

Cops Violently Attack Westinghouse Pickets

1 Killed, 8 Hurt, 89 Arrested at Columbus, Ohio

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — Columbus, Ohio police staged a savage assault at dawn yesterday on the mass picket line of the Westinghouse workers. One young union man, Troy Tadlock, 34, died after being

worked over by the cops. Eight others were injured. Eighty-nine were jailed.

Yesterday's police attack climaxes the vicious strikebreaking, union-busting campaign of the Westinghouse Corporation in this 80-day strike. The corporation has gone all out to get a back-to-work movement started.

Many of these strikers are young workers. They are experiencing for the first time in their lives a brutal strikebreaking campaign the likes of which has not been seen since the 1930's. They are getting a concentrated education in the class struggle. The rapid speeches they have heard from their leaders about class peace and labor-management "harmony" didn't help to prepare them for the clubs of the cops that came down on their heads on Tuesday morning.

EXPERIENCE TEACHES
The strikers have seen how quickly the courts gave anti-picket injunctions at the request of Westinghouse attorneys. They have seen how the company was able to mobilize the clergy to propose a holy election outside of the union on a back-to-work proposition.

They weren't fooled by the company's pretense of a kindly heart when it offered the strikers a \$100 loan for the holidays. And they got a big laugh out of the company propaganda that it

wanted to save the union from itself.
And now they see how ready the company is to maim and kill in its effort to break the strike. At issue in the struggle is the demand of the corporation for complete freedom in setting production standards and speedup with the union tied down in a five-year contract. To accept this Westinghouse demand would mean the end of the union and virtual slavery. The strikers know this.

FIRST BIG TEST
This strike is the first really serious test the union has had since its earliest foundation. The ranks show militancy and tenacity. But the union leadership can think of nothing better than to beg for Federal intervention and mediation.
Federal intervention came Dec. 20 when U.S. Attorney General Brownell moved to de-certify the United Electrical Workers representing 10,500 of the 55,000 workers on strike. In the very midst of the strike he cited the UE as a "communist front." So far IUF leaders have remained silent or his government strikebreaking move.

The Westinghouse strike is clearly a challenge to the entire labor movement. The full strength of the newly unified federation, the AFL-CIO, must be brought to bear against this union-busting drive in a major section of American industry.

Strikers Get Food



East Pittsburgh Westinghouse Local 601, IUE, distributes Christmas baskets of food to its members who have been on strike since Oct. 17. The union denounced a company offer of \$100 Christmas loans to the strikers as a bribe. Union ranks remained solid despite the bleak holidays.

New Racist Federation Launched by Eastland

By Harry Ring

Rallied by race-baiting, witch-hunting Senator John Eastland (D-Miss.), delegates from 12 Southern states gathered in Memphis, Ga., in a conference which

Dec. 28, to establish a national organization to fight the demand of the Negro people for equality and what they consider other "efforts to destroy the Constitution." The new organization known as the Federation for Constitutional Government has already established relations with two fascist outfits operating out of New York.

Eastland called on the assembled delegates to "fight the (U. S. Supreme) Court, fight the CIO, fight the NAACP and fight all conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction."

The organization will co-ordinate the activities of such gangs as the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi and the States Rights Council of Georgia. On its 100-man advisory board are two U.S. senators, six representatives, one governor and four ex-governors. The federation is taking its first steps northward through Merwin Hart's National Economic Council and Edward Rumley's Committee for Constitutional Government.

Jew-baiter Hart, a propagandist for Franco and supporter of American fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, has been a vocal supporter of Senator McCarthy. Rumley once boasted that eight-to-ten million pieces of his hate literature had been mailed out free over a four-year period under Congressional frank.

Eastland made clear that his

racist federation is not confining itself solely to the fight to preserve Jim Crow. He told the delegates, "Our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise, and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our strength in the North and West."

Full-time director of the organization is John Barr, a New Orleans industrialist and former director of the NAM. Barr says he is "definitely" in agreement with the racist and anti-labor views of Hart and Rumley and considers them "high-type people." "There are no ifs and ands about those organizations," he added.

With the formation of the new racist Federation Eastland is now stepping up his two-pronged attack on labor and the Negro people. As chairman of the Senate sub-committee on Internal Security, Eastland has been hammering away at the civil liberties of the American people. He now symbolizes the indissoluble link between the assault on the civil rights of the Negro people and the civil liberties of the country as a whole.

ATTACK ON FREE PRESS
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Kutcher Committee Appeals For Broad Support in Fight

VA "Charges" Kutcher Defended Smith Act Victims

One of the accusations hurled by P. H. Moss, the VA's inquisitor at the Kutcher hearing on Dec. 30 was that Kutcher had protested the Smith Act prosecution and conviction of Communist Party leaders. Evidently Moss believed that this was "evidence" that Kutcher had rendered "assistance to the enemy" and was guilty of "treason."

This charge lays the basis for a frame-up within a frame-up. For implied in the accusation is (1) that the Smith Act victims are guilty of treason and (2) that Kutcher was defending their alleged acts of treason.

SMITH ACT DENOUNCED
But the Stalinists were not prosecuted under a treason statute. It was for advocating political ideas that they were brought to trial under the Smith Act of 1940 which was first used against the SWP in 1941. This act has been repeatedly denounced by the AFL and CIO as an infringement of the U.S. Constitution's free speech amendment.

And Kutcher, despite irreconcilable political disagreement with the Stalinist program, upheld the right of the CP to present this program to the American workers without government interference. Ironically, the two specific instances Moss singled out from Kutcher's seven-year record of support for the civil liberties of the CP concerned letters he had written, defending himself against Stalinist slanders. During the first years of the Kutcher case, the Stalinists refused to support his fight, claiming it was not a bona fide civil liberties struggle.

They claimed that he and the Socialist Workers Party were "red baiters" and "fascists." In two letters published in the Militant in April and August 1949, Kutcher nailed these lies. To the Stalinist line of no support to the rights of working class opponents of the CP he counterposed the SWP program of united defense of all witch-hunt victims.

In the past year, a considerable number of prominent liberals, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt came out in defense of all Smith Act victims. Their stand was similar to the one advanced by Kutcher and the SWP since 1949, when the Smith Act prosecution of Stalinists began.

It is this growing movement for civil liberties that Moss and other government witch hunters are aiming at with the formula they began to advance in the Kutcher hearing that opposition to the Smith Act is tantamount to "treason."

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Kutcher's Fight for His Job



James Kutcher is shown above with some of his early defenders in 1949 at a banquet in Detroit. Left to right are: Gus Scholle, then pres. of Mich. CIO Council; James Edwards, trustee sec. of Calvary Baptist Church; Kutcher; George Novack, nat'l sec. of Kutcher committee; Al Barbour, then sec. of Wayne County and Greater Detroit CIO Council; and Rabbi Joshua Sperka of Congregation B'nai David.

America Got Its First Look At a Star Chamber Hearing

An Editorial

The American people scored an important victory against the witch hunt last week when they forced the Veterans Administration to open the Dec. 30 Kutcher pension hearing to the press. For the first time the government inquisitors were compelled to allow the country to view what goes on behind the doors of these star-chamber sessions where the thought-control engineers construct their frame-ups.

The unprecedented wave of shock, disbelief and horror of the American people at the news of the VA's move to cut off the pension of the legless veteran of World War II because of his socialist political opinions accounts for this breach in the secret operations of the High Priests of the Witch Hunt.

Thus, a new precedent has been established which must be made the rule: NO MORE STAR CHAMBER HEARINGS! This principle will have to be defended in bitter struggle.

What did the American people see when they dragged the VA witch hunt into the light of day?

They saw the chairman of the hearing, a creature of the witch hunt, Peyton H. Moss, telling Kutcher that while he was accused of "aiding the enemies of the United States" (a charge of treason), and while the VA would cut off Kutcher's only means of livelihood unless he could prove himself innocent to their satisfaction, he would not be allowed to face any of his accusers!

They refused to produce a single witness from their stable of faceless informers and allow their fabrications to be questioned by Kutcher. The entire basic code of justice in the United States was scrapped in this hearing — the right of the accused to a fair trial; the right to cross examine witnesses; the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty; the right to be judged by a jury of peers. All these basic rights, guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, were completely violated by the Veterans officials.

This denial of elementary rights was dramatically brought out when Kutcher's attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, asked Moss what the rules of procedure were. After some blustering and squirming it turned out that there were no rules: "I will make the rules as we go along," said Moss.

By watching the hearing the American people also caught a glimpse of the mentality of these all-powerful functionaries. It was crystal clear that Moss believed that anyone who strikes during war time, or during a "police action," is guilty of "giving aid to the enemy." Thus, with one stroke, he placed the charge of treason at the doors of hundreds of thousands of workers and innumerable union officials.

