

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: LESSONS FOR TODAY

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Build a Labor Party Now!

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Negro Hater, Jew Baiter Cries 'God Bless McCarthy!'

By John Sargent

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 27 — Last night I sat up high in the gallery of Embassy auditorium and heard Gerald L. K. Smith, Jew-hating, Negro-hating, labor-baiting demagogue, boast of his close and intimate connection with Sen. Joseph McCarthy, No. 1 contender for the fascist crown in America.

This unmistakable evidence of a coalescing of the agents of reaction was tendered by Smith to his ample audience of close to a thousand, most of whom were elderly or middle-aged people.

The rally was interpreted as part of the build up for McCarthy's appearance here as a guest speaker Feb. 9 at a meeting sponsored by Dr. James Finfield, a local rabble rouser.

(Local 216 UAW-CIO, warning of McCarthy's visit, has called on the Los Angeles labor movement to "take the initiative to convene a broad conference of labor civil liberties and minorities organizations to devise ways and means of combatting the growing fascist menace.")

Smith had announced his intention to publish and distribute a brochure containing the names and biographies of hundreds of persons who in recent years have stood on their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about their political ideas and affiliations before witch-hunting government committees.

"Where do you suppose I got all the names?" Smith asked. Answering his own rhetorical question, he said: "I didn't have the time to compile the list myself."

Then, with a knowing smirk and a sweeping arm gesture, he added: "A very influential senator in Washington sent me the list as the heaven-sent deliverer



G. L. K. SMITH

of the nation from the imminent horrors of "Jew-Communist domination."

At one point in his speech, Smith declared of McCarthy (I am quoting him exactly): "He put his finger on the enemies of America. God bless Senator Joseph McCarthy!"

It was painful for a Trotskyist to sit quiet while Smith spewed forth his reactionary poison. The more vicious the phrasing, the greater was the applause from the audience.

Smith's harangue was punctuated with such expressions as "Jew woman," "Jew actor," "Jew lawyer." He averred that a "Jewish conspiracy" was afoot to take over the United States. Shades of Hitler and Goebbels!

Encouraged by the applause, Smith went overboard — almost. He accused Eisenhower of being the supine agent of the "Jewish conspiracy" because of the President's opposition to the Bricker amendment.

Shouting and waving his arms, Smith yelled that the President was "Baruch's message boy." The audience, caught off guard, literally gasped — then applauded wildly.

Long in hiding, Smith is now again out in the open. Like Father Coughlin, the fascist radio priest in Detroit, he evidently has decided that the times, the political climate, are propitious for his foul work.

The audience that heard Smith rant for two hours was not the stuff of which fascist storm-troopers are made. Youth is needed for that. But let us not underestimate the middle-class rabble that almost filled the Embassy auditorium — gaining admission "by card only." They are now boldly mobilizing under the banner of McCarthyism.

ANSWER McCARTHY VISIT

In its appeal for Los Angeles workers and members of minorities to hear Cannon and Kerr give the socialist answer to McCarthyism, the SWP leaflet points out that the Democrats answer McCarthyism "by claiming credit for initiating the witch-hunt" that McCarthy is now pushing and "the Republicans count on McCarthy to divert attention from the mounting depression and fear of atomic annihilation."

"Only the organized labor movement, which is the ultimate target of the McCarthyites, can smash McCarthyism," says the SWP appeal.

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Negro Who Hurled Cuspidor at Guard Faces Execution

The organized movement to save the life of Wesley Wells, a 44-year-old Negro facing legal murder April 9 by the state of California, is gaining new strength.

Back in 1947, provoked to rage by a Negro-baiting guard, Wells, a prison inmate, hurled a cuspidor at the guard. For this "crime" he was sentenced to death in the gas chamber!

This utterly barbaric sentence was made possible by California's medieval and inhuman prison code, which makes such an offense punishable by death in the case of prisoners serving a life term.

Wells was being held at the time on an indeterminate sentence, which the prison authorities insisted, with a Jim Crow judge's agreement, was equivalent to a life sentence.

Since that outrageous decision was handed down seven years ago, repeated appeals have been made to the California courts and to the Supreme Court. All these courts have turned a stony ear to the pleas that they correct this horrifying act of injustice. With all avenues of legal appeal now exhausted, Wells is scheduled to die in the San Quentin gas chamber on April 9.

During recent months important new support by California union and liberal bodies has been given to Wells' fight for life. Influential Negro papers like the Negro community of California is shaping up.

Wells' sole remaining hope to escape the gas chamber rests upon the issuance of an executive clemency order by Republican Governor Goodwin Knight.

Such clemency will be granted only if the strongest mass pressure is put on the Governor. It is the obligation of every unionist, of every opponent of the Jim Crow system, of every supporter of elementary human justice to join the fight to save Wesley Wells.

National Junket Opens McCarthy's '54 Drive

By Harry Ring

Within a week after submitting his state-of-the-witch-hunt report to Congress, fascist Senator McCarthy announced an eight-day speaking tour that will take him to the Pacific coast. Organized as another broadside in the campaign to make himself and his drive against our traditional freedom the central issue in the 1954 election campaign, the tour is being sponsored by the Republican National Committee.

The local fascist organizations

now mobilizing behind McCarthy will receive a powerful shot in the arm from the tour of the would-be American Hitler. They are busily preparing rallies to greet him.

The reaction in Canton, Ohio, to the announcement of McCarthy's barn-storming venture is typical. "This industrial city that has been kept buzzing with talk about the Keep America Free Committee, its very own Red-chasing organization, is bracing itself for a free-for-all mass meeting Feb. 5 when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy comes to town," reports the Cleveland News.

Although the meeting is being sponsored by the official Canton Republican organization, the News says that the "auditorium will be filled to the rafters" by the Keep America Free group and its supporters.

"This is one public speaker the K. A. F. won't screen," the News asserts. "McCarthy is just about the most popular simon-pure speaker on the K. A. F. list."

LOS ANGELES RALLY

Emulating Gerald L. K. Smith, the notorious fascist demagogue who staged a preparatory rally Jan. 26, McCarthy will speak at a "by invitation only" meeting in Los Angeles Feb. 9, under the auspices of a Dr. James Fifield, organizer of McCarthy-boasting "Freedom Clubs."

