

Expulsion-Splits Dominate AFL-CIO Second Convention

By Fred Halstead

ATLANTIC CITY, Dec. 10—The process of expelling affiliated unions has completely dominated the AFL-CIO convention which began here last week. Expelled so far are the 1.3-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the 130,000-member Bakery and Confectionary Workers. Formal ouster of the bakery union, while voted yesterday, is to take place Dec. 12. In the meantime a decision is to be made on issuing a charter for a rival bakery union. AFL-CIO President George Meany has declared there will be no attempt to form a rival to the Teamsters.

Pushed Ousters



MEANY

The convention has seen no debate and little discussion on economic, organizing, civil rights and political-action questions. Resolutions on these subjects have been sandwiched between guest speakers and proceedings against unions whose officials have been under attack during the past year by the McClellan Committee.

MITCHELL'S PROPOSALS

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, a guest speaker, outlined the Eisenhower administration's proposals for legislation affecting the labor movement in light of the McClellan Committee hearings. The proposals would outlaw all secondary boycotts of the "hot cargo" type and restrict organizational picketing. They would set up a new government bureau to police union records and require the filing with this agency of annual financial reports and details on "union structure and organization procedures." The proposed laws would also require secret ballot elections every four years for local, national and "other" union officers (and presumably government supervision of such elections).

Mitchell said the administration would oppose a national "right-to-work" law, but did not propose eliminating the section of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows states to pass such laws. He also proposed elimination of the non-communist-affidavit provision of the T-H law entirely and said he supported changes in the law to allow strikers to vote in NLRB elections.

In answer to these proposals, the AFL-CIO Executive Council drew up a general resolution supporting legislation which "may be needed to protect trade unions and their members" and declaring that the AFL-CIO "will resist" legislation seeking "to destroy honest, decent American trade unions." No more specific plans, proposals or preparations

for fighting the expected wave of anti-labor legislation next year have been discussed at this convention.

FALLING FOR MC CLELLAN SOFT-SOAP

The prevailing attitude of the AFL-CIO leadership was expressed by William Schnitzer, Secretary-Treasurer of the federation, at a speech to the Labor Press Association just before the convention opened. Referring to the "clean-up" campaign, he said, "as soon as we get through this problem that we now have, you'll see this labor movement grow. . . . Why do you know I've heard members of the McClellan committee speak out and ask the American Bar Association and the NAM why they haven't adopted an Ethical Practices Code similar to that of the AFL-CIO. . . . In these speeches they hold up the AFL-CIO as a moral symbol for America."

Woodruff Randolph, president of the International Typographical Union and one of the five delegates who spoke against the ouster of the Teamsters, warned against trying to appease the labor-probers. "The only purpose of the McClellan Committee," said Randolph, "is to create an atmosphere through which they can adopt a lot more repressive legislation. . . . Just so long as they can keep digging it up, as they are now doing, things that are going on in the labor movement, they will keep on digging

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Foster Attack on Gates Published by Kremlin

DEC. 11 — The factional struggle within the leadership of the Communist Party appears to be heading toward a renewal of open warfare. According to the Dec. 9 New York Times, the latest issue of the Soviet magazine, *Kommunist*, contains a blistering attack by William Z. Foster against Daily Worker editor John Gates.

According to the Times account of the article, Foster wrote that the resolution adopted at the CP's national convention last February sanctioning "comradely criticism of other Communist Parties and also socialist countries" had been falsely interpreted by the daily press as signifying a "revolt against Moscow." The chairman emeritus of the American CP went on to assure his Soviet readers this was not the case.

The Times reports that the article goes on to a slashing assault against Gates. He renews his attack on Gates for his original critical attitude toward the armed Soviet intervention in Hungary, as well as his proposal, later withdrawn, to dissolve the Communist Party into a political association.

Declaring that the "right-wing" is still "quite strong," Foster apparently repeats all of the charges of "revisionism" hurled at Gates prior to the adoption of the "united" compromise resolutions at the last convention.

On Dec. 10, Gates made the following statement to the N.Y. Times: "Mr. Foster's opposition to the new path chartered by the national convention of the Communist Party of the United States was notorious. Apparently he continues this opposition. . . . In the article published in *Kommunist*, he speaks entirely for himself and without authority from the Communist Party in this country."

Further evidence of the stepping up of the drive against

Doxie Wilkerson Resigns from CP

DEC. 13 — The weekend Worker today reported the resignation from the Communist Party of Doxie Wilkerson. A member of the party's national committee and a prominent supporter of the Gates viewpoint, Wilkerson made his resignation known in a letter dated Nov. 25. It said in part: "I still cherish and will continue to work for the social goals which have long guided my adult life. . . . However, I have come, reluctantly but irrevocably, to the conclusion that, especially in the light of recent developments, the Communist Party no longer affords a framework within which I can make a constructive contribution to these ends."

Gates is manifested in the letters appearing in the pages of the Daily Worker vigorously attacking the contents of a speech made by the Daily Worker editor in a Boston debate with Granville Hicks. On the basis of the report of the speech, Gates had said nothing essentially new or different from what he has been saying over the past period. However, the letters attacking his speech are typified by one which charged Gates with having "taken another long step away from working class principles of patriotism and internationalism." Gates replied to these attacks by citing decisions of the recent convention on which he said his remarks were based.

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Rocket Failure Called Heavy Blow to U.S. Prestige Abroad

Biggest Transit Strike

New York's Subways Near Halt

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—The men who drive New York's subway trains have gone on a strike which has slowed the transit system to a crawl and at the same time captured the imagination of the city's working class.

The strike, begun at 5 A.M., Dec. 9, by the Motormen's Benevolent Association which claims a membership of 2,600 of the subway's 3,167 train engineers, is unique in a number of ways. The MBA is a union without a bureaucracy. The officials are working motormen. It is extremely militant. It is the only union to call a subway strike in 30 years. It engaged in a nine-hour stoppage last year. Despite the heavy penalties that followed including one-year layoffs in several cases and despite the permanent injunction imposed by the courts, the motormen have once more proved as good as their warning and have again walked off the job.

At one o'clock in the morning, four hours before the strike deadline, four leaders of the MBA were dragged to a judge's home for sentencing to ten days in jail for violating the no-strike injunction. The MBA realized this would happen and had a second-string leadership all prepared to carry on the strike. These have done an excellent job of publicizing the grievances.

Consequently the majority of New York workers, despite the inconvenience in getting to and from work, are sympathetic to the strikers. They admire the sight of rank-and-file workers on their own defying the powers that be. In a day and age when it seems that labor leaders go to prison only for being caught red-handed in some corruption, the average worker here is impressed with the MBA leaders who have willingly gone to prison for what they consider the best interests of the men they represent.

On the other hand New York's Big Business interests are screaming for extreme penalties against the strikers. Their fury may be gauged by the lead editor.

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Indonesian Workers Seize Holdings of Dutch Imperialists

By V. Grey

From Dec. 3 to 9, Indonesia has carried through extensive seizures of Dutch investments in the country. These include banks, shipping concerns, airlines, trading companies, oil holdings, shuttle railways and coffee, cocoa, copra, sisal and rubber plantations. It also ordered most Dutch nationals to leave the country.

The campaign of seizures was touched off by renewed Dutch refusal to negotiate for turning over West New Guinea (West Irian) to the Indonesian Republic. Dutch imperialism kept possession of that island after recognizing Indonesian independence.

SUEZ IS MODEL

In its take-over of Dutch properties, Indonesia has been emboldened by the successful Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, which also was carried out to enforce legitimate

claims of a national independence movement. (In Egypt's case, it was imperialist refusal to grant a loan without political strings for the construction of the Aswan Dam that led to the Suez nationalization.)