The hearing showed that the witch-hunt inquisitors, who have the power to smear and fire anybody who displeases them, believe that anyone who opposes the Smith Act is guilty of treason. As Attorney Rauh said, there are hundreds of thousands of

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Asks Unions to Again Rally to Legless Vet's Battle to Win Justice

By Fred Hart

JAN. 5 — The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has moved into action to mobilize broad support in the fight to put a stop to the brutal government persecution of James Kutcher, legless veteran of World War II. This is the third time in seven years that the KCRC has been forced to take the fight for Kutcher's rights to the American people.

The KCRC is appealing to some 800 labor, fraternal and minority organizations that rallied to Kutcher's defense during his seven-year battle for justice. The committee is directing its call to action particularly to the unions, representing more than two million members, who gave help to Kutcher in the past. George L. Weissman, National Treasurer of



JAMES KUTCHER

Report on Hearing In Washington By George Lavan (See Page Two)

The KCRC, asked that funds be sent to 325 E. 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y., and that telegrams of protest be rushed to Harvey V. Hingley, Veterans Administration, Washington, D. C.

The Kutcher fight began in 1948 when the government fired him from his clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party which had been placed on a "subversive" political blacklist by Truman's Attorney General in 1947.

Since Dec. 18, 1952, the government has relentlessly sought to evict Kutcher and his aged and sick parents from their home in a federal housing project because the older Kutcher refused to throw his son out of his home and thus couldn't sign a loyalty oath. Just a few days before Kutcher received a Dec. 15 Christmas message from the Veterans Administration, notifying him that they had cut off his disability pension, the sole means of support for Kutcher and his parents, the New Jersey Supreme Court had ruled against the government in the housing case. But the new chapter in the unbelievable story of the bounding of the legless veteran was already opened.

Through the efforts of the KCRC and the vigorous intervention of the New York Post the facts about this latest move in the government's "war on Kutcher" was blazoned in headlines before the American people. Just six hours after the New York Post's story and angry editorial hit the streets the VA hastily announced that Kutcher's pension

payments would continue — pending a hearing.

This was an unprecedented retreat on the part of the witch hunters — a concession to the principle that punishment does not precede trial.

The second big victory in this latest fight for Kutcher's rights came when the VA yielded to the demands of Kutcher's attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, an appeal from Sen. Kefauver, and the pressure of mass public indignation. In another unprecedented move, it opened the Dec. 30 star chamber VA hearing to the press, radio and TV.

At the hearing Rauh appealed for an immediate decision. He asked the chairman of the VA committee on Waivers and Forfeitures, Peyton H. Moss, not to "let the U.S. go into the New Year with this blot still on the national record. Decide this case before the beginning of 1956." Moss denied the request. At this writing Kutcher still doesn't know whether his disability pension will be cut off or not.

Witch Hunt Official Aims Blow at Right to Strike

By Carl Goodman

"If you are going to cause strikes in time of war, you are giving assistance to the enemy," declared Peyton H. Moss, Chairman of the Veterans Administration Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures, during the Dec. 30 public "hearing" in James Kutcher's pension case.

Moss' statement confirms what the Militant and other upholders of civil liberties have always contended — namely, that the witch hunt is aimed against the labor movement. It is aimed against the right of working people to organize their own unions and strike if necessary to protect themselves against the rapacity of Big Business as well as the policies of a Big Business controlled government.

The usual formula of labor haters is that strikes are caused

by outside, "subversive" agents who dupe the workers into aiding the enemies of the country. But one witchhunter and labor-baiter dropped this pretense completely and put the slanderous tag of "traitor" on all workers engaged in a war-time strike.

This was Harry Truman, then President of the U.S., who in February 1951 denounced striking railroad workers as a "bunch of Russians."

The railroad workers had been compelled to strike three times after the Korean "police action" began, because the government agencies gave them a run-around in their legitimate demand for reduction of the work week with no cut in pay. Each time Truman broke the strike, utilizing Federal troops and court injunctions. Only when the workers proved that they could not be

cowed by repressive measures did the government grant a few concessions.

The railroad workers were justly indignant over Truman's charge that they were "aiding the enemy" while the country was at war. They asked: "Was there a war on when he broke

our strike in 1946 and called for a law to draft strikers into the Army? Was there a war on in 1948 when he repeated the same dirty job on us?"

This question went straight to the point. For according to Big Business spokesmen there is always an emergency that justifies

government strikebreaking — whether it be a "defense effort," a cold war or a shooting war. No matter what the circumstance, capitalist politicians are always ready to smear a strike with Moss' formula — namely, that it "gives assistance to the enemy of the country."

As Kutcher's attorney, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., pointed out during the course of the hearing, if war-time strikes give aid to the enemy, there were hundreds of thousands of "traitors" during the Korean war. John L. Lewis, who denounced officers of AFL leaders to give a no-strike pledge to the Truman Administration, could be prosecuted for treason, according to Moss' reasoning. So could top leaders of the CIO United Steelworkers of America, who, in December 1952 gave the steel employers an ultimatum: sign a contract by Jan. 1 or we

strike.

Neither Kutcher nor the Socialist Workers Party "caused" strikes during the Korean war. The many strikes that took place were caused by the workers' indignation over the wage-freeze while prices and profits soared and over attempts by the corporations to introduce the speed up in the plants.

But the SWP is proud that it supported the efforts of the workers to defend their living conditions against government strikebreaking. In the face of the government's charge in the Kutcher case that such support amounts to "subversion" and "treason" — we again call on the labor movement: Throw all your forces into the fight against the witch hunt for it is labor's neck that is at stake!

AT KUTCHER PENSION HEARING

"I'll Make Rules As We Go Along" Says Moss

By George Lavan

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 2 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran whose pension the witch hunters are trying to take away, arrived at the Veterans Administration headquarters at 12:45 P.M. last Friday. Awaiting him on the sidewalk before the building was a battery of newsreel cameras and a crowd of people.

First woman: "Oh yes. I heard about him on the radio. I hope he wins." When the newsmen finally permitted Kutcher and his attorneys, Joseph L. Rauh and John Silard, to enter the building, a procession of newsmen and photographers brought up the rear. As Kutcher, the legless veteran, using his canes, left the elevator and slowly started down the half-block long corridor to the hearing room, work ceased in all the offices and heads popped out the doorways for a look at the celebrated witch-hunt victim and the small army following him.

Room 200, where the hearing was to be held, was soon crowded with over 50 representatives of newspapers, press associations, radio and TV. Picture snapping went off while reporters crowded into the five rows of seats provided for them. Several times the chairman attempted to begin the proceedings but was held up by photographers who insisted on "one last shot." He finally called a halt, announced that no flash photos could be taken during the hearing, and declared the session open.

Right of free speech. For if you, a pensioner, say something that we, the Veterans Administration, think is harmful to the war effort, we will take away your pension. Let me cite two speeches made in the 1952 campaign that were far more critical of the government than any statements attributed to Mr. Kutcher. (Reads from two of Eisenhower's campaign speeches.) Nothing Mr. Kutcher is accused of saying undermined the war effort as much as those speeches. And I defend President Eisenhower's right to make those statements. If you start determining what people can or cannot say, there will be no end to it. There is no allegation of crime in the VA's letter to Mr. Kutcher. I move that the charges be dismissed.

were: "So this is what they call a security hearing"; "So this is what goes on"; "I'll make up the rules as I go along"; "Two-to-one the next charge is that he trampled on Old Glory with his wooden legs." A number of reporters went to the hearing table where Kutcher remained seated, to talk to him, some to be introduced. Former Senator Harry P. Cain, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board but persona non grata with the Department of Justice because of his criticism of the "subversive" list, was introduced to Kutcher.

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Fund Scoreboard table with columns: City, Quota, Paid, Percent. Rows include Detroit, Milwaukee, Buffalo, New York, Twin Cities, Philadelphia, Seattle, Chicago, Youngstown, Los Angeles, Newark, Cleveland, Boston, St. Louis, Akron, Oakland, San Francisco, Allentown, Pittsburgh, General. Total through Jan. 3: \$16,185, \$10,414, 64%

The Charge of Treason

The Chairman of the VA's Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures is Peyton H. Moss. He and the other two members of the committee sat at a table facing the audience. At a parallel table, and with their backs to the audience, sat Kutcher, Joseph L. Rauh and John Silard. At tables on either side, placed so as to close the square sat assorted VA officials including acting chief counsel of the VA, Morris Lipps.

aid and comfort to the enemy. "Once again we recited the lies of faceless informers attributing to Kutcher wild, ignorant and bloodthirsty statements in language no socialist ever uses. Moss then took up the telegram of protest sent by Rauh on Dec. 27. This telegram had stated: "The Veterans Administration makes charge against Kutcher that he is guilty of treason. . . no one should be tried under charges of treason in a star chamber proceeding. . . Article III, Section 3 of the Constitution states that no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court."

interpretation of the law is that this committee has authority to make a finding of guilt on a charge of rendering assistance to the enemy where pension benefits are concerned. Rauh: Has this ever been done before? Moss: Oh yes. In many cases. Rauh: Where? Moss: In the Philippine Islands and in Italy. Rauh: Ever in the United States? Moss: No. Rauh: You are drawing a difference between treason and rendering assistance to the enemy. I say a charge of rendering assistance is the same as treason. You are saying that pensioners should not exercise their

right of free speech. For if you, a pensioner, say something that we, the Veterans Administration, think is harmful to the war effort, we will take away your pension. Let me cite two speeches made in the 1952 campaign that were far more critical of the government than any statements attributed to Mr. Kutcher. (Reads from two of Eisenhower's campaign speeches.) Nothing Mr. Kutcher is accused of saying undermined the war effort as much as those speeches. And I defend President Eisenhower's right to make those statements. If you start determining what people can or cannot say, there will be no end to it. There is no allegation of crime in the VA's letter to Mr. Kutcher. I move that the charges be dismissed.