Denouncing McCarthy as a fascist threat, and his host, Fifield, as a "local hate-monger," Local 216 of the CIO United Auto Workers recently made public a resolution calling on the Los Angeles labor movement to "take the initiative to convene a broad conference of labor, civil liberties and minorities organizations to devise ways and means of combating the growing fascist menace."

The McCarthy circuit includes Detroit on Feb. 7, San Francisco, Feb. 10, and will wind up with a \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinner sponsored by his millionaire racing, labor-hating cronies in Dallas, Texas.

In announcing the tour, McCarthy again took a slap at Eisenhower and his recently expressed pious "hope" that "communism" would not be made the major issue in the '54 campaign. The theme of his speeches, McCarthy said, will show that he has not changed his mind. "The people

want to amend the Constitution

in such a way that it will be easier for THEM, even when they are a small minority, to block treaties they regard as objectionable. The effect would be, not to give the people a greater say in foreign policy, but to give a small reactionary clique a greater veto power.

Eisenhower, naturally, wants present conditions unchanged (although he would accept an amendment that made some gestures in his direction, without really hampering Eisenhower's ability to continue carrying out Wall Street's foreign policy line effectively and promptly). Supporting him are the main sections of the capitalist press and the "responsible" sections of both major parties, including Truman, Stevenson, the liberals and the labor leaders.

Both sides talk as if the basic issue is the MANNER in which foreign policy is to be implemented. Actually, this is a secondary question. The important thing is the CONTENT and NATURE of foreign policy. Bricker introduces his amendment because he wants to block treaties and other executive measures that might

commit the U.S. to international measures against genocide and race discrimination. Eisenhower opposes the amendment because he doesn't want any possible interference with any phase of his preparations for eventual war against the USSR and China.

The American people and the labor movement must also take their own foreign policy objectives as the starting point. If they want peace, if they want friendship and trade with other countries, they must fight to take the war-making powers (including the power to sign treaties that are in effect war alliances) away from the capitalist politicians in both the White House and Congress.

There is only one progressive way to oppose both the Bricker amendment and the President's usurpation of foreign policy control, and that is by introducing an amendment to let the American people, by referendum, vote on and decide the questions of war or peace. It is the only way in which the people can secure effective and democratic expression of their will in this field of life or death.

"We Still Have a Roof Over Our Heads"

By Joyce Cowley

A thousand people jammed the New York Board of Estimate chambers and City Hall corridors Jan. 26 to protest against the Washington Square housing project. The Board had a two-hour session starting at 10 in the morning and continuing until 8:30 at night. The final result was a compromise, the kind of compromise that everyone thinks he has won.

New York University will get three acres of land dirt-cheap. Moses will get his \$48-a-room luxury project. The workers in the Italian neighborhood below Washington Square will not be evicted from their homes.

This apparent miracle was accomplished by limiting the project to an area north of Houston Street and east of the heavily populated working class neighborhood. This district consists to a large extent of warehouses and commercial establishments, cheap rooming houses and third rate hotels. The people here are accustomed to moving and probably won't protest too much.

The head of a Reuther, or a thousand Reuthers, is not too important. But the head of LABOR which means the head of AMERICA, cannot lightly be turned over to the ax of the fascist executioner.

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All my neighbors are smiling, waving and calling across the streets: "We won!"

They have won something concrete. They know there will be a roof over their heads next year. I live below Houston Street myself and I feel exactly the same way. I don't have central heating and there's a bathtub in my kitchen but I do have a place to live.

I'm glad I'll be here next year but I am not resigned to spending the rest of my life in a house neglected by the landlord, that is not painted or repaired or decently maintained. I've heard about high standards of living in America and I have my dreams. I dream of radiators, a bathroom, clothes closets, clean halls, even an elevator. In the world's largest and richest city, this doesn't seem too much to hope for.

The action of the Board of Estimate did nothing toward the realization of my hopes. They unobtrusively pulled a fast one by shelving a proposal of middle and low income housing. The Washington Square project

originally incorporated three separate housing units. The middle and low income (which incidentally were sadly inadequate for the needs of the neighborhood) were — of course! — to be built below Houston Street. Now they are not going to be built at all. This may explain the readiness of the Board of Estimate to compromise. They've still got their project. They will use city and federal funds to buy land and clear it. Then they'll sell cheap to private interests.

The following day the Board approved a similar project in Brooklyn with rents ranging from \$28.50 to \$44 a room. When Moses was asked about the 1,119 families who would be displaced, he said:

"You can't make an omelet without breaking some eggs."

Moses puts matters clearly and I don't have to comment on the concern he feels for people in New York City. "We are not responsible," he says unnecessarily, "as propagandists or evangelists."

These latest projects are a continuation of his whole housing program for the past eight years. The Washington Square project

which has created new upper-bracket apartments for executives and new slums for workers.

The Herald Tribune, in an enthusiastic editorial on this program, says: "The emphasis, after all, should not be entirely on the bottom level. The theory here is that such assistance belongs only to low-income groups, that those who are better off can take care of themselves."

Yes, that's my theory. Perhaps because of my income level, I don't see why people who can pay \$48 a room need assistance. But as the Tribune says, you can't please everyone.

Our new mayor said a great deal about housing at the Board of Estimate hearing but nothing about this particular project. While he was campaigning for office he wrote a letter to the

Greenwich Village Association stating that he opposed the Washington Square project because of the high rentals and other undesirable features such as the development of a highway through the square which would result in heavy traffic dangerous for

children in the playgrounds.

I heard a spokesman for Wagner read this letter at the GVA "candidates' night," when I spoke as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Since his election, Wagner has maintained a coy silence on this question. As a neighbor said, the only campaign promise he kept to date is the one made privately to Impellitteri to put the ex-mayor on the city payroll.

If Republicans and Democrats at City Hall were really interested in better housing, they would build low cost apartments in the same area that has been OK'd for luxury units. Then they could move in people from the crowded buildings below Houston Street before rebuilding and remodeling in that section.

The only way we'll get millions of new homes and apartments at prices that workers can afford is when we elect men and women who represent us and fight for our interests, when we build our own political party to speak out for the needs of working people.

