members who are already employed — a type of insurance which, however, does nothing for those who are jobless."

We know factory management isn't really concerned about the jobless. But this is a situation the GAW plan does not meet and

the UAW Report on Automation recognizes this fact: "Our Union . . . looks forward to the day when we will take our place in the vanguard of the American trade union movement, in the next round of the historic struggle for a shorter workweek. This day we know is not distant . . . After the guaranteed annual wage has been secured, therefore, the shorter workweek will take its place at the top of the collective bargaining agenda along with the continuing fight for higher living standards."

If automation is already well advanced in the automotive industry, then it would seem logical to fight as soon as possible for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay so as to divide available work among more workers.

WHY AUTOMATION NOW

The UAW program, according to the report, is designed so that "management would avoid the introduction of automation in times when major layoffs would result. The introduction of new and more efficient equipment

would be geared to periods of expanding markets so that other jobs would be available for the workers displaced by automation."

This indicates a lack of understanding of the present impetus to automation in the big industries. It is precisely because the markets have shrunk in relation to possibilities of production, because conditions, as they say, are becoming increasingly "competitive," that it becomes necessary for the industrialists to cut costs — which means, for them, to cut labor costs first of all — through automation.

Automation then is not designed to expand production, provide new types of industries and jobs. The aim of the American monopolists is to force out competi-

tors and grab a bigger share of fixed or shrinking markets.

Thus, in the end, the problem of automation goes to the heart of capitalism's contradictions — its planlessness, anarchy and chaos. Not the guaranteed annual wage nor the 30-hour week, important as they might be for the immediate amelioration of insecurity and unemployment, can solve capitalism's fatal chaotic condition. A basic change in the economic system is required. We need a coordinated, national plan of production and distribution which only the organized workers of the nation can conceive and carry out. We need, in short, an end of the individualistic profits system and the establishment of a socialist economy.

Our Readers Take the Floor

A Steelworker's Candid Opinion

Editor:

I read in the paper here this week where my union, the United Steelworkers, CIO, is making a pilot study to find out what their members think of their union.

They're mailing 73 questions to 17,000 members in western Pennsylvania, and sending the questions to the University of Chicago for an "evaluation." David J. McDonald, the president, wants the candid opinions of the members.

Of course, a democratic union wouldn't need such a study. When union members feel that this is their union and that they won't be penalized for speaking their minds, they don't hesitate to express their candid opinions freely on the floor of union meetings and conventions.

But the Steelworkers Union is not democratic and the members know that people have been expelled from it for the "crime" of expressing their opinions about the leaders. That's the first thing a committee member anxious to go up the Union ladder learns: how to bring a union member "up on charges" for expressing a different opinion.

It beats me what these piecemeal expect of the members in times like these. This union was organized from top to bottom in 1936 and it's been run that way ever since. I've never seen that rank-and-file beef that hasn't found its way into some cubbyhole in the "International Office" in Pittsburgh by the time the officers of the union have got through with it.

I've never seen a Union election that had a real program for the membership. It's the clique that's "in" rounding up votes against the clique that's "out." And whoever wins spends the next two years outdoing the other guy in carrying favor with Pittsburgh. Our country is run by a Big Business machine that

treats the labor movement as if it was a Company town. And we've got an "Employee-Representation-Plan" president of the Steelworkers Union who spends his time currying favor with the Steel bosses. He's sat in on their conferences so long now that he's got the idea from them. All you have to do to appear more concerned about your membership is to call them in and ask their honest opinions; a bigger and better "company" union, that's what he wants.

Why, the other day McDonald addressed a District Conference of the Union here in Detroit. He's worried a little less about the 330,000 unemployed and partially employed steelworkers now, and a little more about the automatic factory. He's got the answer. You bet your life it isn't organizing a Labor Party or thirty hours' work at forty hours' pay. No. He says "we're" concerned about unemployment and automation but "we" hope that the steel industry will get a "shot in the arm" from the construction boom, etc., and "we" hope that in the coming year, 1955, "our legislative program" — that's three fancy words for the Democrats — will be put on the books.

Well, that's not much hope for the steelworkers in western Pennsylvania, where a good many of the 330,000 displaced steelworkers live.

Steelworker, Detroit, Michigan

'Freedom' in Miami

Editor:

In Miami, the nation's most widely known resort city, the right of a citizen to hold property is denied to those whose skins are "colored." This excludes Americans of Chinese ancestry who are socially, but not legally, ineligible. Negroes are forbidden to own property outside Miami's black ghetto. No Negro may live in Miami Beach (except caretakers or servants) or be within the Miami Beach city limits after 9:30 P.M. (with the above-mentioned exceptions). Legal restraints did not cease to be applied to the Negro, as a result of liberal benevolence, because the Supreme Court's decisions are not enforced in this state.

This entire region is under the domination of the big hotel owners, the race track owners, the railroads, the colony of resident capitalists from the North and the white owners of the black ghettos (who profit in higher rents due to the overcrowding).

K. F. Miami, Fla.

Costa Rica Invasion Attempt

(Continued from page 1)

Costa Rica, has been saved from the fate of Guatemala, for the time being at least. But the issue is not resolved. The pattern set in Guatemala has a logic of its own.

Fundamentally, American imperialism relies on the type of military dictator represented by General Somoza. These tyrants have their appetites. And the preservation of their dictatorial rule depends on stamping out the slightest manifestation of democracy, not only in their own countries but in the entire area.

From this standpoint the Costa Rican episode is not closed. The crusade against "Communism" will be heard of again and again. The cut-throat gangs of the United Fruit Company swarm around every Central American port. They are always ready and eager to undertake "revolutions" which will impose bloody regimes like we now see operating in Guatemala.

...Boston--181 Years Afterwards

(Continued from page 1)

in the order of their size, are the Irish, Nova Scotians, Italians and French Canadians. The Nova Scotians, a Protestant group, have thus far shown a general lack of militancy. The other three groups, all Roman Catholics, comprise one of the biggest and most conservative per capita concentrations of Catholics that exists in any city.

There is no liberal daily paper in the city, nor is there even a pro-Democratic daily. The pro-Eisenhower press is considered leftist. Right wing papers criticize Eisenhower because he "wants too much done" on pay rises, schools, housing, hospitals and such.

Radical parties are barred from the ballot in state elections by prohibitive petition quotas. It takes a major effort even to run a candidate for minor office in city elections. Radical candidates can't break into the daily papers. Close guard is kept against giving them free radio or TV time. They face a closed-door policy in the unions.