"I Believe in a Socialist Society"

Rauh: Mr. Moss, we have prepared a line of questioning for Mr. Kutcher and I would like permission to begin it now. Moss: You may do so. Rauh: First, before my colleague, Mr. Silard begins, I would like to ask Mr. Kutcher the following question. Did you ever make the derogatory remarks about the flag alleged earlier? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: Mr. Kutcher, I want you to think very carefully and be slow in answering these questions. For your answers may go down in history. Do you know you are the first man in this country to be accused of treason at an administrative hearing? Accused of treason without jury or witnesses? That your trial here marks the first reintroduction of the star chamber in a treason case this side of the Atlantic? Mr. Kutcher, do you have any idea why the government thinks you are such a dangerous person? Kutcher: None whatever. Silard: When were you drafted? Kutcher: In January 1941. Silard: You were then a member of the Socialist Workers Party? Kutcher: Yes, sir. Silard: And all the time you were in the army and since you have been a member of the SWP?

Silard: Where else did you fight in North Africa? Kutcher: At Kasserine Pass, El Guettar and some others. Silard: And were you in the invasion of Sicily? Kutcher: Yes, sir. Silard: And then you fought in Italy? Kutcher: Yes, sir. Silard: Tell us how you were wounded. Kutcher: It was near San Pietro in Italy. A mortar shell from the enemy lines exploded near me and another fellow. He was killed. I was wounded in my legs. Both my legs were amputated that night. Silard: Mr. Kutcher, in the whole time you were in the army were you ever told that your services as an infantryman were not wanted? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: Were there ever any complaints about the quality of your service? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: Have you ever been convicted of any crime? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: Have you ever availed yourself of the privilege of the Fifth Amendment? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: Have you ever concealed your membership for the last 18 years in the SWP? Kutcher: No, sir. Silard: What are your political views? Kutcher: I believe in a socialist society with production for use rather than for profit, to be brought about primarily now through a labor party, through use of constitutional measures. Silard: Do you advocate the use of force and violence to bring this? Kutcher: No, sir. It would be senseless. The only time I ever practiced force and violence was in the army.

Who Are the "Enemies"?

Moss: Motion denied. Rauh: May I ask the reason? Moss: I see no reason to explain. Rauh: You say this is not a trial? But Mr. Kutcher is going to be found guilty or not guilty. I tell you one thing. If Mr. Kutcher's pension is taken away—if it's the last thing I ever do—this case will be taken to the courts, even if it takes seven years as it has in the case to get his job back. Rauh: Is the burden of proof on the defendant? Moss: As our statement indicated, we believe there is a prima facie showing of guilt in the charges against Mr. Kutcher and to that extent the burden of proof is on him. Rauh: Are you willing in 1955 in democratic America to let the record show that a legless veteran is denied the presumption of innocence?

Moss: Yes. We're willing to let the record show what we have said. Rauh: In your letter you accuse Mr. Kutcher of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Now the Constitution defines treason as "giving aid and comfort." Moss: He is charged with "rendering assistance." Rauh: Then why is the constitutional definition of treason used? I do not accept the distinction you are trying to make between "rendering assistance" to the enemy and treason. Rendering assistance is treason. And this is further borne out by the fact the VA's original letter uses the constitutional language for treason. Mr. Kutcher now asks the name of the country to which he is charged with rendering assistance in time of war. Can we know that? Moss: I think I can answer that—Communist China and North Korea.

The "Treasonous" Strikers

Rauh: Will you now specify any acts which he committed to give aid and assistance to these countries? Moss: I'll just read this over again. (Reads from original letter containing faceless informer allegations of statements supposedly made by Kutcher in 1950 and 1951.) Moss: Now if you're going to cause strikes in time of war, you are aiding the enemy. Rauh: Are you really going to suggest that here? Moss: That's my point exactly. That's at least a prima facie case. Rauh: Mr. Moss do you realize what you are saying? Do you realize that the CIO and other labor organizations could be held guilty of treason by your definition? Let me take you out of your ignorance. Moss: I object to your language. Rauh: Then let me say, let me enlighten your lack of knowledge. Rauh: Mr. Moss, would you please explain in your letter what you mean by "your numerous activities" and "over a lengthy period of time"? Now that I know that Kutcher is charged with aiding specific countries, I would like to know what these general charges mean. It's obvious he can't answer such vague points. If I were to say to you that "your numerous activities" over "a lengthy period of time" in the VA had been a detriment to the U.S., you couldn't answer. You would want to know what activities and at what times. So may we please have these charges made specific? Moss: I think we have discussed that sufficiently. I'm making the rules now. Go ahead

and answer the charges, Mr. Kutcher. In July 1950 and in the summer of 1951 did you not state that you liked the "red" system of government; that in this country half of what a worker earns goes to the government and under the "red" system of government the worker gets all he earns? That the government of the U.S. is composed of people who are cheaters and crooks who oppress the working people? Kutcher: No, sir. Moss: That SWP members cause strikes and get in key positions and get the SWP in control of the government of the U.S.? Kutcher: No, sir. Moss: And that the party members couldn't wish them in, think them in, or vote them in; therefore they should be overthrown and killed and then get a new government? Kutcher: No, sir. Moss: Since 1948 haven't you been traveling around the country delivering a lot of speeches in furtherance of the Socialist Workers Party cause? Kutcher: I made a tour speaking on my case. Moss: At college didn't you make a speech saying that your party aimed to establish socialism by constitutional means but in a conversation afterwards you said you couldn't be responsible if a minority tried to prevent it by violence. Kutcher: I meant that a majority would choose a socialist government but that a minority composed of capitalists might try to make a coup d'etat to overthrow the majority. Moss: How would you know that it was the choice of a majority? Kutcher: We'd know by the election results.

Did You Defend Smith Act Victims?

Moss: Weren't you in Los Angeles on July 23, 1949? Kutcher: I was in California around then. Yes sir. Moss: Didn't you write a letter that was printed in the Militant in which you said you were for the defense of the Communist Party leaders then on trial in New York? Kutcher: Yes, sir. Moss: And did you write a letter that appeared in the April 18, 1949 Militant in which you said you defended the eleven Communist leaders being tried under the Smith Act? Rauh: I forbid my client to answer that question. Mr. Moss, millions of Americans were against the Smith Act. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and all civil liberties organizations were against prosecution of the Communists under the Smith Act. I am opposed to the Communists, but I opposed their trial under the Smith Act as did hundreds of thousands of other Americans. Moss: Mr. Kutcher, were you at the 1948 convention of the Socialist Workers Party?

Kutcher: Yes, sir. Moss: There was a red flag and an American flag on the platform table. You asked why the "dirty old rag" of an American flag was there and were told that part of the convention was to be broadcast over the radio and that was the reason. Thereupon you said you'd like to tear the "old son of a—" down. Kutcher: I don't remember any such incident. Rauh: I object to the whole line of questioning. Mr. Kutcher is charged with rendering aid to the enemy during the Korean War. All the allegations you are making are before the Korean War. Moss: There will now be a ten minute recess.

"Will You Quit SWP?" -- "No Sir!"