However, the Indonesian seizures mark an important advance in the anti-imperialist struggle beyond the Suez nationalization. For in a great many instances, the Dutch holdings were taken over by the workers who established their control over the properties.

The Dec. 9 Christian Science Monitor reports that "Workers with red armbands and red flags . . . were taking over more Dutch premises. . . . Indonesian workers . . . hoisted the Communist and Indonesian national flags above the offices of Borsumij, one of the largest Dutch trading firms in the country. Outside the building they put up a notice saying 'Property of the

Indonesian Republic.' " The workers' actions have been carried out under the auspices of the trade unions, whose leadership — including Communist Party forces in SOBSI, largest labor federation — cooperates with the Sukarno government. The latter represents the Indonesian capitalist class. Although it initiated the policy of seizures of Dutch property, it has shown alarm over the militancy with which the working class has carried through the anti-Dutch measures. From the beginning, government officials have berated "wildcat" seizures.

TOOK THE BANKS, TOO

The workers did not stop short of the most hallowed of capitalist institutions — the banks. Three of the biggest of these in Java were taken over by workers and placed under their control. Then, on Dec. 9, the government assumed direct rule over

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Stevenson Says Workers Must Tighten Belt

By Art Preis

DEC. 10 — "Rarely in history have United States prestige and morale suffered a heavier succession of blows than since late summer 1957," bemoaned last Sunday's N. Y. Times. First came the Soviet Union announcement of the development of a successful intercontinental ballistic missile and its launching of two man-made moons. Then, last Friday, when "a token American satellite crashed in total and widely publicized failure," wailed the Times, it was viewed throughout the world as "a humiliating blow to U.S. prestige."

That it was. But U.S. prestige had already been brought almost to its knees by a succession of blows antedating 1957. Indeed, even in England, America's closest imperialist ally, the Sputniks had served to bring even more into the open what Christian Science Monitor correspondent Henry S. Hayward described, Nov. 11, as the "inevitable thinly disguised satisfaction that just this once these supremely confident Americans have got their comeuppance."

Loss of Prestige Began in 1945

American prestige had taken a staggering blow in August 1945 when Truman announced the wiping out of two Japanese cities, with just two atomic bombs, slaughtering 200,000 civilians. There followed brutal U.S. military occupations of the defeated nations. Then, Washington launched the cold war against the Soviet Union with dire threats of atomic annihilation. U.S. money and arms were poured into the hands of greedy imperialisms, like the Dutch and French, in attempts to wipe out in blood nationalist uprisings in colonial countries.

Even more damaging to U.S. prestige have been direct military interventions against the popular forces in civil wars. Some six billion dollars were poured out of the U.S. Treasury to bolster the utterly corrupt dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, which crumpled before the might of a vast revolutionary upheaval. And in Korea, U.S. military forces, which wiped out millions of people and themselves sustained close to 150,000 casualties, were nevertheless stopped dead in their tracks.

With its brandishing of the A-bomb and H-bomb, with its open aid to capitalist dictatorships like Franco, Chiang and Syngman Rhee, with its direct and indirect attempts to destroy every colonial struggle for national freedom, American imperialism had long since irreparably damaged U.S. prestige in the eyes of the common people everywhere.

What now profoundly disturbs and unnerves the American ruling class is the effect of the loss of its clear-cut military lead on the ruling classes of its allies and the uncommitted and neutralist countries. Why else would they risk the life of a sick President to attend the NATO summit conference in Paris? The failure of the U.S. "Goofnik," admits the Dec. 8 N. Y. Times, has "intensified the 'crisis of confidence' that has engulfed the Western coalition partly because of the military implications of the Soviet gains in rocketry, partly because of a spate of dissension among the NATO allies."

Conflict of Interests

Conflicts among the imperialist powers are being brought into the open as economic competition amidst narrowing markets becomes more acute. U.S. intervention to compromise the French war against the Algerians — with a U.S. eye on new oil finds in the Sahara — has brought Paris and Washington into an open rift. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have made formal protests against U.S. dumping of food surpluses that tend to depress world prices for their wheat, butter and other food exports.

Writing of a spreading international capitalist economic slump, Frederic Stenberz observed in the Nov. 23 Cleveland Press that "symptoms of depression, particularly in the drop in heavy industrial production have been showing up in nearly every major producing country abroad. It looks like no mild storm."

Not the least concern of the American rulers is the growing attractive power of the Soviet Union, as the second greatest industrial power, for the undeveloped countries. Two points of view are contending in the American camp. George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, in a Dec. 8 radio address in London, expressed the idea that the U.S. should not "appease" needy countries which demand economic aid under threat of turning to Moscow. "Moscow is not exactly the bottomless horn of plenty it is often held to be," said

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500 Attend Socialist Forum's 'Age of Automation' Conference

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — About 500 people turned out here today for a conference sponsored by the American Forum — For Socialist Education on the Subject of America's Future in the Age of Automation and Atomic Energy. The conference was preceded by a reception last night in honor of A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum.

The opening session of the conference heard three papers on the problems related to automation and atomic energy. The conference then went into panel discussions on trade union problems, cultural problems, youth problems, political action and socialism and democracy.

CONFRONTATION

Every tendency in the radical movement was represented at

these panels—both on the platform and among the numerous participants in the question and discussion periods; and confrontation of different points of view was thus made possible.

In the opening session, a paper by Carl Dreher, engineer and author of a new book on automation, was read by Sidney Lenz, secretary of the American Forum. Dreher said that automation will bring hardships to the working class, unless it takes place in a situation where there is a rising demand for labor power and a wide training program to provide workers with new technological skills suitable for automated plants. "But there is nothing in the present order of society," he said, "to assure him [the worker] this will happen." He also warned that advancing technology increased the tendency toward the concentration of economic and political power with a consequent increased

push toward conformity. "Thought control," he declared, "is automation in politics."

Frank Bello, science editor of *Fortune* magazine, presented figures to demonstrate that developments thus far in the field of automation have not brought wide-scale unemployment.

Production of manufactured goods has increased by 45% in the past decade, he said, while the number of people employed in plants has remained around 13 million. The only major shift in the labor force during this period was among farm workers whose numbers declined from eight to six million.

If mass unemployment comes, he contended, "it won't be due to automation, but to some other fault in our system."

Jack Cypin read extracts from the pamphlet, "The Robot Revolution," of which he is co-author. He saw automation leading to a simultaneous de-

centralization of production and a centralization of the control of production. Such control he said, would be either democratic or autocratic and, "the decision is up to us."

The greatest degree of controversy at the conference was found in the panels on socialism and democracy and on political action. (For a report on the panel discussions, see story page 2.)

Although sharply divergent views were expressed the tenor of the discussion was fraternal throughout. The general atmosphere of the gathering was symbolized by the long table at one side of the main hall which was shared by seven or eight different radical publications, most of which appeared to be doing a brisk business.

Attendance at the conference was greater than had been anticipated. Equally gratifying was the large number of youth participating.

Michigan Steel Locals Rally in Dues Protest

By James Campbell

DETROIT—Steel workers of District 29, Michigan, responded with hearty applause as Donald Rarick and Bud Richardson, leaders of the Dues Protest movement of the United Steel Workers of Amer...