The Catholic hierarchy intervenes directly in the unions through fractions of the Associated Catholic Trade Unionists. The unions are highly bureaucratized. There is little membership participation in internal union life. Struggles against the employers are confined to isolated actions of a generally minor character. In politics the unions function as more or less docile instruments in the service of the Democratic Party.

It has been many years since anything like a general class struggle atmosphere prevailed in the Boston labor movement. The area is commonly used by the national union bureaucracies as a pasture for worn-out labor fakers and a field for incompetent who they want to keep on the union payroll for one reason or another.

The city's Negro population, mainly of West Indian origin, is relatively small, something over two percent of the population as a whole. They face discrimination usually in its more subtle forms, in keeping with the "proper Bostonian" tradition, but it remains real and oppressive.

Negroes find employment mainly in the sphere of the domestic and service trades. In industry they have found employment most extensively in the packing-houses. They play only a minor role in the labor movement.

There are two Negro papers

of enlightened socialist thought. Opposition to the witch hunt has increased, particularly in the colleges.

Although calmed some by the national setback to McCarthyism, the Jewish people remain apprehensive over the fascist threat as they see it peculiarly manifested in this city.

These are the various elements with whom the militants of the Socialist Workers Party are seeking to make contact, working patiently and persistently to bring them into the vanguard cadre, to lay a solid foundation for a class-struggle left wing in the mass movement.

When the contradictions of capitalism begin to produce a social crisis in this country, as they inevitably will, some of the biggest mass upsurges may well occur in Boston which has become one of the weaker links in the American capitalist chain. In a deep crisis the Catholic workers can be expected to break loose from the iron grip of the reactionary Catholic hierarchy, as was done in the old country

RADICAL PARTIES

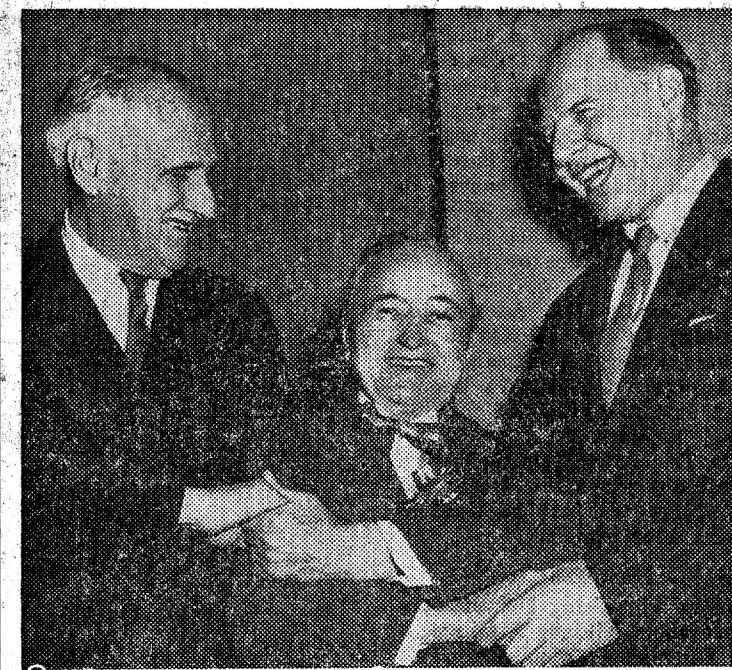
The Stalinists have lost heavily in the local labor movement. Their membership has declined precipitously and they conduct virtually no open party activity. They are now attempting a comeback through their current line of coalition politics within the Democratic party.

The Socialist Party is reduced to little more than an inactive handful of professors and divinity students. The Socialist Labor Party is able to run candidates but it does nothing more.

On the other side of the Boston picture stand the forces of progress, both those which now exist and those which are bound to come into being. Militants are present in the labor movement who are looking for a class struggle program. Sterling fighters are to be found in the Negro community who want to battle for full equality in solidarity with their natural allies of the labor movement.

Among the tens of thousands of students in Boston's many colleges are potential militants who need and want the benefit

Imperialist Servant



For his service in helping Wall Street and the Italian capitalists keep their grip on the Italian workers, AFL 1st Vice Pres. Matthew Woll (center) is congratulated in New York by Alberto Tarchiani (left), Italian Ambassador, and Robert Murphy, deputy undersecretary of state, after Woll got Italian decoration.

...Far East Deal Posed

(Continued from page 1)

It is safe to state that the Chiang-held offshore islands was one of the main points discussed by Hammarskjold with Premier Chou En-lai under the heading of "easing of tension." It was also significant that the Chinese preparatory bombing of Yikiang began the last day Hammarskjold was in China.

Of the three "little wars" in the Far East, which could ignite World War III, two have already been settled by territorial compromises. There now remains the sporadic warfare being carried on between China and Formosa. Were this to be settled by a deal such as was arrived at in Korea and Indo-China no serious military conflict between China and imperialism would exist. Coexistence would reign in the Far East.

The settlement of the China-Formosa conflict has long been called for by U.S. imperialism's main allies. Hitherto the U.S. State Department has stubbornly pursued its unilateral support of Chiang. It is all the more significant therefore that in his press conference Dulles stated that he had no objections to a UN effort to secure a cease-fire between China and Formosa.

The unfavorable world relation of forces caused imperialism to shift its strategy from the perspective world war in the near future to a period of coexistence. This makes a settlement with China on Formosa and the coastal islands a necessity. On the basis of such a deal the increasing capitalist trade with China can be still further increased, and later some sort of capitalist investment in China might be possible. Such perspectives now inspire Anglo-American imperialism with the hope of weaning China from her Soviet ally.



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Monday, January 24, 1955

Savage "Justice"

Last April three Puerto Rican youth were sentenced to die in the electric chair. Estrado Corea, 17, possibly the youngest person to receive this extreme penalty, Henry Matthews, 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22, were found "guilty" of the murder of 85-year-old Anna Levy of New York's lower East side.

During their trial the boys testified that statements introduced against them by the police had been extorted by third-degree methods.

One of the principal witnesses for the prosecution at one point in the trial retracted his testimony and then retracted his retraction. They were tried by a jury on which no Negro or Puerto Rican sat.

The trial was conducted in an atmosphere of hysteria following the shooting in congress by Puerto Rican Nationalists last February.

In addition a big campaign was under way to whitewash New York police brutality

directed primarily at the Puerto Rican and Negro peoples. This whitewash later developed into an all-out drive to make Negroes and Puerto Ricans scapegoats for a "crime wave" during which scores of innocent victims were arrested.