Silard: What is the attitude of the Communist Party of this country to the SWP? Kutcher: They are bitter opponents of ours. Silard: What is the Communist Party attitude toward your case? Kutcher: Well at first they tried to prevent organizations from contributing toward my defense. But I might add that lately they seemed to have learned and to have changed on this. Silard: What are your views on Russia? Kutcher: The Soviet Union is a degenerated workers' state. That has been my view for the last 18 years. If I or any member of my party were to go to the Soviet Union or to Communist China or to North Korea, I would be dead. I want to say that we think the people in these and all countries should be allowed to choose their form of government without any outside interference. Silard: Mr. Kutcher, if your pension is taken away from you, will you quit the SWP? Kutcher: No, sir! Silard: Mr. Kutcher, if your pension is restored to you, will you quit the SWP? Kutcher: No, sir! Silard: That's all. Moss: We have no further questions. Rauh: Mr. Moss, before you close this hearing I want to say Mr. Kutcher has testified under oath. If he has committed per-

jury the government in all its majesty can deal with him. But what about the faceless informers against him. They have not sworn here and are subject to the same penalty. The American people want a decision in this case and they want it quickly. It seems to me there is no need for lengthy consideration of this case. All the members of the committee are present. Can't you get together this afternoon and give a decision? Moss: That's not possible. Rauh: I ask you for a favorable decision—not for Mr. Kutcher, but for the American people—that this shame may be lifted from them. For if you take away Mr. Kutcher's pension, he isn't going to starve. The American people will willingly contribute their nickels and dimes to make up for it. Why if I passed the hat around now, just in this room, there would be a sizeable contribution. There's a copy of our Constitution hanging on the wall. I believe the framers of it would be ashamed of what's been happening here. I beg of you don't let the U.S. go into the New Year with this blot still on the national record. Decide this case before the beginning of 1956. Show that we still have honor in America. Moss: It will not be possible to render a decision before the New Year. It will take some time to prepare the transcript and then we will have to study it. But I assure you we will study it very carefully.

The Faceless Informers

Moss next rejected Kutcher's earlier demand that the faceless informers be brought forth and made to testify in public and under oath. Sticking to the witch hunters' preference for darkness and secrecy, the chairman ruled: "The sources of the evidence on which the charges in this case are based will not be disclosed."

rules. Mr. Kutcher may answer the charges. Rauh: "Can we get them?" Moss: "No." Rauh: "Isn't it a fact you don't have any rules. I don't think there are any, and if you will just tell me that, that will satisfy me." Moss turned for aid to Lipps, the VA legal counsel, sitting at the side table. Mr. Lipps: "Perhaps Mr. Rauh could be a little more specific. This committee is set up under numerous VA articles and rules." Rauh: "What are the rules for the conduct of this hearing?" Lipps: "I don't think there are any. There are no written, published rules for guidance." Rauh: "Then there are no rules. Correct?" Lipps: "Correct." Moss: "I'll make the rules as we go along." Rauh: "This is the first time in my life I've ever been to a hearing of an administrative tribunal where all the parties do not know what the rules and procedure are."

No Day in Court for Kutcher

At this point it is necessary to inform the reader that what follows—questions, answers and statements at the hearing is based on notes and is not word-for-word accurate. The official transcript is not yet available. Much of the following is the actual language, the remainder a faithful paraphrase of what was said. [As soon as the official transcript is available, the Militant will indicate any important additions or corrections.—Ed.] Rauh: What is the relevance

of the legal opinion quoted in the chairman's opening statement? Was this made in a case concerning Mr. Kutcher? Moss: No, it didn't concern Mr. Kutcher. Rauh: Then I fail to see its relevancy. Guilty means guilty in a court of law, it doesn't mean guilty before an administrative tribunal. I ask dismissal of the case on this ground. Moss: Denied. Lipps: This hearing will not decide guilt of treason. Our in-

DETROIT OVER THE TOP IN PRESS FUND DRIVE

By Reba Aubrey Only four more weeks to go in the Socialist Publication and Press Fund campaign to raise \$16,185. Through Jan. 3 supporters of the fund have contributed \$10,414—64% of the goal to be reached by Jan. 31. The campaign nationally is dragging 11% behind schedule, which means a concerted effort by everyone is required to finish the campaign IN FULL AND ON TIME. Detroit went over the top by 104%. "There will be more to come," says Janet McCreager. "We aren't stopping just because we have reached 100%. We're just getting steam up now!" Milwaukee holds second place on the scoreboard with 80%. Buffalo's regular weekly contributions have kept this city ahead of schedule from the beginning of the campaign. They have already reached 78% of their \$1,760 goal. A \$273 contribution from New York boosted them into fourth place with 73% of their \$3,520 quota. Fannie Carter speaks for the Twin Cities: "This payment of \$88 brings our total to \$968 and pays us right up-to-date. With one more month to go, the fund supporters here are all giving that extra necessary push to end IN FULL AND ON TIME."

THE MILITANT ARMY

There is no better way to start off the new year than by receiving letters from our friends, telling us how much they think of the Militant. An example is one that came from a friend in Toledo, who after informing us of a new address writes: "Keep up the good work. Your paper is a refreshing departure from the stereotyped and controlled journalism (?) we are exposed to in our metropolitan dailies." Carl Feggans always sends in one or more subscriptions in every letter from Los Angeles. In one letter he writes: "We went to an NAACP meeting last Sunday and three of us sold 122 pamphlets on desegregation. Three others gave out samples of the Militant. Rose Bailey sold 79 copies of the pamphlet. Richard Clausen has been doing consistent work in the St. Louis area. It has paid off with an average of nearly a sub a week. Dick got this last one "after a subscriber told me that a friend to whom he had given a copy of the Militant asked how he could get it." The Twin Cities reports through their very active Militant agent, Winifred Nelson, that there have been good results in sales on the newsstands as well as before union meetings. She writes: "Another success to report: we sold 10 copies of Desegregation! at the Sleeping Car Porters meeting. I was welcomed heartily and ushered in to the meeting hall to sell." And in a P.S. she adds: "I shouldn't forget that Jean Carter and Ann Skippy, our regular Labor Temple salesmen, sold five Militants there the previous week." Buffalo's Merlin Wesley, who sent in nine subs a few weeks ago, sent us an additional four, as did George Clement from Philadelphia, and Meryl Benjamin from Cleveland. Helen Baker reports from Seattle: "Here are two subs we got Monday night at the Forum celebrating 50 years of the IWW. We also sold four FI's with J. P. Cannon's article on Trial and a couple of other pamphlets. It was a very successful affair from all standpoints." She continues: "On Sunday Nell McGrew and Bob Jones sold Militants for the first time in a neighborhood that had been covered in the last couple of years. They were caught in the snow storm before many could be sold, but they are going back there next week to try to establish a route in that district."

Now in Stock The Geography of Hunger By Josue de Castro \$1.25* The Iron Heel By Jack London \$2.00* *Please add 15c. for postage Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. 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.

NEW YORK Militant Forum Opens its 1956 Season Every Sunday, 7:30 P. M. Jan. 15 — Boom and Bust (And the Built-in "Stabilizers") Speaker: Gordon Bailey Questions Discussion Refreshments 116 University Place

Cleveland Militant Forum Political Biography of Walter Reuther (From Socialist to Democrat) Speaker: B. Evans Sat., Jan. 14, 8 P. M. 10609 Superior Ave. Questions Discussion Refreshments

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum The Middle East and The Egypt-Israel Crisis Friday, Jan. 13, at 8 P. M. At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207 Donation 25c. Free for unemployed

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum Opens its Winter Season Fri., Jan. 13 — The CIO-AFL Merger Speaker: Milton Alvin Fri., Jan. 20 — Lenin Memorial Meeting Speaker: M. Wells 1702 E. 4th St., 8:15 P. M. Donation 35c.

Philadelphia Militant Labor Forum Morris Stein Speaks on: China Challenges the Capitalist World Saturday, Jan. 14, 8:30 P. M. 1303 W. Girard Ave., 2nd Floor Questions Discussion Refreshments Donation — 35c.

Subscription 83 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.50 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single copies: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries. THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400 Editor: MURRY WEISS Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER Vol. XX — No. 2 Monday, January 9, 1956

Why Did Westinghouse Force a Strike?

By James Wilson

The Westinghouse strike is entering its eleventh week. Why is it that this huge national corporation does not appear to be following the general pattern of all the rest of the Big Business interests? Why has it not come to terms with the modest demands of the workers? Is it that this corporation is more anti-labor than others? Certainly, we can be sure that Westinghouse Electric is no better or worse than any other employer when it comes to dealing with workers. All bosses treat their workers according to how much profit the corporation is making, how busy the season is, the availability of labor, the competition in the industry, the size of the inventories, the strength of the labor movement, and the general political atmosphere of the country — all of these are considered by the employer before he forces the workers to go on strike.

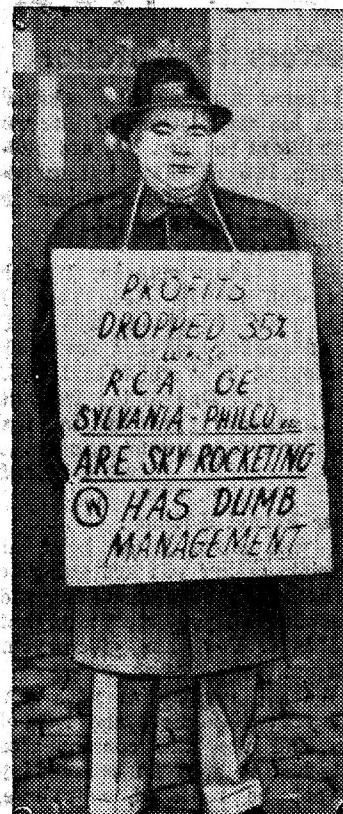
But the central consideration for the capitalist is the one called profit. If the profits of the boss are way down, he will be sure to fight just as a rat cornered in a building.