Steel Cutback in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Dec. 7 — Unemployment has become the number one problem in this city, whose working class is gripped with a feeling of insecurity unknown since the end of World War II. The long, slow but uninterrupted decline in steel operations in this steel center that lasted all summer and fall appears to be climaxing in a rapid and complete shutdown of some of the largest basic steel plants. Thus Republic Steel was slated to shut down its open-hearth operations today for the balance of the year. Steel output now is at 65% of rated capacity in the district. The current answer of the Steel Workers Union leadership is to litigate through the courts for Supplementary Unemployment Benefits for the unemployed.

now engaged in a campaign to rally all militant, anti-administration forces in the union and to gain the allegiance of larger numbers of honest and trustworthy spokesmen for the rank and file. As yet the Dues Protest leaders have not spoken out on the most urgent problems confronting steel workers today. The steel industry continues to show a decline in national production which has seen a steady drop from 92% of rated capacity last January to 73% this month. (In the Youngstown, Ohio, area it is currently 65%). Serious unemployment is already appearing in crucial steel areas in Eastern Ohio, and in Michigan the threat of short-time layoffs is very real. Nor have they spoken out on the current mergers taking place between several of the huge steel corporations. These mergers will mean the abandonment of obsolete divisions in favor of newly automated plants and will accelerate the further automation of the steel industry in a fight for the tightening market. This also presents the very real specter to steel workers of further layoffs and unemployment.

CONFERENCE IN MARCH

He assured the men and women attending the rally that the Dues Protest campaign was supported solely by the dollars of the membership and urged the local groups to send delegates to the next Dues Protest conference to be held in Cleveland next March.

The Dues Protest leaders are gearing for a fight over charges that the McDonald forces have brought against Nicholas Mamula, publicity chairman of the national Dues Protest Committee, in Local 1211. This is the 11,000-member Jones and Laughlin local in Aliquippa, Pa. to which Mamula belongs. The charges arise from a letter he wrote a Beaver Valley newspaper in which he exposed the high salaries that local union officers already receive and criticized the increases they are currently seeking. He was replying to a letter from a spokesman of the officials justifying the increase.

The Dues Protest movement in the steel workers union is

Will South Block Labor Unionism?

By Arne Swaback
(Second of two articles)

The most significant long term effect of industrial progress in the South will be its tendency to bring the two split segments of the working population—white and colored—together. As both become assimilated into the same process of industrial production, they will be facing the problems of capitalist exploitation in common. Breaches made in the archaic social and political structure, and in the Jim Crow system, whether for the sake of greater political centralization or otherwise, will of necessity increase this unifying tendency. The destiny of both segments will tend to blend with that of the working class movement throughout the nation.

This effect may seem paradoxical in view of the benefits so long accruing to the ruling class by keeping the races pitted against one another—and not only in the South. What is happening now? Have the capitalist rulers suddenly become conscious of certain moral and ethical obligations, or are they merely losing sight of their own best interests? The truth is that by its development of modern industry capitalism involuntarily promotes labor unity and organization.

Shoulder to shoulder in union struggles. To this general rule the South forms no exception. The transformation of its economic foundation is calling into being, and welding together, a new social force. Reviewing the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England, Engels wrote: "But the mightiest result of this industrial transformation is the English proletariat." On a more modest scale it is possible to say now about the South, that the mightiest result of the industrialization will be the emergence of a Southern proletariat.

But less than one-fifth of the Southern workers are organized in unions today. Wages are conspicuously low. Out of its total of 2½ million production workers employed in manufacturing by April 1954, before the latest minimum wage law went into effect, 723,000 earned less than \$1 an hour. Per-capita income in the Deep South was in 1955 only 64.1% of the national average.

MORE HANDS THAN JOBS Besides, industrialization has by no means assured jobs for all, least of all for the Negro population. In the survey made by U.S. News and World Report (Jan. 27, 1956) it is stated that: "For many a plantation 'hand' there is beginning a real struggle to find a place to earn a living." And this journal quotes a Negro leader as saying: "Sometimes people go hungry. . . . The man who depends on a seasonal farm job for a

South Shows Fastest Industrialization Rate

In last week's installment of "Economics of the Changing South" by Arne Swaback, information was given on that region's accelerated industrial development. Statistics recently made available by the U.S. Department of Commerce show that manufacturing employment, which is up 9% for the U.S. as a whole in the period since World War II, is up 22% for the seven Southeast states; new construction, up 57% nationally, is up 177% for the South; bank deposits, up 47% for the nation, are up 52% in the South.

Today the South produces 36% of the nation's coal and oil; 36% of the chemicals; 40% of the paper; 80% of cotton textiles; 70% of the rayon; 95% of synthetic fibers; 40% of the furniture; and 99% of the tobacco.

The amount of atomic materials produced in the South and nationally is kept secret but some \$3 billion have been invested in the South. Oak Ridge is in Tennessee and the huge DuPont-run atomic plant is in South Carolina.

The South had 11,000 factories in 1939, it has 33,000 today. There are now 4,041,100 factory workers in the South, a 27% increase since 1947 against a national increase of 18%.

living just rots, body and soul." Most Southern States have enacted "right-to-work" laws designed to prevent union organization. Open shop conditions predominate and perpetuate the Southern wage differential. With few exceptions, notably those of the United Mine Workers and a couple of CIO unions, the leaders of the labor movement have made but little serious effort to extend organization to the South. And such efforts as are in evidence have been frustrated by concessions to color prejudices, failure to fight for equal wages, etc. On the whole, these feeble efforts have been based on an adaptation to the prevailing reactionary political rule. "Operation Dixie," the campaign to organize the South, which was launched in a blazing fanfare of publicity, never got to first base. Do racial barriers actually form the insurmountable obstacle to union organization that the labor bureaucrats so often cite as an excuse for their failure? Several surveys of this problem presented by Daniel Guerin in his study, Negroes on the March, clearly indicate that color prejudice on the part of the poor whites is not as entrenched as many imagine. Guerin adds: "... on the other hand, a repressed class hatred is solidly rooted in the depths of their consciousness and could store up some surprises for the future. In the same degree that their hostility toward the Negroes tends to become weaker, their anger toward the ruling class, being no longer contained by the counter-irritant of racial fanaticism, tends to explode. . . . Solidarity between whites and Negroes, the perspective which frightens the masters of the South, will flower fully only in the trade unions."

brings up the question of labor's relations to the Democratic party. Nothing but hostility to union organization can be expected from this single ruling party in the South. And this might well be the decisive factor that will hasten a political realignment. It might well serve as the force necessary to help loosen the political tie-up of the labor bureaucracy with the Democratic party nationally, for it will tend to work its way toward independent labor political action, toward a labor party. In turn, this would help to bring about a new and stronger bond of solidarity between workers of both races.

1955 SOUTHERN STRIKES

Working class receptivity for union action was clearly demonstrated in the dynamic strikes that raged across the South in 1955. This might soon be repeated, and in more explosive form, for union organization of the South cannot be long delayed.

However, union organization, if it is to be undertaken seriously, will come into conflict, at every step, with the thoroughly rotten social and political system by which the Southern Bourbons maintain their domination. It will face the fierce resistance of their political powers at every level, statewide and locally. It will thus be political in character from its inception posing constant problems of political conflict; and serious union organization in the South can advance only on the basis of the most intense class struggle. Every serious collision with the prevailing political order

Vital Issues Before Radicals Discussed at Five AFSE Panels

By Herman Chauka

Since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the issue of socialism and democracy has increasingly occupied the attention of the entire radical movement. This was readily apparent at the panel on this subject at the conference of the American Forum — For Socialist Education. (See story, page 1.)

Participants in the panel were David Dellinger of Liberation magazine, Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party, John L. Lewine, an educator, Steve Nelson of the Communist Party and Dr. Frederick Schuman, historian and writer on Soviet affairs. The moderator was Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee. Also scheduled to participate were Murray Kempton, the columnist, and Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party. Kempton was not present because of illness in his family. Aptheker's absence was not explained.

SELF-REFORM THEORY

Both Nelson and Schuman, who described himself as a "non-socialist," expressed the view that the Soviet regime is engaged in a process of democratic self-reform.

Dellinger held that dictatorial rule in the Soviet Union flowed from efforts to "impose a system on people." It is wrong, he argued, "to engage in revolutionary violence to bring about a non-violent society."