On Jan. 4, 1954 the Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of the three boys by a vote of four to three. Two of the dissenting judges claimed that the record contained "several erroneous statements" by trial judge Goldstein. They also claimed that only a new trial could determine whether the boys' rights had been "seriously prejudiced by any one of these errors."

Corea, Matthews, and Rios are scheduled to die in the electric chair at Sing Sing on Feb. 2. Their death will erase a large share of the meager civil rights afforded minority peoples. (See notice of protest meeting at bottom of this page.)

The Lightfoot Case

With the prosecution of Communist Party leader Claude M. Lightfoot in Chicago, the use of the Smith Act in the witch hunt reaches a new stage. If Lightfoot is convicted, and the conviction is upheld, the government will have achieved that which it set out to do from the time of its Smith Act prosecution in 1940 of Socialist Workers Party and trade union leaders in Minneapolis: namely, forge an instrument to railroad any political dissident to prison. The Smith Act would no longer be used simply against leaders of radical parties but would bear down on every militant unionist, every genuine fighter against Jim-Crow, any opponent of imperialist war — in short against every individual whom the government deems to be subversive.

At the same time that in the Lightfoot case the Justice Department seeks to bring every dissident within range, Attorney-General Brownell demanded that maximum penalties for Smith Act convictions be raised from six years at present to twenty years.

What the government seeks to establish judicially in the Lightfoot case are the following propositions: 1) Marxism-Leninism as a system of beliefs teaches the necessity of violent overthrow of the government. 2) Marxism-Leninism is the guiding force of the Communist Party. 3) Any member of the Communist Party is guilty of advocating the overthrow of the government. Thus mere membership in the Communist Party would make a person liable to prosecution. In all previous Smith Act trials, the leaders of the party were on trial. It was alleged that they had con-

spired with one another to "advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence," but the party itself was not tabbed a conspiracy.

Already in sentencing five Seattle CP leaders in Nov. 1953, Judge Lindberg revealed what the next stage in the use of the Smith Act would be. He said that if he were to hear a similar case in the future he would be inclined to take "judicial knowledge" of the nature and teachings of the Communist Party, which "might reduce the volume and nature of the testimony."

"This means that in the future the judge will rule in advance that the Communist Party is a 'conspiracy' that 'advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence,'" the Militant said at that time. "The determination of this all-important question of fact is now to be made by the judge and not the jury as in previous Smith Act trials. All that there will be left to try in court, if Judge Lindberg's formula prevails, is whether the defendant does or does not belong to the Communist Party. The task of the prosecution will be 'reduced' to presenting the 'information' of two or three professional stool-pigeons."

Up to now the union leaders have stood silently by while one Smith Act prosecution of Stalinists after another has rolled off the government's frame-up belt.

If they remain silent in the Lightfoot case as they did on previous occasions and if Lightfoot is convicted, the door will be open to mass trials in which individual labor leaders may well be scooped up. It will not matter how loudly they have denounced "Communists."

Apartheid Abroad -- and at Home

A few weeks ago military authorities arranged to subject U.S. personnel to the medieval marriage laws of the Catholic Church in Franco's fascist Spain. On Jan. 15 the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier the Midway docked in Cape Town, South Africa and promptly arranged to subject 400 Negro, Filipino, and Japanese-American crew members to the infamous apartheid system of race segregation while ashore.

In both cases there was a storm of protest. But the military didn't budge. It is necessary, they said, to conform to the quaint local customs of our allies in the "free world." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded that the Navy stay out of South African waters. The Navy refused. Senator Herbert Lehman protested. Nothing happened.

The incident provided the occasion for a N. Y. Times editorial Jan. 17. "Someone has slipped and in our judgement slipped badly," the editorial said, "We realize that South Africa's race problem is a complex one. We have deplored the 'apartheid' policy but do not presume to dictate. . . . But we are also trying to solve a segregation problem and have made a most significant advance in the armed services. There is no reason why we should sacrifice that advance, even for one or two days, to the prejudice of the South Africans."

Wow! What radicalism. And from the Times, a highly conservative paper at that.

They Give Labor Nothing

At the UAW-CIO Ford Department Conference in Detroit Jan. 12, Ken Bannon, Department Director, opened the meeting with a keynote talk. Bannon made some very good points which we want to pass along. He warned that once the UAW's demands are presented "every reactionary group in the country will begin to tear these demands apart, attempt to destroy them and try to weaken us. These Chamber of Commerce groups and their allies will use every method known to them, and without a doubt invent some new ones, in their efforts to influence our membership to their way of thinking."

Then Bannon gave some testimony from his own experience with Ford management: "I have been a representative of this Union in different capacities continuously since 1941, except for the time I was in the Service.

No compromise in the struggle against segregation — not even for one or two days?"

Let's see how far the Times editors are willing to go. They describe the conditions the 400 minority crew members suffered in Cape Town as follows: "They may not enter 'white' restaurants, hotels or bars while ashore." Their comment about these conditions:

"We believe that this law is an affront to human decency. . . . Our Negro and Filipino and Japanese descended sailors are good enough to die for their country. If they are not good enough to go ashore in Cape Town, on equal terms, then the Navy should stay out of Capetown. South African law is one thing, but elemental morality is another."

But check the description of the conditions in Cape Town once more: "They may not enter 'white' restaurants, hotels or bars while ashore." What does that describe if not the south of the United States and many parts of the North?

Will the Times maintain its attitude of "militancy" and call for action for the United States as well as South Africa? Will the Times refuse to carry advertising of every restaurant, hotel, bar, or any other enterprise which refuses to recognize "elementary morality"?

Will the Times back up its words and propose that the Navy take a firm stand in fighting segregation in U.S. ports?

Or are the editors of the Times just shooting off their mouths?

At no time during all of these years do I recall the Company calling me or any committee I ever worked with in and saying, 'Bannon, here's something we want to give to the Ford workers.' It was always a fight, and I imagine it will always be a fight."

Bannon speaks the plain truth about Ford as anyone who ever worked for that company knows. But it's also the truth about every corporation. Who knows of any company that ever handed the workers anything on a silver platter? "It was always a fight" in auto, steel, rubber, maritime, mining, railroads and every other industry.

And let's add one point: the worker's never got anything from the capitalists without a fight on the economic front, and they'll never get anything from the capitalists without a fight on the political front.