The Ford workers note all the warning signs and urge labor to prepare for a fight.

Can't Rely On GOP or Democrats

DETROIT, Feb. 1 — the giant Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Automobile Workers has issued a warning that the unions can place no reliance on Democrats or Republicans to combat mass unemployment. Carl Stellato, president of the country's largest union local, in the Jan. 30 Ford Facts calls for independent labor action now to defend the workers of America against the swelling tide of layoffs.

Stellato presses strongly for concerted action by the entire UAW and CIO, through the "convening of emergency conventions," to carry out "concrete measures to avert a Big Business-automation-peace time recession, or even worse, depression." He adds:

"We must SOLIDIFY OUR FORCES BEHIND THE UNION'S FIGHT FOR A 30-HOUR WEEK WITH 40 HOURS PAY, NOW!"

BREAD AND BALLOT BOXES

He firmly declares his disagreement with other union leaders who tell the workers to wait until the November elections before doing anything. "We are well aware that the ballot box is connected with the bread box," the Ford 600 leader affirms. "But we also are aware that we do not have access to the ballot box for eleven months. Does this mean that we forget about the bread box for eleven months? I say NO!"

Stellato also rejects the idea that if the Republicans do nothing about unemployment all labor has to do is turn to the Democrats once more.

WARNS OF BOTH PARTIES

"We cannot expect the Hoover-Wilson Republican Party, which we did not support and which has a history of being anti-labor, to solve our problems," says Stellato, adding:

"And certainly, we cannot expect the Democrats to solve our problems. Under the Democratic administration, we saw the Smith Act, Taft-Hartley, McCarran-Walter and the McCarran Law placed on the statute books by Democrats in Washington. Let's be honest with ourselves. Our problems will not be solved by the Democrats or Republicans."

Meeting the fears of some union leaders that to demand the shorter work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay might identify them with a "Communist" line, Stellato points out that no less conservative union leader than David Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has signed contract after contract embodying the demand for the 35-hour week with 40 hours' wages.

NEW CUTBACKS

New cutbacks, layoffs and loss of overtime in the auto industry are underscoring the urgency of Ford Local 600's program. Not only the independents and Chrysler are reflecting the downturn in the economy, but General Motors and Ford have begun to re-trench, despite the glowingly optimistic statements put out by their

Last Friday Chevrolet shut down its 28 plants all day in its first major cutback since pre-war days. It is reported that 11 assembly plants of Chevrolet may go on a four-day basis. Ford is reducing overtime because, as a company spokesman said, "we can keep up with the market and still use less overtime."

The Ford workers note all the warning signs and urge labor to prepare for a fight.

What They Say About McCarthy

Congressman Richard Bolling (Dem., Mo.): "Do not be fooled. McCarthyism is not a crusade against communism. McCarthyism is irresponsible and unsubstantiated attacks against individuals who are at a disadvantage in defending themselves."

Radio commentator Elmer Davis: "Anyone who expects a fair investigation from these three (McCarthy, Jenner, Velde) is living in a dream world."

Francis Downing, associate editor of *Commonweal*: "The voice of McCarthy was abroad in the land, and it was, in the beginning, a poisoned and fearful thing. It went on forever making unproven charges, forever irresponsible, forever merely free of libel; it went on exploiting the insecure, the anxious, the afraid."

Arthur Eisenhower: "When I think of McCarthy I automatically think of Hitler."

Former Secretary of Air Thomas K. Finletter: "An evil force is loose in the land. The leading spearhead and symbol of this force, at the moment, is a Senator. But the evil lies deeper than any one man. A small minority of Americans want to destroy our civil liberties in order (as they say) to protect ourselves from Russian subversion — but in reality I wonder for what personal end or personal power?"

Rev. G. B. Ford, Roman Catholic Church of Corpus Christi, Texas: "Senator McCarthy is a vicious demagogue."

Senator Estes Kefauver (Dem., Tenn.): "McCarthyism represents the greatest threat to our nation today and to our freedom."

Dr. John Lapp, former director of the social science department at Marquette University, the Jesuit college attended by McCarthy: "The greatest menace to liberty we've had in a long time is McCarthyism... McCarthy will be blown sky high when people wake up to what he has done."

Senator Herbert Lehman (Dem., N. Y.): "The investigators, who might better be called the inquisitors, have taken over."

Bishop Ludlow, Episcopal Diocese of N. J.: "Joe McCarthy... takes cowardly privilege in legislative immunity."

AFL President George Meany: "A subversion of American principles."

Mrs. Agnes Myers, member of the Board of Directors of the National Citizens Commission for Public Schools: "A dangerous and ruthless demagogue our modern grand inquisitor... a political adventurer... a psychopathic character."

The National Wage Earner, labor-hating, racist magazine: "Senator Joseph R. McCarthy... has done more than any other man in the past 20 years to preserve our freedom... It would not surprise the experts if this valiant leader became the next President of the United States."

Wisconsin Republican State Assemblyman Arthur Peterson: "Joe McCarthy has not fooled the unscrupulous and self-seeking — his pattern of action is too familiar to them; they know to what depths a man will sink to attain his own aims and further his own ambitions."

CIO President Walter Reuther: "McCarthyism is ugly, un-American and immoral."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt: "Some of the methods used by McCarthy are not unlike those of Hitler."

Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO: "McCarthyism is rapidly destroying due process of law."

Gerald L. K. Smith, Jew-hating, Negro-hating, labor-baiting demagogue: "He put his finger on the enemies of America. God bless Senator Joseph McCarthy!"

Charles A. Sprague, former Republican Governor of Oregon and editor and publisher of the Oregon Statesman: "If the Republican Party is to endorse McCarthyism it deserves to be laid in a grave both wide and deep."

Adlai Stevenson: "McCarthyism... (is) an analogy with the beginning of Hitlerism."

Harry S. Truman: McCarthyism "is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process of law.' It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of society."

United Automobile Worker, newspaper of the UAW-CIO: "You can't shun McCarthy any more than you could shun Hitler and Mussolini. By the time the world woke up to the truth about Hitler and Mussolini, the blood bath was drawn and waiting. The time to get McCarthy is while he's still just a Senator... McCarthy is using the Communist issue to ride to power in the United States just as Mussolini used the Red issue in Italy and Hitler used the Bolshevik menace in Germany."