WESTINGHOUSE PROFITS

At Westinghouse this year many reasons exist for the corporation to force a strike. First, the profits of Westinghouse, percentage-wise, were the lowest in 1955 of any of the big corporations. This means that Westinghouse is in a dangerous competitive position.

Secondly, the business in the electric appliance field has slackened off in the sense that production has far outstripped the demand for the products. The result is the accumulation of huge inventories. This was demonstrated by the fact that General Electric and General Motors had just recently instituted price

Naive



Local 601 President Pat O'Connor, pickets Westinghouse office in Pittsburgh with demand that stockholders meet to change "dumb management" that is responsible for strike. O'Connor evidently thinks the stockholders are not responsible for company's union-busting schemes.

outs on electric appliances. These corporations are not known to cut prices if business is booming.

Third, the general political atmosphere is one of reaction. The

with hunt, the anti-labor legislation such as the federal Taft-Hartley law and the Right to Work laws in many states, the intensified lynching atmosphere in the South against Negroes and the open rule of Big Business in Washington—all act in support of the bosses and against the workers.

And last, but certainly not the least, is the strength of the labor movement. While the merger of the CIO and the AFL has given the workers a sense of greater strength, this is offset by the policies of the leadership which have their effect on the fighting quality of the movement as a whole. The labor bureaucracy for a long time has been preaching against the class struggle. In these years of high production, the bureaucrats have become more bold in denouncing those who believe that class struggle methods are needed to get results. These so-called leaders denounce Marxism and practice class collaboration while the bosses pursue a class struggle policy in fighting the unions.

CAPITALIST CRISIS

All of these factors contributed to the decision made by the Westinghouse Corp. to force a strike against the union. But the one that stands out most seems to be the one which has caused strikes in other sectors of the economy, namely the growing economic crisis. The textile industry, for example is over-expanded with too much textile goods in relation to the effective market. The bosses as always have attempted to solve their competitive problems at the expense of the workers. As a result, working conditions in textile have deteriorated in recent years.

The coal industry has suffered competition with oil and gas production and automation—so

much so that the union didn't try to get raises for several years and also failed to keep the miners working—even with shorter work weeks. Depression conditions in the middle of the "boom" have prevailed here too.

The Kohler (plumbing fixtures) and Perfect Circle (piston rings) strikes came in industries where the effective demand was very low and competition was great. Now it seems that the electric appliance industry has over-produced in relation to the effective market.

But Westinghouse is a part of the hierarchy of American Big Business. What section of the hierarchy is next to be plagued by this so-called overproduc-

tion? The process is clear—first come the smallest, then the smallest of the larger, then the smallest or weakest of the largest and so on up the line.

This process will continue under capitalism until the whole of the economy will become over-supplied with goods. This would have happened long ago if it were not for the government's intervention with huge peacetime military expenditures. However, even with continued government subsidization of capitalism, the crisis is manifest. The struggle of the Westinghouse unions for survival is a harbinger of the future for the rest of the labor movement.

World Events

WHEN IN WEST GERMANY last month the 15,000 workers at the Westfalenhuette steel mill in the Ruhr elected 16 Communist Party supporters out of 25 members to the works council, the capitalist and social Democratic press ranted against "Communist infiltration." However, says Brigitte Gerlond, noted German revolutionary socialist, writing in the Dec. 23 La Verite, it was "a healthy class consciousness and a hatred for the all-powerful coal and steel bosses that led [these workers] to vote for those who in comparison with the so-called socialists and the supporters of Adenauer, appeared to them as revolutionaries."

The vote, she says, indicates that many Social Democratic and Christian-Democratic workers voted for the Stalinists. Besides the 16 CPers, seven Social Democrats and two Christian Democrats were elected. In a 1954 vote, 21 Social Democrats, two Christian Democrats and only two Stalinists were elected.

The Saudis are going to operate their own tanker fleet. Then, instead of taking royalties in cash, they will take them in oil valued at production cost and sell the oil on their own account on the Western market. This will enable them to keep 100% of the profit on the sale of this particular amount of oil. Other oil producing nations in the Middle East are expected to follow suit.

THE ARGENTINE RULING JUNTA arrested all former top leaders of the General Confederation of Labor on Dec. 30 and placed them aboard a naval transport in preparation for their transfer to a prison camp in Patagonia. The political regime of President Maj. Gen. Aramburu continued to be in crisis as the Army is contesting the Navy for control of the government. The real power in the government at the present time is believed to be the vice-president, Admiral Isaac Rojas.

IN MALAYA, negotiations between Chief Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman and Communist Party leader Chin Peng to bring an end to the civil war between Stalinist-led guerrilla troops and British armed forces broke down last week. The Malay government offered an amnesty to all guerrillas including a pardon or permission to go to China (Malaya has a large Chinese population). However, Rahman insisted on dissolution of the CP. Chin Peng demanded civil rights for his party as a condition for calling off the fighting.

THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT is objecting to conditions attached to an offer by the U.S., Britain and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to finance building of the High Dam at Aswan on the Nile. The Egyptians object to a World Bank requirement that it exercise constant supervision over Egyptian national economic policy during the 18 years of dam construction. This, say the Egyptians, would infringe on the sovereignty of their government. They also object to a requirement that bids for dam construction be let out to the lowest bidder rather than contractors of their own choice. (The U.S. government did not follow the lowest bidder rule in constructing power stations at Chif Joseph Dam on the Columbia River.) In addition to the offer from the West, the Egyptian government has an offer from the Soviet Government to construct the \$1.8 billion project.

BRAZIL conducted \$70 million worth of trade with Soviet bloc nations in 1955. This compared with \$43 million in 1954. Indications, says Tad Szulc in the Dec. 31 N.Y. Times, are that this trade will rise even higher in the new year. "Representatives from the Communist governments are increasingly active in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America," says Szulc, "offering tempting export-import possibilities on terms that usually are more attractive than those of the West. The urge to export surplus goods [primarily sugar and coffee] while importing machinery, chemicals and other such products without expending scarce hard currency makes these prospects enticing to Latin Americans."

ACCORDING to a recent Chase Manhattan Bank report reviewed by Robert M. Hallett in the Jan. 4 Christian Science Monitor, U.S. private investments in Latin America added up to \$6 1/4 billion by the end of 1954. That is more than double the figure at the end of World War II. "In effect," says Hallett, "the United States has replaced Spain as the economic 'mother country' of Latin America." Though Latin Americans want U.S. guaranteed markets, guaranteed prices for their products and grants to aid industrialization, the "mother country" has "not been very warm to these overtures."

A New Pamphlet
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8 pages — 10c.

State Dep't Dismayed By French Vote Results

By Daniel Roberts

The U.S. State Department and all the newspapers of Big Business have received the results of the Jan. 2 election in France with deepest gloom. "France has got herself in a fine mess," declared the Jan. 4 N.Y. Times editorially.

What is the "mess"? It is the dramatic increase of the Communist Party's representation in the National Assembly, from 93 seats in the old Assembly, elected in 1951, to 145 in the current one. It is true that this was achieved with only a small increase in the CP's popular vote. In percentage of the total vote cast, the Stalinists polled about 25% in the Jan. 2 elections—a negligible drop from 1951.

THE 1951 TRICK

In 1951 all the capitalist parties plus the Socialist leaders ganged up on the Stalinists, and by means of a tricky election law, deprived them of representation in the National Assembly in proportion to their popular vote.

This year the main capitalist parties divided into two coalitions, one headed by Mendes-France which included the Socialist Party and the other by Premier Faure. This split prevented the bourgeois parties from working the same trick, and the CP was able to obtain its full number of seats.

Why, then, should the jump in the CP's representation, bringing it in proportion with its popular vote, throw the U.S. State Department into dismay? Because it testifies overwhelmingly to the fact that after ten years of ceaseless counter-revolutionary maneuvering by the U.S. government, the French workers are still solidly attached to their own organizations. Not only the CP's vote but that of the other working class party, the Socialist Party, remained constant—about 15% of the vote.

Since 1945, Washington has poured billions into the pockets of the French capitalist class in an effort to stabilize its rule following the near overthrow of French capitalism by the workers at the end of World War II. Washington launched the cold war not only against the Soviet bloc but also against the workers of Western Europe in an attempt to break up their organizations.

Furthermore, both Stalinist and Socialist leaderships have continuously betrayed the struggles of the French working class. The Socialist leaders have collaborated to the fullest degree with Washington's cold war policies, while the Stalinists have continuously sought an alliance with the French capitalist class against Washington but also at the expense of the needs of the workers. In the recent election campaign, for instance, they demanded to be included in the coalition led by Mendes-France and expressed

complete willingness to accept his entire capitalist program.