Italian CP Crisis Seen In Attack on Togliatti

By George Lavan

The recent national conference of the Italian Communist Party in Rome disclosed a smoldering internal struggle in the top leadership which has already been taken in part to the membership.

This development is of importance because the Italian Communist Party is the largest in western Europe. It has over two million members and in the 1953 elections polled six million votes. The conference, held in Rome, was the first since 1951.

A series of setbacks in the election of union shop stewards at the end of 1954 indicated that popular support of the CP was waning. This trend, noticeable but not catastrophic, was reinforced by the admission of a decline in CP membership — especially among the youth — in the annual report released by the

Central Committee on the eve of the Fourth National Conference.

The conference opened with a three-hour speech by party chief Palmiro Togliatti. Instead of the rapt attention which Stalinist subordinates usually try to give to speeches by the party leader, Togliatti's speech was met with a demonstration of rudeness and boredom by Pietro Secchia and Luigi Longo, reputedly leaders of a rebellious faction based on the industrial northern sections of the party.

GETS COOL RECEPTION

Reports of Togliatti's speech indicates that it reflected on the political level the co-existence of recent Kremlin diplomatic talk. Striking by their absence were any attacks on U.S. imperialism or the Vatican. He lashed out at "harmful extremism" in

the party and told party members to "drop their haughtiness and jeering attitude" toward opposition Socialist parties and toward Catholics. He urged the formation of a great "peace front" of all possible allies including Catholics.

According to Arnaldo Cortesi, N.Y. Times correspondent in Rome, "the 'soft' parts of Signor Togliatti's speech did not meet with the approbation of his listeners. The delegates sat through most of the speech in stony silence and applauded only on rare occasions when Signor Togliatti urged them to act."

The opposition circulated leaflets among the 2,000 delegates and 1,500 invited guests attacking Togliatti for frittering away the post-war confidence of the workers in the Communist Party, neglecting trade union work, and creating a caste of leaders who are irremovable even when they have become unpopular with the membership.

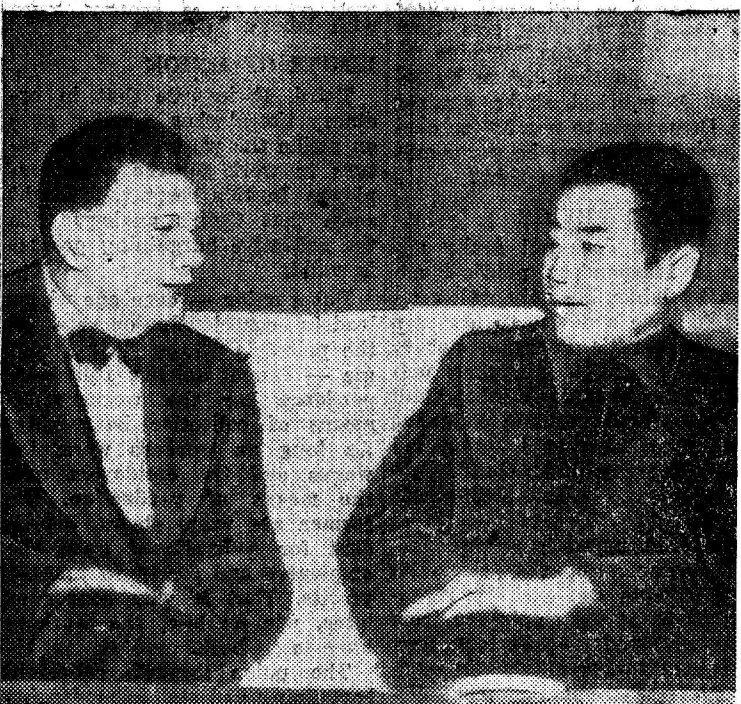
FORMER FASCISTS.

It was announced from the chair that any delegate receiving such leaflets must immediately denounce the person giving it to him on pain of being declared an "enemy of communism." This, however, failed to prevent the further circulation of anti-Togliatti leaflets. A second leaflet demanded the removal of former fascists from high party posts and listed fourteen including the editor of L'Unita, the CP's Rome newspaper.

Rebel rank and filers claimed that the official leadership had 500 spies spread among the audience to prevent leaflet circulation. They also declared that delegations were forbidden to mix, but were compelled to sit by themselves, lest the northern infection be spread. It was also claimed that Bruno Forticliari, who has great prestige as one of the founders of the Italian CP, was with the rebel faction.

The conference ended without a split. Secchia grudgingly made some sort of truce with Togliatti only, however, after extracting a promise that no disciplinary action would be taken against the opposition elements.

UN Head and China Premier



United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold (left) shown in Peking with Premier Chou En-Lai of China as they conferred recently on UN demand for release of 11 Americans jailed as spies. It was reported after the meetings that the "door has been left open" for further negotiations.

My Life in Stalin's Prison Camps

Bureaucratic Chaos in Kremlin's Labor Camps

By Brigitte Gerland

(The author is a German writer who spent eight years in Stalin's concentration camps, six of them in the Arctic Circle. She was arrested in East Germany after she became disillusioned with Stalinism and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by Moscow's secret police. She was released in Malenkov's general amnesty in December 1953. Her articles have been translated from the French Trotskyist newspaper La Verite.)

To obtain a more exact understanding of what economic possibilities, or impossibilities there are in forced labor in the Soviet Union, it is necessary to briefly review the methods of administration and labor organization.

The camps today are all under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior. Before Stalin died the "government" camps, for the exclusive detention of political prisoners, were administered by the Ministry of State Security, while the camps for ordinary criminals were already at that time under the Ministry of the Interior.

But no sooner was the dictator put in the coffin than his successors moved to dissolve the all-powerful MVD (secret police) in order to reduce this institution — which has spread terror for so many years — to some mere poor remnants that eke out a shadow existence within the framework of the Ministry of the Interior. Owing to this change the administration of all the camps was once again merged under the Ministry of the Interior.

This whole maneuver was aimed at Beria, head of the MVD, whose enormous and virtually uncontrollable power was thus seriously curbed. It was a necessary premise that made possible the liquidation of the chief of secret police a few months later, without any difficulty.

WORKERS IN UNIFORM

The change thus effected was undoubtedly rich in consequences for the bureaucratic tops, but for us prisoners it came down to a considerable reinforcement of the troops that guarded us. Because henceforth the "government" camps were placed under the surveillance of militiamen (that is, police charged with maintaining order) whereas previously this task had been performed exclusively by the political police.