Lewine contended it is necessary to replace what he sees as "communism" in the Soviet Union with "socialism" as represented by the various parties of the Second International and the Asian Socialist Conference.

Insisting that socialism and democracy are inseparable, Dobbs said the Soviet Union could not yet be considered a socialist society. The abolition of capitalist property relations and the substitution of nationalized, planned economy, is completely progressive. It is the duty of American socialists, he declared, to convince the American workers that it is in their class interests to defend the right of the Soviet workers to have made such social changes. At the same time, he continued, they should also support the struggle of the Soviet workers to wrest political control from the privileged bureaucracy. He cited the Hungarian revolution as a movement in that direction.

In reply to a direct question from Dobbs as to where he stood on this issue, Nelson said he thinks the present Soviet officialdom wants to break with Stalinism but that the process of self-reform was "arrested" by the Hungarian revolution. He said he supports the present regime "because it's going in a socialist direction." But, he added, "I don't follow them blindly like I used to. . . . Now I criticize them when I think they are wrong."

HITS 'GIMMICK' UNIONISM

At the trade-union panel, Russ Nixon, an official of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.) called for an end to collaboration with the employers and the rebirth of political freedom within the unions. He also hit the substitution of "fancy plans and speeches" for real economic gains. "Phony gimmicks like five-year contracts and the so-called SUB smack of collaboration," he declared.

Jules Geller, of the magazine American Socialist, said the main task of socialists at this time is to build a "revitalized socialist movement" rather than elaborating economic bargaining demands. Fred Fine of the Communist Party, said "The question for socialists is: has the maximum

and how to achieve a regroupment of socialist youth.

Michael Harrington, national chairman of the Young Socialist League which is now seeking affiliation with the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, spoke on the need to build a broad socialist youth movement.

David McReynolds of the SP-SDF, said he was not willing to be in the same organization or participate in united activities "with Communists and Trotskyists."

The managing editor of the Young Socialist, Tim Wohlforth, stressed the need for a broad, independent socialist youth movement and declared he was in favor of united activity on specific issues by young socialists of all viewpoints.

Earl Durham of the Communist Party discussed the current crisis of U.S. education. Nina Landau, a University of Wisconsin student, described her recent trip to the USSR and China and emphasized the importance of freedom to travel. Tony Ramirez, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, spoke of the problem of influencing "the apathetic many."

CULTURE PANEL

At the panel on culture, Eve Merriam, a poet, said the development of science could help make the artist "a whole human being," provided artists were able to work together in "a collective garden." Novelist Harvey Swados saw both the U.S. and the USSR competing in the production of material things without any regard by either for promoting cultural values. Robert Wright, of Union Theological Seminary, said that automation and atomic energy offered little promise "in our existing society."

Dr. Otto Nathan, the economist, declared it was idle to discuss the impact of automation and atomic energy on culture in isolation from the basic problem of capitalism and socialism. The artist has managed to create under capitalism and other previous class societies, but there can be no real flowering of culture until there is socialism, he said. "And I am as sure we will finally reach socialism as I am that the sun will rise tomorrow."

Tom Kerry of the SWP said the unions must be transformed into instruments of struggle for the interests of the workers instead of supporters of "free enterprise and the State Department." This, he said, requires "support to rank-and-file movements against the present misleaders of the unions."

Sam Pollock, a Cleveland union official, said it was no longer possible to solve the problems posed by automation and atomic energy by pure and simple trade unionism. "The unions must adopt a socialist program and fuse with the radical movement to do that," he declared. He also said that in splitting the union movement, the AFL-CIO leaders had "become captives of the McClellan committee." Sid Lenz, moderator of the panel, stated his disagreement on this point.

The youth panel addressed itself primarily to current problems of American youth, how young socialists can effectively participate in today's struggles

NEGROES ON THE MARCH
A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle
By Daniel Guerin
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... Bigger Transit Strike

(Continued from page 1)

torial in the ordinarily staid and unexcitable New York Times (Dec. 10). It began:

"The strike against the New York City subway system by the Motormen's Benevolent Association is a flagrant violation of state law. It is contemptuous of court order. It is a violent outrage against the people of New York City. These are government employees striking against government. The only appropriate answer to such rebellion, to such flouting of the public interest, is the severe punishment established under law."

LABOR SPIES

Thus labor spies in the employ of the N.Y. Transit Authority were concealed in a closet of the hall in which the MRA pre-strike meeting was held. They bore a small hole in the closet door so they could identify the sneakers and report on what they said. It was on their testimony that Theodore Loos, MRA president, and three other officers were imprisoned. The responsibility for the use of labor spies rests on Mayor Wagner whose success in politics is based mainly on the fact that his father was the author of the Warner Act, which among other things made labor espionage illegal.

Telegrams were sent to all strikers notifying them that unless they reported for work by Tuesday afternoon they were automatically fired. When this threat failed to start a back-to-work movement, the deadline was extended for 24 hours. Only 19 motormen gave in.

The strike of the motormen for recognition as a bargaining unit on a craft basis is a direct result of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union's failure to win adequate wages and working conditions for the membership. The TWU ranks have for a long time been disgusted with the leadership of the Quill machine and with the inferior contracts it has secured.

Striking motormen ridicule TWU President Michael Quill for having incessantly threatened subway strikes and always having backed down.

STRONG UNION MAN

Joseph Carin, acting MBA leader, in an interview with the Militant on Dec. 11 proudly explained he had been a union man for 27 years, and his father a union man before him. When he stopped going to sea and began working in the subway in 1948 he immediately joined the TWU. The piddling increases brought by the 1952 contract "made me think something was wrong. Motormen got only \$81.60 — about \$64 take home. Until 1954, Carin said, "Quill had the whole TWU behind him but then he had to go

and sign a sweetheart contract." Asked what the economic demands of the motormen would be if they won recognition, Carin replied: "To get back what the TWU gave away. The one-day sick leave, scheduling rights. Sixty percent of our jobs are over 40 hours a week. The Transit Authority that gets an extra trip out of us. We do more work now on a five-day week than we used to on six days. For instance, on the A line a motorman used to make 12 trips a day — now he has to make 15."

Indicative of the fighting spirit of the motormen is their system of "alternative" leaders to meet arrests. Carin is the alternative for Frank Zelano (take-home pay \$67), who used the Fifth Amendment to protect himself and the union during his contempt trial today. "I have an alternative all picked out," Carin told reporters. "And he's really hot, but I won't give you his name yet."

Though a militant and democratic industrial union would be incomparably more effective than a number of craft unions, even if they were all as militant as the MBA, one cannot but sympathize with the grievances of the striking motormen. Nor are they conscious that their craft movement endangers industrial unionism. They "just want to get back what was given away." However, encouraged by the action of the MBA, eleven more craft formations in the subway have declared solidarity and some have called out members or hoped-for members.

Thus the motormen's strike is a danger signal for industrial unionism in the transit system. The Quill bureaucracy, despite its bluster and demagoguery, failed to fight for the wages and conditions which the ranks deserve and are willing to strike for. It has thereby endangered the continued existence of industrial unionism itself by making important sections of the membership so desperate that even antiquated craft unionism appears attractive to them by contrast.

... Blow to U.S. Prestige

(Continued from page 1)

Kennan, "and it is rather a pity that it has never been requested to respond all at once to the many expectations directed to it."

But others, like Adlai Stevenson, fear the risk to U.S. capitalist interests in such a policy. In his Dec. 9 address on foreign policy before the New York County Lawyers' Association, Stevenson complained: "Already Soviet non-military foreign expenditure is pressing us closely in amount, and their effort is on an ascending curve while ours is descending."