Bishop William Walls: "The efforts of McCarthyites are being made to defame Negro leaders."

Walter White, Secretary, National Association for Advancement of Colored People: "McCarthyism, if allowed to go unbridled, can also destroy freedom."

Negro History: Lessons for Today

By George Breitman

Both of the old parties have proved a thousand times that they are supporters of the Jim Crow system, and that what this country needs is a new party, an independent Labor Party that will fight for full equality for the Negro people, among other fundamental changes in social, political and economic conditions.

Many Negroes agree with this idea, and want to break with the two-party system altogether. But they say: "What can we do about it now? By ourselves, we can't

build a Labor Party. In fact, there won't be a real Labor Party until the labor movement quits supporting capitalist candidates and starts building a party of its own. What can we, as a minority of the population, do now, in 1954, to create a new party?"

It's true that Negroes are a minority of the population, but does that mean that by themselves they can accomplish nothing? Does that mean that they have to stand by, waiting with folded hands, until a majority of the country is ready to take action

on a particular issue? Or can the Negro people, even as a minority, start the ball rolling by taking the initiative themselves and in that way propelling other sections of the population into action along progressive lines?

This is the time of the year when Negro History Week is celebrated in the United States, and we can find answers to the above questions by turning back to examining the rich lessons of previous Negro struggles and how they affected the course of this country's development.

Who freed the slaves, and how were they freed? For a long time historians and teachers, strongly influenced by the South, presented the Negro as a docile and passive slave, who remained in the background, waiting and doing nothing, until Lincoln or the new Republican Party or the North handed him his freedom on a golden platter.

But this myth has been exploded by other historians, with Negro scholars leading the way. They dug through the propaganda and revived the facts: Though the Negroes were minority in the days of slavery too (and a minority in a much more disadvantageous position than today), they were the ones who sparked the fight against slavery, they were the ones who made it impossible for any "compromise" on slavery to last, they were the ones who helped to turn the tide and settle the issue when its outcome was really in doubt during the Civil War.

How did this become an issue in American political life? Not through the "liberalism" of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. And not through the farsightedness of the leaders of the labor movement.

It became an issue because in 1941 a number of Negroes organized themselves independently in the March on Washington Movement and threatened to call tens of thousands of Negroes from all over the country to the capital for a mass demonstration against discriminatory employment practices.

Seeing what a favorable response this proposal got among rank and file Negroes, Roosevelt agreed to issue a weak FEPC order if the march were called off. This was agreed to. The threat of a march and mass action not only got some concessions but made FEPC into a major issue.

SLAVE INSURRECTIONS

The Abolitionists are given credit for the splendid anti-slavery agitation conducted during the 30 years before the Civil War. They deserve this credit too. But few people would ever have heard of the Abolitionist movement, and it would never have had much success, if it hadn't been for the insurrections organized by Negro slaves in the South. William Lloyd Garrison and his movement became nationally known and discussed thanks above all to the slave rebellion led by Nat Turner.

Now the top leaders of the unions (with the exception of A. Philip Randolph) gave the March on Washington Movement no support whatever in 1941. But after this movement had blazed the path and posed the issue, the labor leaders had to go along. Willingly or unwillingly, they became advocates of FEPC, and to-day a labor convention or a labor newspaper that doesn't strongly demand the passage of FEPC is a rare phenomenon in America. By STARTING the fight for FEPC, even though they had to do it alone, the Negro people prodded and pushed and pulled and pointed the way for the whole labor movement into a progressive struggle.

In the same way that they provided the impulse for the struggle that ended the slave system, in the same way that their independent activity won the support of the labor movement for FEPC legislation, the Negro people today can play a major and effective part in the fight for the creation of a Labor Party. Concretely:

The Negro people can make it plain that they are fed up with the roundabout ways they have received from both capitalist parties and that as a result they are not going to support the candidates of either party in the 1954 elections.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS

One result of such a step would be to put strong pressure on the Democratic Party, whose leaders have come to feel that they have the Negro vote in their pocket whatever they do. (The way to get concessions from capitalist politicians is not by supporting them but by refusing to support them. That's what the Dixiecrats did in 1952, and that's why Adlai Stevenson is wooing them today.)

Running away was not cowardly under these circumstances, but an act of high courage and heroism, considering the risks and the penalties. It inspired sympathy in the North, and recruited new anti-slave forces there and in the Mid-West. It disrupted the plans of the "statesmen." It struck a blow not only at the South's propaganda but at its economy.

Frenzied, the South demanded and got the infamous fugitive slave law. But this law, imposing heavy penalties on Northern whites who refused to help the slave-hunters, only served to weaken the alliance between the labor leaders and the Democrats and to force the labor movement into at least considering a new political policy.

The "statesmen" on both sides tried a dozen ways to prevent the Civil War, but it came just the same. It was an irrepressible conflict, and one of the things that made it irrepressible was the determination of the slaves to be free.

When the war began, most of the Northern leaders, including Lincoln, refused to accept Negroes as soldiers and swore that they were not fighting for emancipation. But the Negro masses acted on their own. By the hundreds of thousands they deserted the plantations and marched off to the Union armies.

The pressure of their independent action forced Lincoln to accept them as soldiers, and their departure undermined the Southern economy. The need to win the war forced Lincoln to sign the emancipation proclamation. Later, Lincoln was also forced to admit that the North could not have

continued the war if its 200,000 Negro troops had been removed from the Union armies and placed in the battlefield or cornfield on the South's side.

Anybody who thinks that the Negro people can't accomplish much today because they are a minority is simply ignorant of American history and of the crucial role that can be played by a minority group that knows what it wants and is willing to fight to get it.

Not only in the 19th Century, but in our own time, the Negro people have been able to influence other groups merely through the fight for their own interests. We choose one example that is pertinent to the Labor Party question: the fight for a fair employment practices bill.

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run a ticket, they could support the SWP candidates who will be running on a principled anti-capitalist, anti-Jim Crow and pro-Labor Party program, and who will collaborate loyally with independent Negro candidates and movements.