But in practice the difference between them amounted to the

difference between their shoulder insignia: Because the red police, or the blue, or the green, along with the army soldiers are simply Soviet workers and peasants drafted into service, for a term often lasting up to six years. They are not permitted to choose the branch of service, or the duties they would prefer. This is one of the reasons why the Soviet political police should not be compared with the Gestapo or SS troops, an elite of assassins who were recruited to a large measure among the lumpenproletariat.

They fulfilled their fearful tasks with satisfaction whereas the Soviet guards either openly show their sympathies for the prisoners to whom they feel closer than to their own superior officers, or they perform their annoying duty with indifference and without any cruelty. A great many soldiers talked about their term of military service as a captivity no easier for us to bear than ours was for us; and all of them enjoyed having political discussions with us, discussions in which they didn't hide their distaste for the Stalinist bureaucracy.

PERMANENTLY IN DEBT

Since there is a guard for every ten prisoners and since there are millions of forced laborers, the cost of maintaining the troops of surveillance plays an important role in the budget of the USSR. I shall presently show how the Ministry of the Interior, already under extreme strain, tries to unload these billions of expenditures upon other administrations.

In theory each of the many camps, which especially in the Asian area of the USSR sprout like mushrooms from the soil, should be able to pay for itself and turn over a profit to Moscow to the Ministry of the Interior. But what really happens?

The camp administration hires out the prisoners to local trusts, combines, and so on. Since Vorkuta is one of the most important coal-mining regions these Soviet enterprises are to be found there by the dozen, among the biggest are: Vorkutugol, Dorstroi, Gorstroi, Gulesni, Dorogi. Each of these trusts has ties with the Ministry that is in charge of its particular branch of activities, but on the plane of finances, each operates autonomously. In plain language this means that the Ministries do not guarantee the debts of any of their affiliates.

For years the directors of

trucks have waged a desperate struggle, hopelessly unsuccessful, against forced labor, naturally, not out of any moral considerations, but for economic reasons.

They keep saying, in effect daily, that the tasks imposed on them and which they must carry out with only the prisoners at their disposal, cannot be accomplished except at enormous expense, which cannot be covered by the funds allotted to them. In this way they are never able to escape deficits. To remedy this evil the directors make incessant attempts to hire wage workers. But the Ministry of the Interior contrives to rid itself of this competition by denying "civilian" access to forced-labor territories.

In official statistics the prisoners are listed as the personnel of the section charged with state security. But this "personnel" is by no means inclined to over-exert itself. On the contrary it tries to do as little as possible and to conserve its strength. The plans cannot thus be fulfilled except through use of hand-labor on an enormous scale, and therefore fulfilled poorly and not well in most instances.

Each contractor is obliged to pay not only for hand-labor, which is far below average, but also for the upkeep of the guards who must be ever present; and it's this that makes the directors feel so much the more enthused over the system of forced labor! The trust is seldom in a condition to meet the demands of the camp administration.

The camp chief is expected, along with the stipends of the prisoners, to cover the costs of food, clothing, medical care, heat, light, water, etc., all of which are not exactly cheap in the USSR. For example in Vorkuta, the monthly cost per prisoner is estimated at 1,000 rubles. The costs here are particularly high because of the polar climate and the difficulties of transportation. Where is the camp chief, who has on the average 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners to feed and clothe, to find the money? At the end of each month he has no other recourse than to bombard the Ministry of the Interior with urgent telegrams and phone calls. The tenor of these is invariably the same: "We are left without a kopeck; we don't know how to buy tomorrow's bread, etc."

Grudgingly a few hundred thousand rubles are always transmitted "for the last time"

And the "inept" camp administration is not spared harsh blame.

WAR BETWEEN BUREAUS

Thereupon the camp chief resolutely places himself on a war footing and initiates court action against the insolvent contractors, one of the countless court actions in which the state institutions are mutually and interminably engaged. Naturally, the camp chief wins, because his claims are just and solid. But the juridical victory makes little impression on the adversary, because the treasury is not replenished by an iota, and the adversary continues calmly to owe thousands of rubles.

The ultima ratio, the last resort of the camp administration is to withdraw the workers from the debtors. This happens quite often. For example, in the winter of 1952 we were employed on the construction of a big hotel in the city of Vorkuta; we had just completed the foundations when the combine Dorstroi ran out of funds. The camp chiefs unanimously refused to place any more help at the disposal of this concern, gravely in debt. The battle lasted for five months during which the foundations of the structure, conceived in the grand style, were completely destroyed by blizzards. When the combine finally succeed in obtaining additional credit, it was necessary to start all over again.

Caught in this vicious circle, the camp administrations themselves never get out of debt, and are, in turn, involved in countless court actions with merciless creditors, and this frequently leads to disagreeable consequences. Once in a small lumber camp in the Pechora region we found ourselves left, for five months, without any lights, because the bills of the electric plant hadn't been paid for years.

World Events

A SETTLEMENT IN MALAYA'S jungle war may be in the offing. Early this month the leaders of the United Malaya National Organization and the Malayan Chinese Association jointly proposed a general amnesty offer to the guerrillas now fighting in the jungles. The two organizations are the leading legal political organizations in the British colony and are expected to win the first national elections, to be held this July. The official British reaction, as reported by the N.Y. Times Jan. 9 and 18 is that "the time for it (amnesty) has not yet come."

British officials also indicated that they doubted that the "hard core" of the rebels would accept amnesty now unless ordered to do so by Peking and Moscow.

WHO'S WHO IN GERMANY

A "WHO'S WHO IN GERMANY" has appeared for the first time since World War II. The interesting thing about it, however, is not what it says about current German big shots but what it doesn't say. Like the American "Who's Who," the biographical data is supplied by the person listed. Most of 15,000 listings in this German edition leave a big gap for the years 1933-1945, the years of the Nazi regime. As the N.Y. Herald Tribune comments, this "constitutes a considerable re-writing of history by means of drastic omissions."

A 24-HOUR PROTEST STRIKE

in West Germany was called on Jan. 14 by 13,000 Ruhr workers after a mining company official charged the unions used "brutal blackmail" to achieve the right of co-determination. Seventeen thousand other workers joined the strike on Jan. 15. The unions are demanding co-determination in the management of coal and steel-holding companies. At present the workers in individual companies have the right to co-determination. The problem arose at this time because the Allies recently relaxed bans on cartels.