Stevenson puts forth the grandiose scheme of bigger and bigger military spending and bigger and bigger economic aid to other lands. Of course, Stevenson concedes, there's another delicate problem involved: "But how are we going to do all this? It is going to take a lot of money. What about inflation?" At this point, Stevenson's word-power gives out. "Well," he answered his own questions, "that's another speech — probably for a Republican!"

"Some Belt-Tightening"

But still he could not resist the temptation to give a hint of the real answer he had in mind: "And to control inflation, is a labor-management scheme of temporary voluntary deferment and control of wages and prices beyond our ingenuity? What is certain about all this is that there is going to have to be some belt-tightening, some more self-discipline. . . ."

Stevenson, who reflects leading opinion in the Democratic Party, proposes in essence the same thing as the Eisenhower administration — a shift to "less butter and more guns," as Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks put it last Nov. 13.

American workers are to be confronted with a renewal of the World War II "equality of sacrifice" program, one of the worst skin-games put over on U.S. labor. We are threatened with a new wage freeze while prices and profits will continue to climb. And this as the American economy heads toward a slump and mass unemployment. That will certainly boost U.S. prestige!

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Division in Algerian Nationalism

By Philip Magri

The world is coming to know and recognize the dimensions of the struggle for national independence which the Algerian people have waged for the past three years. The crimes—murder, rape, pillage, massacre, violation of every democratic and human right—committed by the French forces in their "pacification" of Algeria have also become well known. But in recent months many supporters of the Algerian liberation struggle have been profoundly disturbed by crimes against Algerians committed, not this time by the French, but by other Algerians participating in the struggle against French imperialism.

These have included a series of murders in the past two months which took the lives of a large number of Algerian trade-unionists including the general secretary of the Algerian workers union (USTA), Ahmed Bekhat.

BITTER SPLIT

These and other bloody incidents are the results of an extraordinarily deep and bitter split within the Algerian liberation movement between two powerful organizations, the Algerian National Movement (MNA) and the National Liberation Front (FLN). This vitally important conflict, amounting to a virtual civil war within the Algerian camp, can only be understood in terms of the historical development of Algerian nationalism.

In the neighboring North African countries of Tunisia and Morocco the nationalist movements remained under the leadership of moderate and wealthy men symbolized by Bourguiba and Mohammed V. The social background of Algerian nationalism was entirely different. Tunisia and Morocco were relatively late French conquests, and under the form of "protectorate" retained their national structure and preserved the existence of the old ruling classes. Furthermore, relatively few French settlers made

Victims of Algerian Split



Women survivors of Melouza massacre. This village supported the MNA, the left wing of the Algerian nationalist movement. A guerrilla band invaded the village, took all the men—over 300—prisoner and killed them. The MNA charges the crime to the right-wing FLN which is trying to crush the MNA by force.

their homes in Tunisia and Morocco, leaving a certain amount of economic space for a native commercial capitalist class and a stratum of intellectuals to develop.

In Algeria, on the other hand, the French colonial regime, since 1830, made a conscious attempt to wipe out the Algerian national identity in all respects. Old Algerian social patterns were disrupted, the very existence of the Algerian nation was denied, as Algeria was "legally" defined as an integral part of France. A million European settlers dominated the trade, manufacturing, agriculture and intellectual life

of the country. The development of the Algerian people was suppressed in all ways.

Only a tiny minority could get an education and achieve a privileged position as lawyers, functionaries, intellectuals in the service of the French rulers. The vast majority of Algerians are landless agricultural laborers. As many as 500,000 Algerian workers were compelled by poverty and unemployment to migrate to France where they could get jobs to help support their families in Algeria.

Tunisian and Moroccan nationalism had their origins among wealthy lawyers and merchants. Algerian nationalism

was born among the expatriated, exploited, overworked and underpaid Algerian workers in France.

MESSALI'S PROGRAM

In a very real sense, the founder of modern Algerian nationalism and the father of the Algerian revolution is Messali Hadj. In 1924 the young Messali, an Algerian worker in France, profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution and by the struggles of the French working class, founded a movement called the North African Star. The program of the Star embodied three concepts which from that time on have been central to the political development of Algerian nationalism:

- (1) A resolute and uncompromising struggle for a democratic and independent Algeria.
- (2) The perspective of a socialist Algeria, including the nationalization of banks and mines, and sweeping agrarian reforms.
- (3) International solidarity with other peoples of North Africa (looking toward an eventual North African federation) and with the French working class.

In the 1930's the North African Star changed its name to the Party of the Algerian People (PPA) and finally succeeded in establishing a movement in Algeria itself. Although the PPA fought alongside the French workers against the fascists in February 1934, adhered to the Popular Front and took part in all the demonstrations and strikes of June 1936, in January 1937 the Popular Front government of the "socialist" Blum and the "communist" Thorez outlawed the PPA.

This repression was continued and intensified by the Vichy fascist government during World War II. After "liberation" the new Popular Front government of Thorez-Blum-De Gaulle organized a savage repression which took the lives of 45,000 Algerians in the province of Constantine. Although after 1945 the Algerian nationalists were able to gain a precarious half-legality as the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD), all the elections in Algeria were outrageously falsified, and the party was under continual police repression and harassment.

FRENCH HOUND MESSALI

Whether the movement was called the North African Star, the PPA, the MTLD, or today, the MNA, Messali has had to pay for his ideals with almost continual imprisonment. He was jailed by the Third Republic, sentenced to 16 years hard labor by the Vichy regime, kept constantly in "forced residence" by all the governments of the Fourth Republic. Today Messali is imprisoned on the bleak and lonely island of Belle Isle off the coast of Brittany (fittingly, this is the same island where the great French revolutionist August Blanqui was imprisoned by the government of Napoleon III.)

Though the Messalists were by far the dominant political tendency among the Algerian people (in those rare instances in which Algerian elections were relatively free, the MTLD constantly received 85-90% of the vote), other political currents existed. First there was the tiny layer of Algerians who had become French puppets, and were rewarded with posts as "representatives of the Algerian people" in the French colonial administration. The Algerian people called the members of this privileged clique "Beni-Oui-Ouis," since their function was to say yes to anything the French administration proposed.

There also existed two moderate nationalist groups; a conservative religious Muslim group called the "Ulemas," and the "Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto" (UDMA), headed by Ferhat Abbas.

MODERATE NATIONALIST

Abbas is a wealthy lawyer, who before World War II opposed Algerian nationalism and

A Correction

Last week we reported the controversy in the pages of the People's World around the question of the Socialist Workers Party and its San Francisco election campaign. In reprinting extracts from several letters published in People's World, a typographical error occurred which led to the running together of two different letters. Adam Lapin's concludes with the sentence, "And I feel the PW is alienating many potential friends by its attitude toward the SWP..." The sentence that follows is actually the beginning of a letter by B. E.

supported incorporation with France. After the war he accepted the idea of Algerian independence, but in a purely nominal, verbal fashion. In practice, the UDMA looked only for reforms within the framework of Algerian incorporation with France. As a result, the UDMA, though supposedly nationalist, was favored by the French administration as against the "extremist" MTLD.

The Algerian Communist Party was an extremely insignificant factor in Algerian politics because, as a captive tool of the French Communist Party it opposed the idea of Algerian independence from 1935 until very recently and sided with the colonial regime against the nationalist movement. It drew its small support mainly from the European minority in Algeria.

On the eve of the outbreak of the Algerian revolution, in the summer of 1954, the MTLD of Messali underwent a severe crisis. Under the difficult conditions of semi-legality combined with extreme repression a profound gap opened up between the leaders of the party and the rank and file.