(3) In some districts it might mean not voting at all. Properly organized, such a boycott policy would not be a sign of apathy or weakness but of united action and potential strength. Even a boycott movement would put the labor leaders on the spot by making them understand that their present policy is doomed.

The lessons of Negro history

and the political needs of the

fight against Jim Crow in 1954

both dictate the necessity and

advisability for the Negro people

to break with the capitalist

parties and start working for a

new party. Convinced that their

independent action can effectively

speed up progressive political

developments, we urge the Negro

people to begin discussing their

1954 policy now and working out

their tactics accordingly.

NATIONAL JUNKET OPENS M'CARThY'S '54 DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

This swift consolidation of

power by the fascist senator in

the nation's highest legislative

body should serve as one more

sharp reminder to the entire labor

movement of how grave the

danger of McCarthyism has be-

come. The need to meet McCarthy

head-on in the 1954 elections is

the most burning political problem

facing the American workers.

Although a substantial number of local union bodies have demonstrated growing awareness of the need to take up the cudgels against McCarthy, the cowardly top leadership of the labor movement has so far persisted in its suicidal do-nothing policy.

Their feeble claim that the Democrats could count on to "stop McCarthy" has now been smashed to smithereens. From here on in the Democratic point of differentiation from McCarthy will boil down to the miserable and shameful effort to prove that they have actually been "more effective" than he is in bounding "communists." They are saying in brief, "Me too — only better." That kind of politics offers nothing but a short road to the concentration camps and gas chambers.

With the Republicans and Democrats jointly paving McCarthy's way to power, labor's leadership cannot be permitted to dodge for another day its responsibility. An independent Labor Party must be launched — end not later, but NOW. Labor must enter the 1954 campaign with its own party, its own candidates, and its own program. McCarthyism must be smashed before McCarthyism smashes labor.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Gordon Bailey asks us to increase San Francisco's Militant bundle order this week.

"Comrades here are finding it easier to sell the Militant to

them," he reports. "Conse-

quently they are taking extra copies

of the paper every

week to sell to their friends.

"Nick sells 12 or

more every week.

Jack K. sells 10,

Bill K. sells five, and George L.

sells five. Some comrades have

regular routes — others sell their

copies on the job."

Many thanks to J. M. of Cleve-

land, Ohio, for a \$1 donation to

Subscriptions: \$5 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies \$6 each in U.S., 10 each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, Feb. 8, 1954

Norwalk, Conn.

Are you "communistically inclined"? Are you a "subversive type"? Think carefully before you answer. It depends on how the thing is defined, and on who defines it. You may not think that a belief in militant unionism is a sign of "communistic inclination," but the McCarthyites think it is. They also consider it "subversive" to favor trade with China, or to invite a Negro to the home of a white family, or advocate freedom of speech for all — or even to associate with anybody who does these things.

Is someone watching you? Is one of your "friends" or neighbors or fellow-workers keeping his eye on you, the people who visit your home, the papers and magazines you read, the remarks you make when you're in a bar, the statements you make at your union meeting, your attendance at a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action? Is this information being turned over to a private organization, recorded in its files and then transmitted to the FBI?

Don't be too sure that you know the answer. If you know, or live near, or work near, or relax near a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the answer might be yes. He may be a self-appointed snooper, acting with the approval of the VFW, and the encouragement of the FBI and President Eisenhower, eavesdropping on you and your family to decide (behind your back) whether or not you meet the specifications of "Americanism" that have been drawn up by the McCarthyite vigilantes.

Norwalk, Conn., was the place where the story came into the open. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, it was revealed, were carrying on a secret campaign to ferret out and send to the FBI the names of all residents whose statements, associations and activities rendered them "suspect" in the eyes of the VFW — all this without giving the "accused" any notice of what was going on, the chance to know what they were charged with, or the right to refute it.

The embarrassed capitalist press hastened to explain it all away as an exceptional local phenomenon. But the national leaders of the VFW quickly endorsed their

U.S. "Tourists"

"Why is America so unpopular abroad?" This plaintive question is being asked more and more frequently in the capitalist press and public forums. When they are not blaming U.S. unpopularity on "envy," "stupidity" or "Communist propaganda," apologists of American imperialism try to explain it by the conduct or views of certain individuals who evoke antagonisms. Everything would be sugar and cream between the U.S. and the rest of the world, they claim, for instance, if it weren't for the "black eye" we are given by McCarthy, or McCarran, or some other obnoxious individual in American politics.

A former American Ambassador-at-Large, Philip C. Jessup, told a New York City forum on Jan. 28 that the widespread and growing hatred of America and Americans abroad is the consequence of the conduct of American tourists and junketing members of Congress. Presumably, if all passports were revoked and these travelers kept home, the popularity of the United States would promptly soar.

Jessup's blame of "tourists" has an element of truth, however. The U.S. has been sending millions of "tourists" abroad who are bound to evoke utmost hatred toward this country, although, in most instances, these "tourists" would prefer not

Norwalk branch and made it clear that all VFW members are expected to do the same. President Eisenhower said he saw nothing wrong in the practice.

McCarthy said it was a "splendid idea." Velde said, "We welcome the cooperation of such patriotic organizations" and he invited the Norwalk snoopers to send him a copy of their reports.

This is no local "excess." It is a disclosure of what is happening in all the "typical" American cities. And the very manner in which Norwalk made national news proves this.

Twelve journalist representatives of NATO countries were escorted to Norwalk by State Department and UN sponsors to observe a "typical American community" in its daily life. It was the presence of these journalists which touched off the national sensation. "Explanations" had to be given. "Extraordinary" circumstances had to be invented.

It is as if a reporter was touring a prison which had been carefully prepared to hide all evidence of brutality to prisoners — and accidentally, a door opens, the reporter witnesses the merciless beating of a prisoner. The fake picture of a typical peaceful day in prison life gives way to the ugly truth.

So it is with Norwalk. It is the ugly truth of a nation being swept by McCarthyism. It is the same truth that can be found in Houston, Texas, with its "Minute Women," or on college campuses where McCarthyite Students for America keep tabs on teachers for possible "subversive" utterances.