WORKERS WANT SOCIALISM Yet despite all Wall Street's maneuvers and the treachery of their own leaders, the basic core of the French workers continues to press for a socialist solution to all their problems.

On the other hand, despite all the aid the French capitalist class has received from the U.S. government, it staggers from one political crisis to another under the blows of nationalist revolutions in its colonial empire.

Now a revolt of its richest North African colony, Algeria, is under way. Since November 1954, the Arab independence movement there has struck powerful blows against the French and continues to surge forward. How to cope with this threat to its colonial body is the most important problem the ruling class will call on its divided parties in the new government to solve.

The French working class must also take account of a serious danger. This is the rise of the Poujadist movement, which showed its strength on Jan. 2 by electing 51 members to the National Assembly in its first campaign.

Morris Stein to Speak On Chinese Revolution

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 3 — The growing number of students and workers who are participating in the Militant Labor Forum here are looking forward to a discussion of the Marxist appraisal of the great Chinese revolution. Morris Stein, one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, is scheduled to speak Jan. 14 on the subject, "China Challenges the Capitalist World" at 1303 W. Girard Ave., second floor.

Class conscious workers require a clear understanding of the Chinese revolution to find a correct orientation in the political struggles of this country and the rest of the world. No other event since the Russian Revolution of 1917 has had such a profound effect on the capitalist world in which we live.

Morris Stein, who is a brilliant Marxist lecturer and writer, will take up the question of the class analysis of the Chinese revolution—its peasant base and its working class character. The theoretical problems posed by the revolution arise out of this contradiction, and are further complicated by the fact that the revolution evolved under the bureaucratic leadership of the Stalinists.

In addition Stein will deal with the effect of the Chinese revolution on U.S. foreign policy as it was shaped at the end of World War II and as it developed in the

The Poujade movement is an incipient fascist formation, tracing its line of descent, as the Jan. 4 N.Y. Times correctly points out, from the fascist organizations that flourished in France in the 1930's.

FASCIST DANGER

However, the French ruling class is not yet prepared to turn to a fascist solution. Economic prosperity—which prevails in France as well as the rest of Western Europe—has postponed the onset of social crisis. Nevertheless, the rise of a movement of desperate shopkeepers headed by a demagogue is a warning signal that the crisis of France must be solved by the workers or the turn will go to the fascists.

The French working class has time to prepare for the inevitable showdown struggle between itself and the capitalist class. The Stalinist and Socialist leaderships have defaulted, but the International Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International) has persistently advanced a revolutionary program over the years. On its shoulders falls the task of regrouping the working class militants for the revolutionary struggle for workers' power in France.

... Star Chamber Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

people in the country who oppose the Smith Act, including himself. And what about Eleanor Roosevelt and other prominent liberals who called for a Christmas amnesty of all Smith Act victims? Are they also to be charged with treason?

Most shocking of all was the revelation that the VA officials considered Kutcher's criticisms of their department as crushing evidence of his "aiding enemies of the United States." Thus they see the proof of their frame-up charges in the victim's attempts to defend himself.

The way the newspapers handled the Kutcher case during the last few weeks is a clue to the feeling of the American people. Not a single paper nationally offered a word of defense for the Veterans Administration's conduct. There was a uniform note of friendliness to Kutcher. Some papers took editorial stands challenging some of the basic precepts of the witch hunt. The N.Y. Post declared that it would take the same position in relation to Communist Party victims as it did in the Kutcher case. The St. Louis Post Dispatch went to the heart of the basic issue in the Kutcher case and raised the question of the validity of the "subversive" list itself in an editorial titled, "Black Mark Against the List."

The tone of the press is symptomatic of the growing revulsion in the hearts of the American people to the whole foul

witch-hunt brew. The American people are becoming sickened with the entire business of hunting and hounding thought suspects among workers, professionals, artists, teachers, scientists and veterans.

The Kutcher case, because it is an especially shameful example of official brutality and callous disregard for all human, let alone civil rights, has captured the imagination of the country. The average person feels Kutcher is getting a raw deal. This is the way the popular desire to do something concrete against the witch hunt manifests itself. And now it is the task of the civil liberties defenders to carry this a step further—to organize and make effective this sentiment and see that it doesn't dissipate.

The stepped-up activity of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee therefore deserves wholehearted and vigorous cooperation from every trade union organization and from all minority movements. Kutcher's fight to keep his pension is now a key issue in the fight for civil liberties. Action is on the order of the day.

Send telegrams to Harvey V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Make a contribution now to the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee, 325 E. 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Pass resolutions, hold meetings, mobilize sentiment, spread the truth and keep the fight going until complete victory has been achieved.

Wilkins Reports to NAACP

When the Supreme Court made its original decision banning school segregation in May, 1954, we assessed it as a signal victory for the Negro people in that it provided them with a powerful weapon in their struggle for equality. The degree to which that decision would become a reality, we said, would be determined not by the Court but rather by the relative strength of the contending forces in the battle that the decision was certain to unleash.

In contrast to this appraisal, the official leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at that time hailed the decision without qualification as the blow that ended Jim Crow schools. The year-end review issued Dec. 31 by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, moves towards a more realistic estimate of the situation.

In a notable break with tradition, the report openly shuns the practice of stressing gains and glossing over defeats. It bluntly declares at the outset, "The harsh truth is that even though there were some notable pronouncements and advancements, the bad overshadowed the good in race relations in 1955."

Listed among the setbacks are the wave of lynch terror in Mississippi, the open, organized defiance of the high court decision by the racists, their use of economic pressure as an instrument of intimidation and the failure of Washington to act in defense of the Constitution.

The federal government, the report charges, "has maintained the role of an observer. . . The rights of citizens have been violated in savage fashion but the Department of Justice has been impotent. The White House has been silent. Our government has protested outrages in every corner of the world but has said no word, taken no action, on outrages 'here at home.'"

On the positive side Wilkins cites the advances made in forcing desegregation measures in 17 states, the Supreme Court ban on Jim Crow in recreational facilities,

the ICC ruling against segregated travel and the growth of the NAACP, which gained the most in the South itself.

Such a report, we think, comes closer to the approach taken by the rank and file of the Negro people. Those who are involved in an active struggle for their rights, who have scored important gains and are imbued with militancy and confidence, have no need or desire for sugar-coated reports. They know that any struggle involves setbacks as well as advances. In a fight they expect a full, realistic battle report.

A welcome aspect of the report is its recognition that the struggle against the white supremacists cannot be divorced from the fight against reaction generally. Wilkins correctly scores the Eastland Committee's plan to witch hunt the daily press "under the guise of hunting communism."

Why didn't Wilkins' report mention anything about plans for a civil rights mobilization in Washington early this year? Readers of the report, which stresses the aggressiveness of the racists and the inaction of the federal government, are sure to ask, "If the government refuses to enforce the constitution in Mississippi, and if the liberals default on their promises for fear of breaking their alliance with the Dixiecrats, how can we put the heat on them?"

Wilkins couldn't report anything about a mobilization in Washington because despite Reuther's announcement last Oct. 27, that the NAACP and the unions were planning a giant rally in Washington to present the new session of Congress with civil rights demands, the leadership of the unions and the NAACP have done nothing to further these plans.

This situation points to the chief problem of the struggle against Jim Crow: the ranks of the Negro people and their allies in the ranks of the unions are ready for battle, but the leaders, trapped in their coalition with capitalist politicians, are stalling. That's the bottleneck we have to break.

Good News From Spain

After 17 years of tyrannical oppression, dictator Franco has not been able to blot out of the minds of the Spanish people the great beacon light of socialism. This is the splendid news that emerges from a secret poll conducted by the Spanish government at the University of Madrid. About 400 students filled out questionnaires or were interviewed anonymously. The great majority of them are opposed to the fascist regime and favor a socialist Spain.

The report, published in the Jan. 4 New York Times, acknowledges that these views are not confined to the students but are shared by the workers and other sectors of the population. The Spanish workers had already registered that point in their valiant general strike movement of March, 1951.

The official analysis of the student poll, which was circulated only among government functionaries, declares, "Specifically, 82% unreservedly say that they have no confidence in the present ruling minorities." Only one-fifth of the students, mourns the report, believes that Spain's problems can be solved through "conservative means." In dramatic contrast to this figure, the report reveals, 65% of the students are certain that Spain will

"inevitably wind up with a socialist type of regime."

The significance of the poll and the grave concern it has aroused in Spanish ruling circles was demonstrated in butcher Franco's New Year's speech. This year he didn't waste any time with his usual lying claims of "accomplishments." Instead the speech was devoted to an appeal for "national solidarity" and a plea for support to his murderous regime.

Throughout the world this report of the indomitable revolutionary temper of the Spanish people will be joyfully received by all those fighting to eliminate capitalist oppression. By the same token it comes as the worst kind of news for the focal point of world reaction—the American capitalist class and its government.