MTLD DIVIDES

The French police energetically suppressed all efforts at organizing the Algerian people in local groups of the MTLD for political and trade-union activity. Such work could only be carried on under conditions of strict illegality, and of course this was even more true of preparations for revolutionary action. On the other hand, the legal leaders of the party were tolerated and even encouraged by the French administration. Thus the MTLD representatives in the municipal government of Algiers were led to cooperate with the "neo-colonialist" administration of Mayor Jacques Chevallier. They gradually came to accept a completely reformist orientation, abandoning any attempt at illegal or revolutionary activity.

These leaders made up a majority of the legal Central Committee of the MTLD, and used this position to prevent any effective underground action, and to suppress revolutionary militants of the party. Despite his imprisonment, Messali was able to inspire a rank-and-file revolt against the so-called "Centralists" which was successful in re-establishing a revolutionary leadership at the head of the party, at the Congress of Henu on July 14, 1954.

Shortly before the outbreak of the revolution on Nov. 1, 1954, the respected French capitalist newspaper, Le Monde, summarized the results of the split thus:

"It seems that Messali has won definitely in France as well as in Algeria. Led by men who seem to want to avoid violent methods and illegality, the expelled group finds itself being surpassed by the Messalists MTLD, whose roots are mostly among the workers."

The MNA is the direct continuation of the revolutionary wing of the MTLD. The antagonism between this revolutionary tendency and all other political forces in Algeria is the background for the present assaults against the MNA.

Kutcher's Suit for Back Pay

A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since the summer of 1948 when the federal government began its persecution of legless veteran James Kutcher because of his open and avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party. His was one of the earliest witch-hunt cases of federal employees and the first in which the victim neither resigned nor denied the allegations. On the contrary Kutcher stood up and declared: "I am a member of one of the organizations unconstitutionally proscribed by the Attorney General's illegal list and I have every right to be."

Kutcher's bold, principled stand at the beginning of the witch hunt did not bring any quick easy victory. Indeed as the McCarthyite fever mounted new blows were aimed at him. He and his aged parents were ordered evicted from the low-cost, federal housing project in which they lived because of his SWP membership. Then his veteran's disability pension was stopped. But his stubborn battle, in the course of which he had succeeded in gaining the support of many unions, civil liberties groups and Negro organizations, generated enough public protest to force the federal authorities to back down. His victories, after almost eight years of struggle, came in a fairly rapid succession.

His pension was restored after the first public hearing held in a federal "loyalty" case. His victory over the Gwinn Amendment in the New Jersey Supreme Court ended the eviction case and was an important element in the federal government's decision to drop all attempts to enforce that infamous law. Finally on June 26, 1956 he was restored to his job in the Newark VA office.

The obstinacy with which the witch hunters, thrown back but not defeated, cling to their control points, is demonstrated by the fact that even now the Kutcher case is far from over. Ordered restored to his job with all rights by the courts, Kutcher cannot collect the back pay due him. The U.S. Comptroller General's refusal is based on the simple fact of Kutcher's SWP membership, the very identical charge in all the other cases that Kutcher finally won. Thus Kutcher is obliged to begin the same fight all over again. He has done so with the filing on Dec. 5 of a suit against the government in the U.S. Court of Claims.

Moral: it is not enough to win a civil liberties case, it must be won over and over again to insure the initial victory. Therefore fighters against the witch hunt must have the patience of Job and the stubbornness of a bulldog.

Discussion Among Socialists

Supporters of the American Forum — For Socialist Education have every reason to be gratified with the results of its Dec. 6 conference in New York. (See stories on page 1 and 2.) That almost 500 people turned out for such an all-day discussion certainly indicates the existence of a not insignificant body of individuals seriously concerned with socialist thought. Especially noteworthy in this regard is that the audience comprised not only a representative cross section of the various radical tendencies but also of a good number of newly-interested unionists and youth.

Equally important is that the principle of "free and untrammelled discussion," on which American Forum is founded, was in full play at the conference and demonstrated in life that it is a vital and positive concept.

The richness of the panel discussions, for example, sprang from the fact that they were conducted on the principle of "non-exclusion" and that they provided a direct confrontation of basically differing views on key issues of the day. The participants had the opportunity to examine, side by side, sharply differing

concepts on the controversial aspects of "Socialism and Democracy," or on such a widely debated issue as whether the interests of American labor is best served by activity confined within the framework of the present two-party system or by independent political action in direct opposition to these parties.

Such confrontation of ideas is an important key to the continuing success of American Forum. The socialist movement today is confronted with many new problems demanding answers. Equally important, is the fact that there are crucial issues to which answers have been formulated and are being offered — answers that are often the polar opposite of each other. And large numbers of people already in or about to enter the radical movement are deeply concerned with clarifying in their own minds which of these conflicting views correctly reflect the reality of our time and are deserving of support. So long as it is a vehicle for the direct confrontation of such views, American Forum provides an invaluable service to the large number of radicals seeking such clarification.

The Oppenheimer Case

Intermixed with their frenzied cries for the appropriation of billions for rocket research, the capitalist politicians and press have been doing considerable public breast-beating about their past mistreatment of American scientists.

Of the thousands of scientists bullied, badgered, humiliated, investigated, re-investigated, fired and smeared by the witchhunters in the past decade, J. Robert Oppenheimer was the most prominent. It is therefore about him as a symbol that the capitalist spokesmen are now calling for a new course towards scientists. A number of papers and politicians are urging his "rehabilitation." On Nov. 21 former Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who three years ago called Oppenheimer "disloyal" and voted for his dismissal as a "security risk," told the press: "I would not be at all displeased if he [Oppenheimer] were to be reinstated."

Oppenheimer was the scientist in overall charge of the development of the atomic bomb. After the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki he was horrified by the prospect of the atomic destruction of mankind and to fellow scientists voiced the hope that hydrogen fission would be developed for peaceful use but never for an H-bomb. Such a statement would in a few years be used against him as tantamount to treason.

In top committee he argued against development of the Hell-bomb and when the Truman administration ordered its construction, he undertook the work but without expressing "enthusiasm" — another nail in his coffin as a "security risk." Finally, he was "arrogant" enough to use his own judgment in such things as declaring that he would give a former student, who had invoked the Fifth Amendment, a letter testifying to his

ability as a physicist, and in having lunch with a man suspected of having been a communist a dozen years previously.

On this "evidence" the Eisenhower administration suspended Oppenheimer's security clearance in Dec. 1953, the Gray Commission ruled against him in May 1954, and the AEC fired him ignominiously the following June. William M. Borden, Executive Director of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy declared: "More probably than not he has been functioning as an espionage agent." Books appeared "substantiating" the charge of the gutter press that "conspiracy amounting to treason had delayed the H-bomb for four years" and that Oppenheimer's attitude could stem only from communist ideas or connections.

Scientific history was falsified. Although the Los Alamos laboratory, the creation of Oppenheimer, did successfully develop the H-Bomb, the politicians and press christened Dr. Edward Teller "the Father of the H-bomb," even though Teller's special laboratory had produced nothing but complete duds. This was a reward to Teller, for his denunciations of scientists who shared Oppenheimer's ideas about the H-bomb's danger to mankind.

There is a growing demand for an official repudiation or reopening of the frame-up "case" against Oppenheimer. This is very good. But it must be remembered that the Oppenheimer case was possible because the political atmosphere had been prepared by the witch hunt of the Rosenbergs and imprisonment on Alcatraz of Morton Sobell. It is imperative therefore that the demand also be raised for reopening these foundation cases of the witch hunt against the scientists.

... Indonesia Seizes Dutch Properties

(Continued from page 1)

the banks through the army ousting the workers.

In the case of the Dutch-owned plantations (75% of the total), Indonesian Agriculture Minister Dr. Swardjo told reporters on Dec. 10 that the government was taking them over in order to stop "other people" from doing so. Tillman Durin, writing from Jakarta in the Dec. 10 New York Times reports that "Dutch estate sources here said tonight they were glad the government had acted to prevent worker seizures."