A STRIKE OF 40,000 AFRICAN MINERS

started on Jan. 3 in the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. The strike was called

by the African Mine Workers Union following refusal of the mine owners to grant a pay raise of ten shillings eight pence (\$1.49) per day. African miners now make from four to eight pounds (\$11.20 to \$22.40) a month compared to the 90 pounds (\$252) per month for white miners. The N.Y. Times Jan. 8 says: "The strike has clear political overtones. Most leading Northern Rhodesian African political leaders are affiliated with the African Mine Workers Union. The union has become the spearhead of African political aspirations, which are regarded as equivalent to immediate advancement of Africans to many jobs now limited to Europeans."

GESTAPO METHODS

are being used by the French police in their campaign against the Movement for Democratic Liberties, the Algerian independence party. This was the charge brought by Francois Mauriac, noted French writer and Nobel Prize winner, in an article in the paper Express. Mauriac cited evidence that the French imperialists were using torture to extract information and confessions from the Algerian anti-imperialists. Messali Hadj, leader of the MTL, is imprisoned in France.

THE ALL-PAKISTAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

which has a membership of 20,000, has started a campaign for a "Bill of Rights" that would give Moslem women equality in the home and on the job, that opposes polygamy and demands the right of divorce.

CHINA RECOGNIZES YUGOSLAVIA

Peking and Belgrade announced simultaneously Jan. 10 that normal diplomatic relations have been established between the two countries. The Tito regime recognized the Mao government five years ago, but the move was ignored by Peking at the time due to the break between Moscow and Belgrade instigated by Stalin. The current action was initiated by Chou En-lai and is regarded as part of the efforts of the Malenkov government to ease world tension.

The victim of these fiscal quarrels, which often remind one of a bad joke, is invariably the Soviet worker whose pay is one of the last items for concern.

While the material needs of the prisoners are satisfied as much as possible in order to avert trouble, wages of the so-called "free workers" are often left unpaid for as long as six months. They forget to pay. The situation of the "free" foremen and technicians in the areas of forced labor camps is, consequently, often worse than that of the prisoners, and their zeal for work declines correspondingly. This is not hard to understand, but, in its turn, it has a harmful effect on the over-all output.

But on paper, the norms and quotas are invariably fulfilled — 100 per cent!

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

NEW YORK PROTEST MEETING

Save the Three Puerto Rican Youth From Death!

The facts of this shocking case will be told by a representative of the New York Spanish Community.

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RACIAL TERROR at TRUMBULL PARK by Howard Mayhew

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The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Economic Terrorism in the South

Further information about the spread of the White Citizens Councils from Mississippi to Alabama, which the Militant reported on Dec. 20, 1954, has now appeared. According to the Jan. 6 Southern School News these councils are now known to exist in at least five Alabama counties — Macon, Dallas, Marengo, Hale and Perry.

One of the organizers of the Dallas County Council explained the organization's plans as follows. The Council will set up committees to analyze information about Negroes in the county suspected of "agitation." The analysis will determine which suspected Negroes are "alright" and which are to be given the "pressure."

This "pressure" is not to be physical but economic, the Council spokesman insisted. "The white population in this county controls the money, and this is an advantage that the Council will use in a fight to legally maintain complete segregation of the races. We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit or renew a mortgage."

The barefaced economic coercion of Negroes into silence and inactivity on the U.S. Supreme Court decision has already received quasi-judicial benediction. Alarmed by the spread of this vigilante movement, V. F. Kilborn, a Mobile attorney, telegraphed Circuit Judge W. B. Jones, President of the Alabama Bar Association: "The bar of Alabama, sworn to uphold the constitution of the United States... will be wanting in its Christian duty toward our neighbors if we do not take the lead in crushing such movements as this. Most of us favor segregation, but we are unalterably against such movements as this plan to deny

work, credit and basic human needs simply because some Negro exercises his right to advocate peaceably what he thinks ought to be done."

Not only did Judge Jones, in the name of the Alabama Bar Association, refuse to denounce the White Citizens Councils, but he justified their methods of economic coercion, saying: "The lawful exercise of those measures is the privilege of all such citizens."

The organizing rally of the Dallas County Citizens Council was attended by over 1,200 white men. Contributions totalled \$1,800 and 600 men signed up as charter members. The three main speakers were from Mississippi where the movement originated and already has great influence.

J. S. Williams of the Mississippi Legislature told the audience: "The NAACP's motto is 'The Negro shall be free by 1963' — and shall we accept that? We can't have it, for if we do, it would ruin the economic system of the South. The men of the South are either for our council or against it. There can be no fence-straddling."

At the Marengo County organizing meeting, Alabama State Senator Walter C. Givhan described a deep-laid "plot" of the Negroes to take over the country. He said the goal of those favoring integration was to elect a Negro vice-president. "And after that happens, what would prevent them from assassinating the President, thus making the Negro become President?..." His ranting also included the charge that the NAACP wants "to open the bedroom doors of our white women to the Negro men."

At the formation of the Perry County WCC, the chairman, Dr. Lawrence Crawford, also raised the same slogan about white women's bedrooms.

From Freud to Fraud

By Henry Gitano

"Your dreams, your desires, and the rumblings of your subconscious, formerly sacred to you and your analyst, have been charted by advertising psychologists, eager to learn how you buy, and therefore how they can sell you, many, many more products." Thus opens an article by Lydia Strong in the Nov. 13, 1954 Saturday Review of Literature.

Huge fees are paid to psychological consultants for what Business Week has called "an effort to pry off the top of the consumer's head" and "find out what makes him tick." Previously advertising research was done through nose counting. This has been outmoded by "motivational research" which aims at learning what the consumer really wants and why, not what he says he wants. Modern advertising research investigates conscious, preconscious and unconscious feelings.

Varied techniques are used by advertising analysts to secure responses deeper and less guarded than in ordinary interviews.

There is the depth interview which lasts from one to three hours covering wide territory, gradually narrowing down to the actual topic under investigation.

Word-association tests are used; a word is given and the subject responds with another word. After 40% associated the word "concentrated" with "blessed by the Pope" it was

dropped by Procter and Gamble from its soap advertising.

Picture-tests allow the subject to reveal his feelings by telling a story about the picture or imagining himself in the situation. A picture of a person munching a candy bar can thus mean a man completing a disagreeable chore, then rewarding himself with sweets. Advertising will then read: "Make that tough job easier — you deserve Yum-Yum Candy."

The Ad Detector Research Corporation of Chicago straps a lie detector on the subject and flashes advertising copy before his eyes. While the subject talks about the copy, a lie detector records pulse, breathing and blood pressure.