The fascist government of Spain is a key part of American imperialism's "free world" military and political alliances. The U.S. government has poured millions of dollars into a desperate effort to maintain the "stability" of that hated regime, that is, to keep it securely fastened on the backs of the Spanish people. The report from Madrid constitutes due notice that Wall Street's reactionary efforts, in this case as in many others, is headed down the drain.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

By James P. Cannon

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Incident at Chrysler

By Janet McCreager

L. L. Colbert, president of Chrysler Corporation, recently announced that Chrysler was to spend a billion dollars in expansion. This expansion program will be devoted primarily to "research, experimentation and finding new ways to adapt advanced automotive design to advanced production methods and facilities."

Not long after a group of us employed in a Chrysler plant read this in the Chrysler Magazine, Marge, one of the workers, fell on the floor in pain. As the new car models were passing by her, she lay among the refuse on the factory floor. Yesterday's garbage, and today's fresh refuse, oil, dirt and paint rags, tobacco juice, spittle, nails, and tar. When her fellow workers finally got her carried into the women's room she was placed on the cockroach-filled cot, that had recently been dusted with Chrysler's cockroach powder.

After twenty minutes of lying there in pain, two plant protection men finally arrived to take her to the company hospital. There she was given the "sure test" of illness: the nurse placed a thermometer in her mouth, and allowed her to lie down a few minutes. The nurse kindly informed her that she didn't have a temperature, it was only up one degree, and that she was to return to work.

When she got back to her department, this time alone, the pains increased, the workers were concerned, for she apparently had all the symptoms of appendicitis. The foreman told her to get back on the line, her work was going down undone and she must catch it up. The workers insisted that she should go home despite the foreman's orders, for she was in great pain.

Marge finally just couldn't take any more, and under threat of being fired, she decided that she must leave the shop and

get to a doctor. Fifteen minutes after she had left the shop she was on the emergency table of a nearby hospital for a ruptured appendix. If she had held off any longer for fear of losing her job, she would have lost her life.

This incident recalled to us how little concern the company has for human life, and how much concern for production and profits. All of us remembered the time last year when old John, who was working between the cars on the moving line, fell and died there with a heart attack. What a battle we had to put up to get the foreman to stop the line while we pulled his body from between the cars, and what a battle we had to keep the line shut down while we waited for the men to come to take him to the hospital! As he lay there on the floor for some 25 minutes or so, they expected us to crawl over him and keep on working.

There was one thing they made haste about all right. All the foremen ran around getting his records, getting his time cards cleared out, because if old John, with his 32 years of faithful service, had lived seven hours more, he would have been eligible for his vacation bonus check, amounting to three weeks pay. But by the fast action of the foremen and the clerks, his widow was denied this pay that old John had worked for almost a year — minus seven hours.

Though they appropriate a billion dollars for the new and modern techniques to speed up production and thereby the death of workers not one penny is spent in expanding or even improving the facilities for the health or care of the workers who make this billion dollars for them. Human life is by far the cheapest item in the bookkeeping system of the corporations.

"Marty"

By Trent Hutter

For once I agree with the New York film critics: They have voted "Marty" the year's best American picture. This independent (Hecht-Lancaster) production, written by Paddy Chayefsky (and based on his TV play), superbly acted by Ernest Borgnine, Betsy Blair, Esther Minciotti and others, certainly didn't cost millions and has neither Technicolor nor Cinemascope; but it does have something that so many slick Hollywood spectaculars are lacking: Realism, a sincere portrayal of every-day people — not the wealthy glamour boys and dolls Hollywood is attached to. Once again we see that whenever American movie makers show courage and sincerity they can do just as well as the famous Italian realists.

Marty is a heavy-set, rather sensitive, decent man of 34, working in a butcher's shop although he would have preferred to go to college after the war, faced with the question whether he should buy the store his boss wants to sell him — and, above all, terribly lonely and frustrated in a big city; an "ordinary" guy, not very attractive to women, continuously bothered by the indiscreet petty-bourgeois question, "When are you getting married?" His loneliness ends when he finally meets a school-teacher, a nice, friendly girl who is equally lonely and frustrated and recognizes his human qualities.

Marty's loneliness and his relationship with his "friends," who are no real friends but just companions superficially linked in common frustration, trying hard (often unsuccessfully) to dig up dates for Saturday night, are very significant. So is the depressing atmosphere of the bar where they hang around and the joyless ballroom. There are millions of Martys all over the

country and they hang around the same bars and the same ballrooms. . .

Nowhere has capitalism been pushed to such extremes as in the U.S. Western European capitalism is completely rotten, but it has not been able to influence human relations to quite the same extent as American capitalism, that all-embracing giant. The latter has increasingly atomized the crowds, especially in the petty bourgeoisie of the big cities, since the petty bourgeoisie do not feel that basic solidarity we frequently find among the workers.

A motion picture like "Marty" is not merely touching; it makes us more conscious of a situation which many persons tend to accept as being natural but which, in fact, is not natural at all. It is a situation as unbound as the social and economic system of which it is a result; and a better social system would undoubtedly create better human relations.

A socialist society would not be a shapeless mass in which the individual easily feels isolated and lost, but a harmonious organization coordinating the efforts and abilities of all and permitting every one to freely develop his or her talents and individual personality (without any economic or police pressures).

Naturally, such a system would be bound to evolve its own standards of human value and patterns of behaviour (as every social and economic system does), and the millions of people like Marty could develop and be appreciated quite differently, relieved of the bitter problem of frustration and loneliness.

"Marty" is a movie that makes us think. We have to be grateful for such pictures. It's a masterwork in every respect. Don't miss it!

Notes from the News

GEORGIA'S GOVERNOR MARVIN GRIFFIN has come in for widespread criticism from Georgia residents for his attempt to stop the Georgia Tech-Pittsburgh football game because Pitt had a Negro player on its team. When the State Patrol gathered around the Governor's mansion to guard it Rev. C. T. Pratt, head of the Church of God in Dalton, Georgia (a militant, pro-union religious movement) and co-publisher of the newspaper The Southerner, commented, "Well, at least those patrolmen are not out herding scabs to break strikes on some cotton-mill hill. They're down there in Atlanta guarding the chief scab of them all."

THE EIGHT-MONTH STRIKE of the 850 Louisiana Godechaux Sugar Co. strikers has been won. Workers began to return to the plant Dec. 15. "Heads here are very high," said District Director George Thomas of the Packinghouse Workers. "We are going to get that dime raise that was the original issue of the strike, and we have our union and unity stronger than ever." Returning workers retain their accumulated seniority rights. Only 80 of the original group broke ranks under the heavy pressure of the bosses and the state and local administrations. "It should be realized," a union official said, "that Godechaux had all the strikebreakers it could use, recruited from all over the state. There was even a waiting list."

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL editor, Justin McCarthy, commenting on the AFL-CIO unity conventions in the Dec. 15 issue, says, "One of the most incongruous spectacles was the pageant presented at the CIO convention on the history of that former militant and fighting or-

ganization. It took a real rewriting of history to leave the role of John L. Lewis in that history out of the pageant. . . Sort of like Joe Stalin writing the history of the Russian Revolution without mentioning Leon Trotsky."

HE WAS BEATEN and ducked in boiling water by drill sergeants because he chewed gum in class. This is charged by ex-marine Earl D. Brown who is suing the government for \$175,000 in damages. The suit was filed in the San Diego District Court.

FLINT CHEVROLET WORKERS were laid off or cut to a four-day week in the past month. The Searchlight, newspaper of UAW Local 659 writes, "It's certainly a shame that the ones behind this untimely layoff could not have waited at least until after the holiday season to put these people out on the street."

THE YELLOW DOG CONTRACT, an anti-union weapon of former years, is being revived in the Miami hotel strike. A hotel union official displayed photostatic copies of "company loyalty" statements one hotel was forcing its workers to sign. The strike, which began last April, has been attacked by injunctions, discharge threats to employees, state laws and the refusal of the National Labor Relations Board to intervene. Five major hotels have signed and the strike will continue with the backing of the national AFL-CIO.

WELFARE COSTS in the state of New York are running \$15 million higher in 1965 than in 1964 the N. Y. Times reports. The increase is attributed mainly to "larger medical bills and bigger families."

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THE MILITANT

Our Readers Take the Floor

Letters to Kutcher

James Kutcher has selected from his mail letters of interest to Militant readers. We are publishing two of these letters below and will publish others in subsequent issues. — Ed.]

Dear Jim:

As a fellow veteran, I wish you well in the New Year. I hope your courageous fight will be successful and that for which we fought in World War II will be achieved. Due to the feelings of insecurity present in the country today, I must remain . . .

Just a Friend

Dear Friend Kutcher:

I will make it as brief as possible seeing you are going to be extremely busy answering and assorting all your mail now that the N.Y. Post has given your address.