The plantation workers, who form the great bulk of the working class in Java (principal island of Indonesia, with a 70-million population), are extremely well organized and class conscious. This may be gauged by the remark of a Dutch planter to reporters in Singapore that "... conditions in East Java were out of control and laborers are taking the upper hand everywhere."

Indeed the entire working class is well organized and battle-tested. It fought the

Dutch for four long years after World War II, then conducted militant strikes against both Indonesian and Dutch enterprises in recent years.

As far as the Indonesian capitalists are concerned, the seizures are for purposes of bargaining with Dutch imperialism in the course of which they hope to gain greater scope for themselves. Thus, except for harbor facilities in Indonesian ports, the government has not nationalized the seized Dutch properties but is holding them pending settlement of the West Irian dispute. It has not touched major oil companies that include British and American interests at all. The Communist Party leaders are also supporting this policy.

Although Indonesia won political independence in 1949, Dutch imperialism has continued to extract huge profits from the labor of the Indonesian working people. Dutch investments have been cut from 2 to 1 billion dollars since independence. But according to Vrije Volke, a Social Democratic newspaper in

Holland, Dutch enterprises, beginning in 1951, were pumping profits to the homeland in volume commensurate with the most profitable years since World War I.

For the Indonesian working people, consequently, the aim of the national independence struggle is to free the country completely from this economic subjugation. To that end their pressure on the Indonesian government brought about a repudiation last year of a \$1 billion debt which the Dutch had saddled on the country as part of the treaty recognizing independence.

The sweep of the working-class seizures and the establishment of workers' control furthermore indicates the direction in which the Indonesian working people will seek to complete the national independence revolution. This is the reorganization of the country on the basis of socialist property relations. It is to prevent the seizures from devolving along that road that the Indonesian government moved to assert its authority over the Dutch properties.

... AFL-CIO Convention

(Continued from page 1)

them up... We know that all we can get out of them is not from begging... but by economic strength."

Randolph also strongly opposed the threat to autonomy posed by the AFL-CIO expulsion procedure. Technically the IBT and the Bakers were expelled because their top officers refused to comply with directives of the 28-man AFL-CIO executive council that gives the council power to police the internal affairs of the unions and to demand the ouster of officials subject to McClellan's attacks. Randolph said reform of the Teamsters would "have to come from the bottom and not from a mandate at the top that will skim off a few crooks."

George Lynch of the Pattern-makers voiced an objection on the floor that was more commonly heard in the corridors. He attacked the "gigantic strides toward resting dictatorial power in the hands of 28 men" and concluded: "you are throwing them [the IBT] out under a set of standards which you consistently refuse to apply to yourselves."

By membership strength the vote for ouster was 10.46 million to 2.27 million or about four to one. If the IBT had been seated instead of having its voting rights suspended, the two-thirds

vote necessary for expulsion would probably not have carried. Of the 127 international unions seated, 20 voted against ouster, including the Carpenters, Hod Carriers and Laborers, Meat Cutters, Upholsters, the ITU and a single former CIO affiliate, the Mechanics Educational Society.

The debate over the ouster of the Bakery Workers union revealed how thin the line of division is between the "clean" bureaucrats and the corrupt ones. The charge of crookedness is leveled against the union's president James Cross. He is accused of having diverted organizing funds to buy himself a Cadillac. In a speech denouncing the Bakers' expulsion, AFL-CIO Vice President Herman Winter, a past president of the bakery union referred both to Cross and to William Schnitzler, an aid to Meany in the ouster drive, who is also a past president of the Bakers. "The man Jimmie Cross is a protégé of mine," said Winter; "so is Schnitzler. Whatever waste Jimmie Cross has been responsible for, so has Bill. There is no question about that; I can prove it. I don't think anything about it, however. They had their way of carrying on organizational work; I had mine."

The AFL-CIO Executive Council had set no other conditions for reinstatement of suspended unions than resignation of one or

two top officials who had been under personal attack by the McClellan Committee. The bureaucratic machines in these unions would still hold power.

Although the issue of autonomy is involved in the case of the Bakers as in the case of the Teamsters, there is also an important difference to be noted. The union is divided down the middle, with many rank-and-file workers seeking to take advantage of the fight among the bureaucrats to gain some measure of union democracy.

In the balcony at the convention sat about 275 unofficial bakery delegates, many of them workers from the shops. They are supporters of the "Integrity Committee" formed by four members of the Bakery Workers' Executive Board who have broken with Cross and pledged a fight to comply with the directives of the AFL-CIO. They have been promised an AFL-CIO charter when Cross' union is expelled.

This group booed and yelled "Hypocrite" when Cross appealed for the convention to uphold the right of the Bakers to choose their own officers. Last March Cross summarily expelled the Bakers secretary-treasurer Curtis Sims a few days after Sims charged Cross with misuse of funds. Sims then exposed Cross before the McClellan Committee.

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By Joyce Cowley

A psychiatrist by the name of Dr. Leonard J. Duhl has a new angle on the problem of slum clearance.

While I agree that we may need the bartender for emotional support, it's difficult to picture the cop in this role.

"We forget," he continues, "that to the people who live there, what we call slums is home.

"Relocated people," he concludes, "can literally grieve and pine for the razed slum."

While Dr. Duhl insists that he is not opposed to slum clearance but just wants more attention paid to the social and emotional needs of the com-

munity, I hope the real estate interests don't get hold of his stuff.

I live in a building that is slated for eventual demolition and I've been thinking about what I will miss when the place is torn down.

That's because I don't have any other home and I certainly can't afford to move into the proposed project which will rent at \$48 a room.

Besides a roof over my head, there are other things that I certainly will miss.

The grinding and thumping of machinery that shakes the building and rouses me promptly at 8 A.M.

The fresh odor of lacquer from an adjacent plant. I always know when the wind is from the East.

The quaint plumbing that I repair with bobby pins, a piece of wire or adhesive tape.

The cheerful greeting of the oilman early Saturday morning when he delivers kerosene for my heater.

On the other hand, I'm not at all worried about Dr. Duhl's list—the grocer, the bartender, the gangs and the cops.

There will probably be several bartenders, as they are the most prevalent form of emotional support that our society offers.

Symptoms of violence and social disintegration, they have become an integral part of our daily lives.

The stairs that give a sedentary worker so much needed exercise.

Law Expert Says Sobell Is Innocent

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 5 — About 150 persons turned out at a meeting here tonight to hear Dr. Malcolm P. Sharp explain why he believes scientist Morton Sobell is wrongly serving a 30-year prison term in Alcatraz.

Dr. Sharp, a professor of law at the University of Chicago who considers himself a left-wing Republican, told the audience that he had started out with the belief that justice had been done in the Rosenberg-Sobell "espionage" case.

LOCAL BACKING

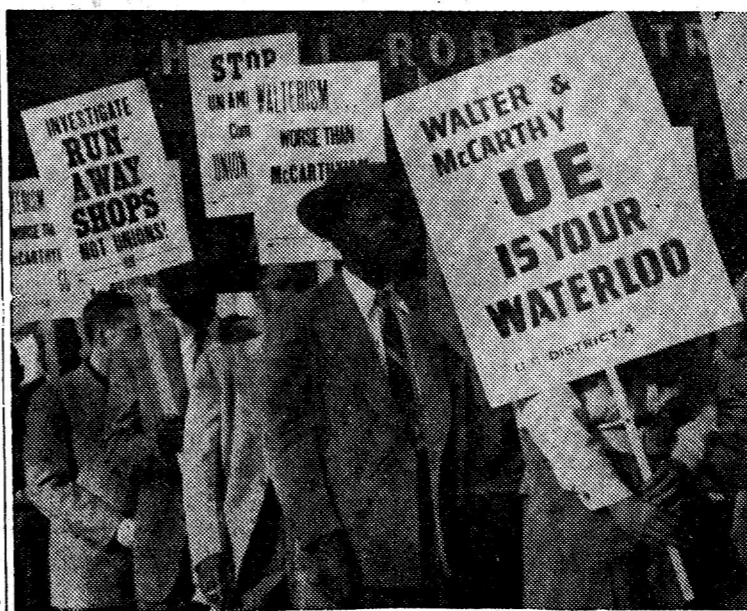
Dr. Sharp was introduced to the meeting by Haven Perkins, St. Louis field representative for the Sobell committee.