There are thousands of local chapters to numerous organizations of the VFW type. When these organizations swing into action with encouragement and incitation from McCarthy, we are given an intimation of what these forces can develop into as the American fascist movement gathers headway.

Norwalk is a loud and insistent alarm signal to the labor movement, the minorities, and all defenders of democratic rights. Organize! Beat back and crush the fascist threat before it gains any further beachheads.

They Don't Like

to make the trip. The rulers of America during the three years of the Korean War sent more than two million "tourists" in uniform to Korea. The Korean survivors of this junctet with napalm and high-powered explosives naturally don't feel too friendly toward "tourists" who have blown up their entire country.

Around the world in some 63 countries outside Korea, as enumerated in the Dec. 25, 1953, U.S. News and World Report, there are a million and a half other "tourists" in U.S. uniform who are a constant painful reminder to the people of these countries that a rich, powerful, aggressive foreign power is brazenly quartering troops on their soil and treating them like mere colonies of Wall Street.

Now, it is reported in the Feb. 3 N. Y. Herald-Tribune column of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Washington has made a secret decision "to aid the French in Indo-China" by sending them 400 mechanics and maintenance experts from the American Air Force units in the Far East."

These new "tourists" are not likely to enhance U.S. popularity with the Indo-Chinese people who have been fighting eight years against the French imperialist invasion. But we are not likely, either, to hear this from those who complain most about our lack of popularity abroad.

The Sante Fe Case Smear

"Subversive" and "un-American" are shot-gun words designed to spread over a wide target. A lot of union bureaucrats have used these words against union militants, thus aping the language of the witch-hunters in attacking anyone opposed to their views. Now some very conservative unions and union leaders are being peppered with these same pellets.

In Amarillo, Texas, thirteen anti-union employees of the Sante Fe, Atchison and Topeka Railway have joined with the company in a suit to enjoin 16 AFL non-operating railway unions from attempting to establish a union shop. This is one of a number of suits brought by the railroad barons and their agents in an attempt to nullify a 1951 Federal law sanctioning the union shop in the railroad industry.

Col. E. A. Simpson, counsel for the Sante Fe railroad and its 13 stooges, recited in court some constitutional regulations of the unions that he contended infringed on the rights of his clients. He called these

internal regulations of the unions involved in the suit have nothing to do with promotion of radical political ideas, socialism and communism, or anything with a remote resemblance thereto. Some of the rules have been in operation half century and more, and had escaped being called "un-American and subversive" until the Sante Fe railroad chose to fight in the courts against union security contracts.

What is important is that the terms "subversive" and "un-American" — standard interchangeable smear words of the McCarthyites for "spies," "traitors," "eggheads," "communists," etc. — are being applied to old-time union practices of union officials so conservative they make some hard-shell capitalists sound radical. But they have crossed the interests of some corporations — and that's enough to make them and their union procedures of long standing "wholly un-American and subversive."

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Another Promise

Another election year, another promise...

No more Jim Crow schools on any military posts after September 1, 1955, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson has ordered, according to a Jan. 31 United Press report. No new segregated schools may be opened from now on, and the 21 bases now maintaining separate schools must eliminate them by the 1955 deadline.

If the local school agencies — which operate the Jim Crow schools with federal funds — "will not, or because of state laws cannot, run nonsegregated schools on the bases," UP reports, "the United States Office of Education has agreed to operate the schools."

Wilson's order, we are assured, has the "personal backing of President Eisenhower." That's not much of a guarantee of anything after the experience of the past year with the Administration's promises.

In keeping with the campaign to make "Ike" look good despite his express statements, his overt acts, and his failure to make good on promises to labor and minority groups, the story is spread, through "reliable sources," that his heart is in the right place but his subordinates (whom he appointed) sabotage his policies.

In this particular case, for example, it is

MGM's "Julius Caesar"

By Lynn Marcus

It was said of King Midas that anything he touched turned to gold. The rulers of Hollywood have a touch with the opposite effect.

In the current MGM film version of "Julius Caesar," Shakespeare's final act is junked in favor of a Hollywood horse-opera finish. The key assassination scene limps along under the twin burdens of idiotic stage direction and a competent but badly miscast Louis Calhern as Caesar. The essential role of Octavius Caesar is cut to a bit part. In fact, the film would not be worth seeing but for James Mason as Brutus and John Gielgud as Cassius, some of the finest acting this writer has witnessed. In their key roles, these two manage to preserve much of the sense of the play as written.

It would seem reasonable that a producer, before putting on a drama, should arrive at an understanding of a play's content and be somehow governed accordingly. Not MGM. To the producers, Marc Antony turns out as the hero. To accomplish this, it was only necessary to cut out most of those lines Shakespeare wrote to indicate that Marc Antony was the villain of the piece — not an innocent, loyal upholder of law and order, but a wily, debauched and unprincipled soldier of fortune, to whom loot and power were life's important issues.

As James Mason puts across very well, it is Brutus, whose idealistic and moralizing misconceptions of the struggle against tyranny lead him to defeat, that is Shakespeare's hero. With that plot, "Julius Caesar" is powerful drama.

The amazing power of Shakespeare's plays is not adequately explained by his clever, absorbing plots. Great art does not spring from individual genius alone, but from men and women inspired by the great social movements of their age.

Beethoven, Goethe, Shelley were the offshoots of the French Revolutionary

Notes from the News

SWORD BUSINESS PICKS UP. The Navy says it is requiring the dress sword to "restore certain prestige" to officers. The social significance of the return of the sword is noted by one Carl Shipley, a Young Republican leader: "The common man was a hell of a failure. He didn't cure the world's ills. He made things worse than they were. All this erasing of class and social differences, things like the FEPC — they just didn't work. Apparently they just caused more trouble. People aren't going to get the same kind of liberal approach any more. The laxity and tolerance of the era of the common man is in for a reversal. It's happening now. I see that swords are coming back in the Navy, for instance. All these things are signs of social and political distinction."