A researcher for Dupont and Chrysler has anonymously bought a hardware store where he will experiment with different sales approaches, displays and advertising tricks.

And then there's a billboard which surreptitiously takes pictures of spectators at three-second intervals to get their reactions.

The findings of this research are used to guide the operation of the ever-growing competitive advertising racket. The object is not to find out what we really want to do; industry may supply it. The hucksters use our real feelings about what we want in order to endow the products on the market with fictitious virtues.

Notes from the News

ONE HUNDRED WOMEN MEMBERS of Local 154, UAW-CIO filed a breach of contract suit Dec. 27, 1954, against American Motors in the Michigan Circuit Court. They asked \$500,000 in back pay because men with less seniority were placed on their jobs when they were laid off Oct. 30, 1953. In addition to back pay the women are demanding their jobs.

A STRIKE VOTE was ordered Jan. 7 by Local 652 UAW-CIO to back up demands for equal seniority rights for women workers in the Detroit Oldsmobile plant. Other General Motors companies have equal-rights clauses in their contracts. The union charges that Oldsmobile is stalling on accepting equal rights for women.

A CONVICT IN WETHERSFIELD PRISON, Connecticut, has asked the state legislature for a 10-cent a day pay raise. The prisoner, who has been in jail for 20 years, wrote a letter asking for the pay hike because they have had no increase in pay since 1913 when the present 15-cent a day scale was set. "During the years, that 15 cents has dwindled so that today it's hardly worth taking," he wrote. "A two-pound box of sugar used to cost 14 cents in 1932, 1933, and 1934. Now it costs 35 cents, more than two days pay."

THE "COLD WAR" AND BIRD LIFE. A breed of pigeons known as the "Russian Trumpeter" has been renamed the "Bokhara Trumpeter."

COURT BARS WIRE TAPS. Chief Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter of the New York Supreme Court denied a Jan. 11 New York City police department request for permission to tap the phones of three suspected bookies. The court called interference with private phone conversation a "direct assault on liberty, and differs in no substantial sense from stationing a police officer at the elbow of the person using the telephone to record what he says."

THE CALL, one of the country's leading Negro newspapers, published in Kansas City, Mo., has come out editorially for the admittance of China into the UN.

TEACHERS MUST BE INFORMERS is the opinion handed down by Leo A. Larkin, Corpora-

tion Counsel for New York City's Board of Education, it was announced Jan. 12. Eleven teachers who refused to answer about past "communist" affiliation were fired or suspended on June 18, 1953. Larkin said: "... It is my opinion that the board has the right to require its employees to furnish information as to their own membership in the Communist Party, and to make full and complete disclosure of all facts to enable the board to determine not only the membership of the employees in the Communist party, but also as to any other employe concerning whose membership the employe may have knowledge."

AMERICAN NEGROES and other racial minorities are kept out of certain Bermuda hotels by a very simple device. Travel agents in the United States are instructed to put the following code names in telegrams for hotel reservations to denote racial origin: "Gentile — Oleander"; "Jewish — Hibiscus"; "Negro — Geranium"; "Asiatic — Poinciana." This practice was revealed in the Jan. 4 Confidential magazine by staff writer Bruce Cory.

A NEW DEFINITION FOR TREASON was demanded Jan. 14 by the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense. Under present law, treason requires the commission of an overt act to betray or overthrow the Government. The proposed definition would make membership in an organization "advocating conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force" a treasonable crime punishable by penalties including death "whether in peace or war."

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING was vigorously opposed by the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church. They issued a particularly sharp criticism of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's modified UMT proposals which were presented to congress. The board urged the 9 million Methodists in the U.S. to oppose "any system by whatever name it may be called that would fasten upon the American people a continuing and universal system of military training." The board added: "In reality these are no 'volunteers' under these proposals. Every man who 'volunteers' does so only in preference to being drafted for two full years of military service."

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Quill's New Gimmick For Labor in Politics

By Carl Goodman

In the December issue of the TWU Express, Mike Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, argued that labor in New York state ought to create its own party for "collective bargaining" purposes with the Democratic Party.

"After we have exhausted every avenue of discussion with those who pick candidates for high office and if their final choices are still repugnant to labor, then I say: Let us run our own candidates... In collective bargaining... when it becomes necessary, we do call a strike as the final weapon in the achievement of a principled program."

The Stalinist leaders have welcomed this stand. George Morris, labor editor of the Daily Worker, called it nothing less than pressing a fight for "genuine independent political action by labor." A political strike against the Democrats to win better candidates? What can be more militant sounding than that?

PRESSURE DEVICE

But Quill does not really advocate independent political action by labor. He only wants labor to have a device to pressure the Democratic Party — not to break clean with boss-class politics. A comparison of what Quill proposes with genuine collective bargaining between a union and an employer exposes Quill's subservience to the Democratic Party.

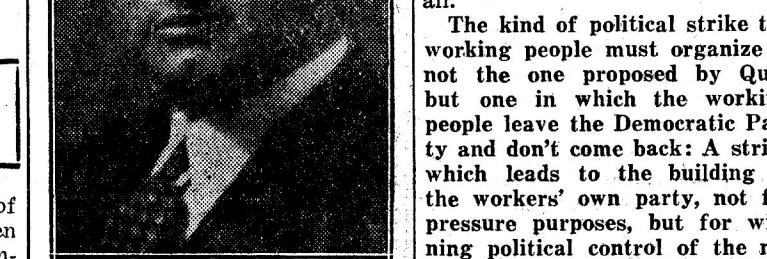
First, a union is an independent organization that elects its own officers and excludes representatives of the employers from membership. It doesn't form part of a coalition or alliance in management where management dictates the policies. Those unions which hold a position similar to that of the labor movement within the Democratic Party are called company unions. They remain so, even if they try pressure tactics, until they break completely from management's domination.

Second, a union doesn't try to pressure for better bosses; it has the hope that these will grant better conditions to the workers. The essence of the collective bargaining process is not to plead or pressure for management to

But class-conscious union leaders tell the workers that unionism — collective bargaining and economic organization — is only the beginning of the class struggle. They teach that the struggle must be continued on the political arena where the independence of the working people from the domination of the employing class can be won. Here class organizes against class to determine who will be master in the nation, whether production for profit or production for use shall be the economic order.

Here the first step towards independence means to break clean with the political agencies of the employing class once for all.

The kind of political strike the working people must organize is not the one proposed by Quill but one in which the working people leave the Democratic Party and don't come back: A strike which leads to the building of the workers' own party, not for pressure purposes, but for winning political control of the nation as a representative of the majority.