In a brief talk, Mrs. Jean Brust, secretary of the Minnesota Sobell committee, hit at the witch-hunt atmosphere which still prevails and which gives everyone a stake in the fight to win justice for Morton Sobell.

Members of the committee were highly gratified by the publicity gained for the case as a result of the meeting.

At the meeting, which was attended by 30 young people, the speaker explained the treacherous role of the Republicans and Democrats on civil rights and pointed to the need for a Negro-

Picketing the Witch-Hunters



Part of the picket line against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Newark in May 1955. 1,500 members of the United Electrical and Machine Workers (Ind.) participated.

Socialist Youth Group Formed in Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 26 — A new radical youth organization has been organized in the Twin Cities area — the Independent Political Youth.

labor alliance to secure these rights. The meeting adopted a resolution greeting the heroic fighters for integration in Little Rock, Ark.

Strongly united on the issue of favoring integration, both in the North and South, the group held its first public meeting on the topic, "Integration — A Solution to the Problem of Segregation."

At the meeting, which was attended by 30 young people, the speaker explained the treacherous role of the Republicans and Democrats on civil rights and pointed to the need for a Negro-

Victimized Teacher Defends Principles At Newark Hearing

The issues in the witch hunt in the public schools were brought into dramatic focus in Newark, N.J., where on Dec. 2-3 the Board of Education conducted a public hearing on the fitness of Dr. Robert Lowenstein to teach.

Following the decision of the N.J. Supreme Court Lowenstein was summoned to the office of School Superintendent Edward F. Kennedy and subjected to a political inquisition.

An example of Lowenstein's alleged "insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher" was given at the public hearing by Superintendent Kennedy.

"We wanted more than a speech but some kind of concrete action to be taken at our meeting. In line with this, a resolution passed at that time is enclosed. We realize this comes as a very limited kind of support, but we send it so that those in Little Rock will know there are youth in our area who appreciate and salute your spirited efforts."

Records of the fitness of Dr. Lowenstein to teach, indeed his outstanding ability and accomplishments as a teacher, were overwhelmingly proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses.

This is a striking example of the perversion of values brought about by the witch hunt. Before the days of McCarthyism for a teacher to act as an informer on the political beliefs of friends and acquaintances would have been regarded as reprehensible.

The fitness of Dr. Lowenstein to teach, indeed his outstanding ability and accomplishments as a teacher, were overwhelmingly proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses.

According to the Dec. 3 New York Times, Lowenstein's attorney drew from Superintendent Kennedy the admission that he himself had been head of the board of examiners in 1952 that rated Lowenstein as first among the candidates for the post of chairman of the foreign language department at Barringer High.

Calendar of Events

- Cleveland: Saturday, Dec. 21, 8 P. M. — "Sputnik and the Middle East." Speaker: George Maxim. 10609 Superior Ave. Ausp.: Militant Forum.
Chicago: Friday, Dec. 20, 8:15 P. M. — Hear Ed Larson speak on "Power Politics in the Middle East." 777 W. Adams St. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.
Tuesday, Dec. 31 — New Year's Eve Party. Music, Dancing, Refreshments. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum. 777 W. Adams St.
Detroit: Friday, Dec. 20, 8 P. M. — "Inside Human Nature," a talk by Evelyn Sell. 3737 Woodward Aup.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.
Tuesday, Dec. 31, 9 P. M. — New Year's Eve Party. Door Prize, entertainment and favors. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Donation \$1.00.

Rowoldt Deportation Decision Is Reversed

Charles Rowoldt, a 73-year old Minneapolis worker, won his fight against government efforts to deport him when the Supreme Court on Dec. 9 voted five to four to reverse a decision upholding his deportation.

Witnesses testifying to Dr. Lowenstein's good character included Rabbi Prinz, who has been his neighbor for 15 years; another Jewish clergyman whose daughter Lowenstein tutored after his dismissal; a professor from Rutgers who had been a fellow officer with Lowenstein in the Essex County Federation of Teachers; and the former commanding officer of an Air Force Intelligence unit in which Lowenstein had served overseas as master sergeant during World War II.

Records of the fitness of Dr. Lowenstein to teach, indeed his outstanding ability and accomplishments as a teacher, were overwhelmingly proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses.

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Robert Lowenstein Denounces Witch-Hunters in the Schools

[The following are excerpts from the statement of Dr. Robert Lowenstein, victim of the witch hunt in the school system, at a public hearing on his case before the Newark Board of Education. See story, this page.—Ed.]

This trial illuminates a crisis in American education. In every judgment society makes of an individual, it passes judgment upon itself. The critical question here is not my particular fate, but the fate of public education in America. . . .

On the one hand you have a record here of over 20 years of unblemished, competent service to children, to teachers, to American principles and ideals. On the other, you have an allegation of insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher that presumably makes me unfit to teach. It is inconceivable to me that a man can be condemned in America because he lived by the Constitution of the United States during a short appearance before a Congressional committee and the Superintendent of Schools, no differently than he lived for more than two decades in the classroom, and no differently than he had been taught to live as a student himself in the classrooms of this city.

WHAT KIND OF TEACHER? In resolving the question before you, you resolve the larger question of what kind of teacher America needs in her hour of crisis. Do you want independent-minded men and women or do you want conformist sheep? Do you want future generations of dignified, self-respecting and vigorous-minded individuals or do you want a docile mass? Do you want each American to represent in his own person the full arsenal of a democracy's strength or do you want a nation of easily-swayed reeds?

BLIGHT ON AMERICA The straitjacket of conformity is the most un-American blight from which we have ever suffered as a nation. That is the disease which is sapping the vigor of our schools today. Take our state loyalty oath, for example. We teachers must swear that we do not belong to any organization that advocates or practices the overthrow of our government by force or violence. Well, because it is the law I signed that oath; but I do not approve of it. I abhor it as much as I do force and vi-

olence. . . . Teachers know that you cannot teach children by brow-beating them; and they know by the same token that force and violence are brutalizing, not liberalizing forces. How can one subscribe to liberty and brutality at the same time? In compliance with the law, I told the Superintendent of Schools that I am not a member of the Communist Party and that I have not been since the summer of 1953. Two years earlier I offered to tell the then Board of Education that I was not a Communist since the summer of 1954. Why the change? Because I wanted to leave no question that I was complying with the law; but I neither believed then nor do I believe now that our state supreme court intended to sanction an invasion of my privacy to such an extent that I would be stripped naked of any vestige of my constitutionally protected self-respect and dignity. By what definition does "present" comprise more than three years, than four years? I'm sure the state supreme court is satisfied with three years. If I offered to go back still another year, I was prompted by a willingness to make what I called a "human concession" to the superintendent.

I ask my students, my colleagues and friends, the guardian spirits of my American heritage and you not to condemn me for my weakness. I will not further barter my self-respect for my job, nor will I surrender my rights under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. In fact, I consider it my duty more than my right to live the Constitution of my country. Over the gateway to hell Dante wrote that dread line. . . . "Give up hope ye who enter here." Am I, to paraphrase slightly, to give up all liberty on entering the superintendent's office? Are all young and adult Americans to give up all liberty on entering the public schools of our country?