"THEY'VE MADE IT PLAIN they don't want me — or any other Negro — to live in the Deauville Gardens (Long Island) community," said Clarence Wilson, a Brooklyn business man, forced to sell his \$16,000 home at a loss after it was set fire to twice while in construction, and after a mortgage and insurance on it was suddenly cancelled. "I still believe I have a right to live where I please," Wilson said. "But I have two small children. I don't want my sons to take the chance of being harmed if I move in." Said the local police chief, "I don't know of any discrimination against colored people. After all we have colored policemen on the force."

CLEVELAND LAYOFFS BOOST GARNISHMENTS. Actions to garnish the wages of installment buyers unable to meet payments "are flooding the courts" of Cleveland, according to the municipal court's chief deputy clerk. She attributes the 25% hike in garnishments during 1953 to increasing unemployment. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 25.)

NEW YORK CITY JOBLESS CLAIMS are 42.3% higher than the first half of Jan. 1953.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII

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N. Y. Building Trades Face Strikes Curb

NEW YORK — Building trades workers here face the threat of compulsory arbitration that would virtually crush their right to strike. Preliminary meetings of building trades union and employer groups are exploring the possibilities for a broader compulsory arbitration agreement. Labor officials and bosses report they are in agreement in principle but have not yet arrived at a contractual formula for banning all strikes.

Union officials and contractors are using the pretext of the recent AFL truckdrivers strike, which tied up building materials for a number of weeks, to justify a ban on the right to strike. They claim that the building and construction industry must protect itself against strikes in which a handful of workers throw a hundred and fifty thousand construction workers out of work." Compulsory arbitration is their answer to prevent such situations in the future.

URGED STRIKEBREAKING

Union officials state that a subcommittee of the New York City Building Trades Council went to Washington and got Dave Beck, czar of the teamsters union, to break the strike of the construction materials drivers. Some of these officials have been sounding off on this theme with great passion in their unions.

This response to the recent strike of truck drivers illustrates how some union officials approach the problems of union workers who are fighting to keep up with the rising cost of living and improve their living standards. Instead of proposing ways and means to back up striking workers, they are demanding a compulsory arbitration set-up that would provide for a committee of union bureaucrats and employers combined to dispose of the demands of any of the unions involved in the industry.

THREAT TO STANDARDS

The struggle to organize the maintenance jobs and to unionize building alteration jobs often meets with scabbing and back-to-work actions by other crafts on the same job. Sub-standard work in low wage areas has more and more replaced work done on the job by this city's union craftsman.

Compulsory arbitration, as alert unionists realize, would open the door wider than ever for the importation of sub-standard assemblies and would undermine the job conditions and living standards of the New York building trades workers.

FEAR CUTBACKS

Growing unemployment in the factories warn of retrenchment and cutbacks in building alterations and new construction that will result in reduced building trades employment. Building trades workers will have to fight on the picket lines to maintain jobs with union standards and union-standard materials to work with.

A compulsory arbitration agreement would be a major obstacle to the necessary fight by the organized building trades workers to protect their living standards.

PITTSBURGH DEMOCRATS PASS "SOAK-THE-POOR" WAGE TAX

By Marianne Moore

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 26 — Disregarding labor protests, the all-Democratic City Council here yesterday voted to impose a one percent wage tax on all those working in this city in order to balance the municipal budget.

Mayor Lawrence, chief advocate of this outrageous "soak-the-poor" tax, was recently re-elected to office for the third time, chiefly through organized labor's support. A main campaign slogan of these Democratic "friends of labor" was: "A vote for the Democrats is a vote against the wage tax proposed by the Republicans."

By bitterly denouncing the Democratic double-cross, AFL and CIO leaders at the public hearing in the Council chambers sharply attacked this move to make those pay who can least afford it. Several of the union representatives even hinted that labor would not vote again for a party which betrays its labor supporters.

Breaking the otherwise solid labor front, the AFL Building Trades Council leaders came out for the wage tax. They short-sightedly favored the tax on the workers because they fear the

Congress Seeks Pay Hike



Eisenhower receives from his commission on salaries a report saying Congressmen should vote themselves a 100% salary raise to \$27,500 a year. At left, commission chairman Bernard G. Segal; at right, commission member James P. Walsh. A coast-to-coast Gallup poll reveals the people three-to-one against such a salary boost.

MEXICO PROTESTS BAD U.S. DEAL FOR MIGRANTS

By R. Gale

JAN. 26 — Violence flared last Saturday in the border town of Mexicali, Mexico, just across from Calixto, Calif., as the result of the breakdown of negotiations be-

tween Mexico and the U.S. on the question of migratory Mexican farm laborers.

Mexico had demanded that all Mexican farm laborers imported into the U.S. be guaranteed minimum wages and minimum housing and standards. The U.S. State Dept., bowing to the big landowners, insisted that pay and other conditions be governed by "existing wage scales and conditions of life in the particular areas where the contract laborers work."

The Mexican government rejected these conditions and acted to prevent its nationals from crossing the border to work like virtual slaves.

When negotiations broke down, U.S. authorities set up a unilateral program of contracting. Any Mexicans who could get across the border at the regular inspection stations and pass certain minimum health standards were to be signed up by the U.S. government. They would be farmed out to the growers and get "the prevailing rate of wages in the locality." This rate, of course, would be far lower than that paid regular workers and is the main reason for the importation of Mexican laborers.

The incidents of violence occurred when the U.S. border patrol returned 50 illegal entrants to the Mexican side at little Mexicali, which is reported jammed with at least 8,000 workers seeking entry into the U.S. When the 50 returned workers tried to step the 18 inches inside the Mexican border, as required by law before reapplying for "regular admission" to the U.S. side, the Mexican authorities intervened to prevent them from going back into U.S. territory.

On Friday, Jan. 22, some 625 workers were processed to work in U.S. fields at the complete mercy of the growers. The figure dropped to 125 on Saturday and to only 39 on Sunday as more guards and heavier patrols watched the Mexican side of the border.

A Mexican government spokesman said: "The favorable response of the Mexican people has not been equaled since the expropria-

tion of the oil companies in 1938. We could do nothing else than refuse to sign an agreement which gave no adequate protection to Mexican migratory workers."