We all sympathize with you for your discomfort and loss of job and the dire consequences attached to such an event. May it not be repeated, elsewhere, ever again.

No American who is fair minded can turn away from your plight. And for action, you need more citizens, veterans, who will stand up and fight for your right, if need be on shortened limbs, crippled limbs, and the like, who should be the first to surround you with a solid phalanx of right-minded men and women who know and love justice and what it truly means! Count me as one who would do this very thing!

M.K.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

in your church; you objected to the passing out of leaflets to your congregation outside the church auditorium; you refused any and all forms of financial assistance; you refused to sit on the platform as an invited guest."

This stand by the Seattle President of the NAACP against a do-nothing attitude on the Till case, was front page news in the November 18 issue of the Pacific Leader, sole Negro newspaper in the Seattle area. It caught most of the community by surprise, as the NAACP here is not particularly noted for its militancy in the struggle against Jim Crow. The NAACP had called no meetings on the Till case and paid almost no attention to it until its protest meeting of Nov. 9 — six weeks after the murder of Till.

The resignation of Pres. McIver, as well as the calling of the Till protest meeting, revealed that the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the Negroes, and especially the Negro working class, had forced its way through to the NAACP, compelling it to engage in a struggle against the hesitancy and complacency of a powerful section of the "talented tenth" who act as leaders in the Negro community.

The public resignation also revealed that the effective organization of the fight against Jim Crow requires a fight within the Negro community, itself against the hesitancy and complacency of a powerful section of the "talented tenth" who act as leaders in the Negro community.

In Seattle, as in most sections of the NAACP, the mainstays of the organization have come, by and large, from the middle class; lawyers, professionals, ministers and small businessmen. Its only connection with the overwhelmingly working class Negro population comes to it second hand through its financial dependence upon the large church organizations, and the many Negro clubs and lodges in the city. While they often become concerned with the most manifest expressions of prejudice, (especially where it affects the "talented tenth") the naked truth is that the Negro middle class has strong economic and social ties with the system of segregation itself. As small businessmen their trade depends upon Negro buyers; as lawyers,

doctors or dentists, their clientele is predominantly Negro. As ministers, their main commodity is a place in heaven where the problems of segregation and discrimination will be solved for all time.

The talented tenth, however, are torn by many contradictions which are reflected in the confused and hesitant policy of the NAACP. While they derive clear benefits from segregation — especially during this period of relative prosperity — discrimination sets a limit on their capitalist aspirations, and they confront prejudice daily. In addition, they are so deeply dependent upon the income and support of the Negro working class for their very existence, that they must put on a semblance of a struggle for their unconditional assimilation into American society, which is the driving need of the Negro worker.

The Seattle NAACP has long been identified among Negro workers with the more conservative wing of the "talented tenth," and has, as a consequence, only shallow roots in the community. McIver's open declaration of opposition to a tacit acceptance of Jim Crow, is therefore, a great service to the NAACP and the fight against discrimination. It was an act which will make him some enemies among the Negro leaders but will arouse strong support from most of the Negro people.

If Seattle's NAACP has the courage to wage a continued struggle against conservatism in the Negro community, and follow McIver's declaration with deeds and a militant program of action, it can earn a real base among Negro workers. Through their participation, it can be transformed into an organization fighting uncompromisingly against discrimination and segregation in all its forms.

Frank Powers
Seattle, Wash.

Likes Militant

Editor:

I am very thankful for the way you handled my subscription. Your agent called, but I was not at home. Sure I want the Militant. What other papers hide in some remote place in their paper or else don't print at all, is on your front page as it should be.

G. C.
Flint, Mich.

Jim Crow Bus Boycott Hits Co. Pocketbook

By Henry Gitano

JAN. 1 — A powerful boycott, now entering its second month, is the militant reply to Jim Crow busses by the Negro community of Montgomery, Alabama.

This mass action to combat the white supremacists, was sparked by the arrest of Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, last Dec. 2. Mrs. Parks was seated in the front of a city bus while the vehicle was completely occupied by Negroes. A white woman entered, and the driver ordered Mrs. Parks to give up her seat and move to the rear.

Mrs. Parks refused to be segregated. She protested that she had been there first, paid her fare, and had no intention of giving up her seat. Thereupon, the driver who has police power for enforcing segregation under Alabama's law, arrested Mrs. Parks. She was fined \$14.

MASS MEETING

The boycott of Jim Crow busses by Montgomery's 40,000 Negroes started the next day. On Dec. 5, a mass meeting was held at which Negro leaders urged that the boycott be continued; a throng of 5,000 roared their approval. A spokesman at the meeting said "the boycott would continue until people who ride busses are no longer intimidated, embarrassed and coerced."

The boycott is estimated to be 90% to 95% effective. The Montgomery White Citizens' Council placed ads in the local press: "Make this Bus Week. Ride the busses. Show the National City Lines that you appreciate their service, or else they may not think it worth their while to renew their franchise."

It was a futile effort. The bus company has pulled 80% of its busses out of service and laid off 75% of its drivers. Three quarters of Montgomery's bus riders are Negroes.

With resourcefulness and courage Negroes in Montgomery are holding the fort in this dramatic struggle. Car pools, Negro cab companies taking passengers at a dime a head, hiking, and a fierce determination to fight discrimination are the ingredients of Montgomery's battle for a South with civil rights.

Transit officials Dec. 9 rejected "first-come, first-served" demands of Negro leaders. And company attorney Jack Crenshaw rejected a suggestion that Negro drivers be hired for routes through predominantly Negro sections.

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... Eastland's Gang

(Continued from page 1)

groundwork for a major attack on freedom of the press. Scores of witnesses from various New York newspapers have been grilled in secret session by the committee. The bulk of the subpoenaed witnesses are reported to be members of the N.Y. Times staff. Eastland says for the record that the "investigation" is not aimed at the press — just "communism."

But his overly-enthusiastic supporter, columnist John O'Donnell of the N.Y. Daily News, blurted out in his Dec. 27 column that the Times was the major target of the hearings and declared: "This investigation has as its background frequent charges . . . that news reports of the early hearings held by the late Senator McCarran . . . and the later hearing by Senator McCarthy were given a false emphasis and twisted interpretations, in print and on the air, when they finally reached the eyes and ears of the great segments of the republic."

In order to facilitate its coming smear attack on those papers that have been even mildly critical of the witch hunters, the committee is trying to refurbish the reputation of the government's stable of paid stool pigeons. The Eastland committee issued Dec. 27 a booklet relaunching the stock story of the "communist conspiracy." The central theme of the work is that Communist Party renegades and paid stool pigeons are "indispensable" to its work.

Two days later the committee released a special supplement devoted to Harvey Matusow. It repeats again the phony claim that Matusow was telling the truth when he was helping the government frame members of the Communist Party, and ignores the fact that Matusow himself easily proved he was lying in his story about "Communists" on the N. Y. Times staff.

But glaring contradiction to fact is no problem for these experts of the Big Lie technique. What is decisive for them is the power they wield to smear, frame and shout down. Thanks to their alliance with the Northern Democrats Eastland and his committee colleagues have that power. His new "federation" constitutes an effort to supplement that power with a coordinating "grass roots" movement.

The significance of Eastland's double-barrelled activity was well pegged by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary in his Dec. 30 statement. (See editorial page three.) Wilkins charged:

"It appears now that the (White Citizens) Councils may be a threat to America generally. They have a frightening resemblance to the pattern made infamous by the Nazi party in Germany. Using the Negro as an excuse, even as the Nazis used the Jews in Germany, the literature and spokesmen for the Council are denouncing all and sundry as communistic or dupes or fronts for communism . . .



EASTLAND

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Senator Eastland's probe of the press under the guise of hunting communism gives more than a hint of how these groups hope to operate."

Last November Walter Reuther announced that the powerful United Auto Workers Union, in cooperation with the NAACP and other organizations were planning a "nation-wide mobilization to converge on Washington early next year" to demand Congressional action on civil rights legislation.

The influential Negro newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier on Dec. 10 opened a campaign to put pressure on the federal government to send troops to Mississippi and protect the lives, property and civil rights of the Negro people of that state. At the same time militant Negro leader Dr. Theodore Howard has called for a mass March on Washington to compel the government to act against the wholesale violations of the U.S. Constitution.

The ominous new moves of Eastland and his cohorts against civil rights and civil liberties brings sharply to the fore the regrettable fact that no further steps have been announced either by Reuther or the NAACP leadership to carry through the urgently needed mass mobilization. At their present pace the most they will turn up in Washington is a relatively small group of lobbyists. The record of such lobbying activity demonstrates that it will not succeed in penetrating what Dr. Howard described as the "deaf ear" of the government.

Only a giant rally of labor and the Negro people can effectively counter the moves of the Eastland gang and force the Northern allies of the Dixiecrats — in both parties — to carry out their oft-repeated civil rights promises.

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