MICHAEL QUILL

From Detroit

-- And He Doesn't Like Cars

Godfrey J. Wolfe, 65 year old auto worker, got his picture in the papers when he became the 10,000th Ford worker to be retired under the UAW's pension agreement with the company. Wolfe is considered an eccentric in this city where everything revolves around the auto and where the public transportation service is deliberately kept poor to encourage the buying of autos. Wolfe not only has no car and never has driven one, but doesn't even want one. This strange outlook so impressed the papers that they barely found room for something far more revealing. Wolfe said he is going to spend his time fixing up the home where he lives with his wife, Annie. But, asked Mrs. Wolfe, "When does a woman retire?"

The UAW international executive board has called on the government to review the "security" firing of John Lupa, Detroit Arsenal employee, and to reinstate him with back pay. Lupa was fired last year because of his acquaintance with an alleged member of an allegedly "subversive" organization, and because of his refusal to join the organization as an informer at the demand of the FBI. After being exonerated by an Army hearing board, he was fired by an Army review board.

Michigan Chronicle columnist Bill Lane writes: "Reports reaching this column have it that Chrysler's Jefferson plant and other Chrysler firms around town are opening the gates wide for imported workers from the hills of Kentucky and Tennessee and giving the brush to local Negroes for jobs. Personnel heads deny the practice." But thousands of Detroit Negroes, who make up the bulk of the lines standing outside the employment offices, can confirm to the hilt the charge that they are getting the brush.

Attorney General Brownell's recent move to put the Michigan Committee for Peace on his "subversive" list was strongly denounced by Rev. S. Hill, pastor of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church and co-chairman of the committee. His aim, he said was "to do whatever it could, in a small way, to secure an armistice in Korea. As soon as that armistice was secured under the leadership of President Eisenhower, the Michigan Committee for Peace ceased to function... Jesus said, 'Blessed are the peacemakers'... by your action you damn the peacemakers, or those who work for peace... I therefore vehemently protest the false listing of this committee."

The NAACP is protesting police interference with the movement and association of Negroes and whites on the streets of Detroit. Two white youths charge police with arresting them numerous times for walking and associating with Negroes in the Woodward precinct district. NAACP secretary, Arthur L. Johnson, says the NAACP is gravely concerned over the high incidence of police interference with people in racially mixed groups on the streets.

Last November the Democrats got a clear majority of the total Michigan vote for the State Senate, the State House of Representatives and the state's delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives. The Republicans got a minority of the total state vote for these seats, but thanks to the undemocratic and unrepresentative apportionment of seats in Michigan they control both houses of the State Legislature and a majority of the congressional delegation. In northern rural districts there are Republican State Senators representing as few as 61,000 persons while Senators in industrial Detroit represent over 350,000 — which gives a rural voter over five times as much voting power as a city voter. This is democracy?

THE MILITANT

In 'Met' Debut



Marion Anderson, first Negro singer to become a member of the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, shown taking curtain call after her debut in role of Ulrica in Verdi's Masked Ball. Ulrica is a Negro role. The question remains: Will Negro singers be assigned only to Negro parts?

Otis Elevator Threatens Union With Runaway

By Daniel Roberts

The runaway plant problem continues to plague the labor movement. On Jan. 13, the Otis Elevator Company informed its workers in Yonkers, N. Y. and Harrison, N. J. that unless they cooperated in cutting production costs, the company would move operations to an unnamed town in the Midwest.

The Yonkers plant employs 2,400 workers and is under contract with the CIO International Electrical Union. The Harrison plant employs 1,700 workers and is non-union, although both the CIO and the AFL are conducting organizing drives. Over 300 employees in Harrison average better than 20-year service.

The company issued its ultimatum at two special meetings called by the company in Yonkers and Harrison on Jan. 16, and also made demands upon the two city governments. What Otis wants is (1) a speed-up without increases in pay; (2) lower taxes.

The company would continue operations at the present sites, Otis president LeRoy Petersen told the workers, "providing we secure the enthusiastic and understanding cooperation of our employees and of the city authorities with a minimum of delay. With a minimum of delay, Yonkers' City Manager Curran

and Mayor Kristensen announced that "we feel we can work out something if the union goes along." Thus if the IUE Local Otis the speed-up, Yonkers might give the company tax relief. This would ultimately be shifted onto the workers, too, especially if other companies copy Otis' example.

Although the company claims that it needs to reduce costs in order to weather competition, it has averaged over \$9,400,000 net profit a year for the last eight years, according to IUE Local 453. "This represents a return of 18% of net worth," says the union. "Most companies regard 8% a high return."

The N.Y. Times Jan. 16 reports that last month Petersen announced an extra common stock dividend of 50 cents a share. Evidently not financial difficulties but the lure of even greater profits to be made by taking advantage of a "surplus labor market" throughout the country induces the company to issue its ultimatum.

This is the second time within six months that the city of Yonkers (population 155,000 has been confronted with the runaway problem. Last July, the Alexander Smith Carpet Company shut its Yonkers plant in the middle of a strike conducted by the CIO Textile Workers of America and threw 2,000 employees out of work. The company moved its operations permanently to Greenville, Miss., where the city government built a new plant for the firm. The city also granted Alexander Smith tax exemption on its plant equipment.

The new Greenville factory operates in a state with a "right to work" law and is of course non-union. The wage scale is 30 to 50 cents below the scale Alexander Smith paid in Yonkers. Evidently Otis is arranging a similar deal in the Midwest.

ASR RUNAWAY
The Otis Company has also become bold by the failure of the New York labor leaders to aid the American Safety Razor strike in Brooklyn. In the strike the ASR workers, organized in the independent United Electrical Workers, sought to win at least severance pay from the company which had announced that it was shifting its operations to Staunton, Va.

ASR workers sat in for 14 days and picketed for two months more, but despite their militancy, were unable by themselves to prevent the company from moving its equipment. Not only did the top CIO and AFL leaders leave the ASR workers in the lurch, but one major IUE local, Westinghouse in Buffalo, even attacked the strike as "Communist inspired" and detrimental to the workers. Its newspaper adopted the company's version of the strike. This act of treachery in the fight against runaway employers now bounces back against the IUE local at Otis.

Two teachers employed by the Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children, who invoked the 5th Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee, have been retained in their jobs by the Philadelphia chapter of the Association. The Cheltenham Adult Evening School at a special meeting decided to keep a dress-making teacher who had also invoked the 5th Amendment.

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