American union officials condemned the State Dept.'s action in setting up recruiting stations to lure Mexican workers as "legalizing the illegal." When Attorney General Brownell recently visited the southwest, he called the "wetback problem" extremely serious. ("Wetbacks" is a derogatory label for Mexican farm workers who cross the Rio Grande border illegally.) Apparently Brownell is solving this problem by the simple device of "legalizing" what was illegal before.

Unfortunately, the conference leaders tried to use the gathering to whip up sentiment in favor of the Democrats, who share responsibility for the low welfare standards in this state. Thus, the official report to the conference carried not a word of criticism

Detroit Jobless Near Total of 14 Years Ago

DETROIT, Jan. 26 — Unemployment in this area has reached its highest point in 14 years, even according to conservative official figures. A reversal of the growing unemployment trend "is just not in the foreseeable future," admitted Max Horton, Michigan Employment Security Commission Director. State-wide unemployment is put at 167,000.

The great concern in labor circles over the unemployment situation was reflected in a special conference, co-sponsored by the Michigan CIO and the CIO United Automobile Workers, held in Lansing on Jan. 22. It drew 1,000 delegates.

This "full employment" conference, held as a preliminary to the third annual state CIO legislative conference, went on record for improvements in the subsistence unemployment compensation allowances, which now provide up to \$27 a week, plus \$2 for each dependent up to four, or a maximum of \$35. Average benefits in the Detroit area in December ran some \$40 a month less than direct relief payments to indigents.

TALK OF MASS ACTION

The legislative conference heard the first talk of militant action from state CIO leaders in a long time. State CIO Council President August Scholle, assailing the inadequacy of unemployment and workers' compensation, said:

"We should organize delegations of the unemployed and the maimed and disabled and take them to the state capitol and let the Republicans see first hand the results of their refusal to provide adequate benefits. Maybe that's what's needed to thaw out Republican hearts."

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A more accurate picture of the rate of employment decline is given by comparative figures on the number of jobs in this area's auto plants. As of Jan. 15 there were only 337,000 jobs in the industry compared to 421,000 last May. This is a drop of 84,000 jobs in a single industry within eight months. And this trend is to continue into the foreseeable future."

Things are worse here than they have been since the pre-war year of 1940. In March of that year, there were 144,000 jobless. Only 27,000 to go and this city will be back in the "good old days."

A Program for Rebellious Youth

By H. Baker

The Washington State legislature's televised hearings on the recent protest riot at the Monroe Reformatory resulted in no proposals to solve the problems of youth either locally and immediately or long-range. Appalling conditions within the Reformatory were almost completely ignored.

A start will be made in solving the problems of these young people caught in the barbaric punitive system of our present society when committees of parents, teachers and unionists interest themselves in these young men and women in reform schools and in the conditions under which they are supposed to be, rehabilitated.

Such committees should include representatives of the socially most oppressed, the racial minorities like the Negro, Mexicans, Indians and Puerto Ricans. Youth themselves — including prisoners and ex-prisoners — should be represented.

BEFORE THEY'RE SENT UP

But organized labor should intervene before accused youth are sent to prison. Police, judges and prosecuting attorneys are most often callous and hardened time-servers, eager to clear their desks of work. The simplest way is to send youngsters to prison, without bothering to study the question of injustice to the individual. It is customary to get the accused out of sight and forget them.

Unions should provide legal aid to help these young people when they are involved with the very often brutal and corrupt law-enforcement agencies. It is easy to railroad young people to prison when their parents have neither time, money nor knowledge to protect their sons and daughters.

Rich youth are able to hire good attorneys and get all the breaks required to help them escape the consequences of many acts held to be illegal.

AFTER THEY'RE SENT UP

These committees should learn first hand the problems of reformatory youth, visit them, talk with them. Only from these youth directly will they learn the true conditions in the institutions. Sadistic guards, relishing brutality, will hide the facts. Corrupt guards, selling narcotics and exploiting other means for gain, will not tell the truth.

It would be well for the unions in particular to concern themselves with the conditions of reformatory youth, their general education, medical care, vocational training, etc. Union control of the vocation training programs could ensure the provision of journeys to train youth in the trades and facilities for them to enter industry under union protection.

The rebellion of these youth against present social conditions takes individualistic and often reactionary forms. They are filled with cynicism because they feel so isolated and separated from society. It is the job of the union representatives to show these youth how their problem is linked to that of the entire working class and to attract them to the labor movement as the vehicle for reaching a solution of their group's problem.

The union movement can find one new source of strength, daring and ingenuity in these young people. The inmates at Monroe demonstrated their courage under tremendous pressure and their ability to stand together and fight against injustice, racial discrimination and op-

of parental guidance and attention, and the circumstances of the poor generally, will not find security, protection and love behind the bars.

The problems of today's young people are a reflection of the problems of society as a whole. Low wages and poor working conditions reflect themselves in the home. Harassed, over-worked, frustrated parents, who often take out their resentments against society on their children, do not make loving guardians of the young.

To deal adequately with the problems of youth, the unions must deal with the broader social problems, such as the conditions of women workers who are forced to take jobs and care for their children at the same time.

SOCIALIST SOLUTION

A lasting solution will come only under socialism, where every child will feel wanted and will be provided good food and clothing, decent homes, medical care, wholesome recreation, well-trained teachers. Every child will be made to feel that society as a whole is concerned with his well-being. Those with physical, mental or personality difficulties will receive early and sympathetic treatment and care.

In a socialist society where war, unemployment, race and sex discrimination, poverty and insecurity will be no more, youth will be free to develop and to contribute fully its vigor, idealism, courage and intelligence to the continuing advancement of all mankind.

Just Out!

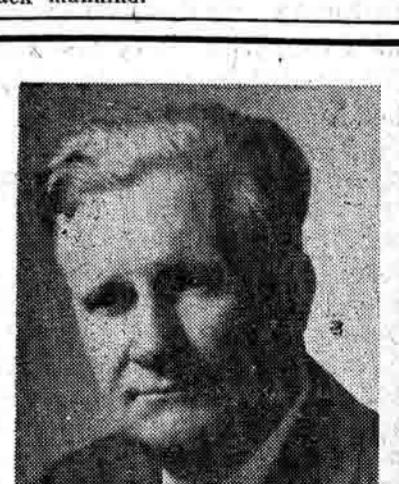
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