

# President Uses Racist Formula To Fight Rider

By Herman Chauka

FEB. 1 — At his Jan. 25 press conference, President Eisenhower threw the weight of his office behind the formula that school desegregation must be achieved "gradually." This is the argument used by the white supremacy defenders throughout the South to defeat integration. Eisenhower lined up with the racists in opposition to an anti-segregation amendment proposed by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) to the school construction bill. The rider would bar federal aid to states maintaining segregated schools.

## GRADUALISM

When a similar amendment was offered last year to the military reserve bill, Eisenhower opposed it on the pretext that it was "extraneous" and that it would defeat the "urgently needed" measure. He was more brazen about his opposition to the anti-Jim Crow school rider. School building, he proudly declared, must begin "now," but the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision "must be implemented gradually."

In its original decision in May 1954 the high court flatly declared Jim Crow schools to be unconstitutional. In its implementing decision the following May, the court made major concessions to the white supremacists by refusing to set an early deadline for compliance. Instead, it passed the buck to the federal district judges — who in the South are under immediate pressure of the racists — and charged them with seeing to it that the ruling was enforced "with deliberate speed" (a purposely vague phrase).

Eisenhower has now interpreted the ruling for the district judges. "The Supreme Court . . . provided, and specifically provided, there be a gradual im-

## Exchange Letters



# Why Eisenhower Said "No" to 20-Year Pact

By Myra Tanner Weiss

President Eisenhower received a letter from Soviet Premier Bulganin, Jan. 25, proposing a 20-year treaty of "friendship and cooperation." Four days later the American people were informed of its contents and at the same time told that the U.S. answer was "no." Eisenhower, as President, has the power to make treaties only with the consent of the Senate. Presumably he doesn't have to get that consent to reject a treaty itself.

Even if Eisenhower had consulted with the legislative branch of office, the answer would have been the same, for the Senate is just as upset by Soviet peace offers as the Administration. But if the American people had been consulted — fairly and directly — the answer might well have been different. For the overwhelming majority of the people in this country do not want war. Their opinions may be heavily influenced by a monopolized Big Business press. Still, the average American who makes no profit from either war or the conquest of the world, would probably find no difficulty in saying — "O.K. We agree. Do you?"

## THE DIPLOMATIC DILEMMA

The capitalist press informed us that everyone, everywhere, was satisfied with Eisenhower's reply. But there was a note of regret at the difficulty the U.S. has in meeting this new peace offensive of the Soviet Union.

The liberal N. Y. Post, Jan. 30, editorially moaned about the press handling of the Eisenhower reply. It quoted one headline that read, "Ike Answers Bulgy's Peace-Pact Bid: NO!" The Post editor writes that what matters is how such a headline "looks when reproduced in Europe and Asia, where most of humanity is groping for a sign that our

(Continued on page 3)

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX — No. 6

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cents

## "Inform or Go To Jail" Cases Reversed by Court

Inform-or-go-to-jail rulings were set back last week by U.S. Appeals Court reversals of two witch-hunt contempt convictions. The New Orleans court ruled an unfair trial in the March 1955 conviction of Harvey Matusow, confessed paid FBI informer who was jailed, not for lying, but for refusing to reiterate his lies in the second trial of one of the victims of his previous false testimony. The Washington court ruled that the Velde committee had asked non-pertinent questions of UAW organizer, John T. Watkins, when he testified without invoking the Fifth Amendment. He refused to testify about past associates, was fined \$500 and given a one-year suspended prison sentence in May 1955. The Watkins case ruling brought screams of protest from Sen. McCarthy who said that the judges who wrote it should be hauled up before a Senate committee for questioning.

## DEMOCRATS' POSITION

Appeasement of Dixiecrats on the desegregation issue is not confined to Eisenhower and his party. Northern Liberal Democrats and their supporters in the union officialdom are attempting to alibi their shameful failure to support the Powell amendment with these two arguments: (1) the time-worn "lesser evil" plea, that the amendment might defeat passage of the school aid bill; (2) the rider is really unnecessary since the government already has power to bar aid to states that defy the Supreme Court ruling.

The struggle to abolish Jim Crow is one of the most crucial issues confronting the labor movement today. The Powell amendment offers the one immediate opportunity in Congress to deliver a stinging blow to the racists. To pass up the chance to strike such a blow on any account — and especially for the many school aid bill presented by the Administration — is a cruel betrayal of the Negro people.

In Hillsboro, Ohio, Negro mothers and children picket the Jim Crow school every morning, then go home where the children

(Continued on page 2)

## Scab's Car Wrecked



An American flag, planted by Westinghouse strikers, waves triumphantly atop wreck of overturned car which scabs attempted to drive through the picketline at Columbus, Ohio. Columbus was the scene of the Jan. 3 savage police attack on picketline resulting in the killing of Troy Tadlock, a young striker.

## The Shooting of a Union Organizer in Mississippi

An Editorial

The racist terror campaign against the Negro people in the South goes hand in hand with a bloody attack on all attempts to unionize this open-shop territory. The shooting of strikers and the lynching, bombing and beating of Negroes demonstrates the violent lengths to which the racists will go to preserve the open-shop, Jim Crow tradition of the South. It has netted the Southern capitalists billions of dollars in super-profits.

The two-pronged assault can be driven back and defeated only by the combined efforts of the Negro and white workers backed by the resources of the entire labor movement throughout the country.

In the heart of the Southern Jim Crow dictatorship — in Columbus, Miss. — Ed Blair, assistant organizing director of the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was shot in the back, Jan. 16, while assisting the International Union of Electrical Workers in the organization of a picket line. Workers streamed to the Doctor's Hospital in Columbus to supply the constant blood transfusions that were required in Blair's battle for life.

The same week a striker was shot in Chapman, Alabama. The city judge, also on the company's payroll, jailed the strikers without bail while deputy sheriffs escorted scabs through the picket line. With the city authorities openly functioning as agents of the company, the union appealed to the federal Justice Department for intervention.

Gordon Knapp was seriously wounded by strikebreakers hired by tugboat owner J. W. Banta of Plaquemine, Louisiana. Three unions involved in the strike, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Marine Engineers and the National Maritime Union, tried unsuccessfully to extradite the Banta thug suspected of shooting Knapp to Illinois. These unions, too, took their case to the federal Justice Depart-

ment. As of last reports, Brownell's office still had taken no action.

Add these recent shootings of strikers to the October attack on a Packinghouse workers' meeting in Florida in which 12 unionists were struck by bullets, and it becomes quite clear that the racists have declared war against the unions as well as the Negro people.

The parallel is exact. Negroes are shot for demanding their civil rights in the South. All who attempt to organize unions are submitted to the same terror. Clearly, the victory against this open-shop Jim Crow terror will be won when the powerful labor movement of the North and West moves in on the South with all its strength, cutting across all boss-constructed color lines.

The organizing drive must be complete. It must include all workers on a completely integrated basis. It must mobilize the white and Negro workers together in self-defense against the anti-union, racist forces. From this unified power of the majority of Southern workers, the terrorists will recoil in fear. They will no longer dare to open fire on either Negroes or strikers. The offensive of the racists will be crushed.

The union movement, like the Negro people, finds that the federal government turns a deaf ear to those who are fighting to liberate the South from decades of backwardness. A march on Washington to demand federal protection for the victims of dictatorship would serve as a powerful pressure to break down official indifference and federal collusion with the racists.

But the surest way to smash the Jim Crow, anti-union terror is to unify the forces of the labor movement and the Negro people. This cannot wait. If the open shop is to be defeated in the South, if segregation is to be ended once and for all, the resources of the entire labor movement must be thrown into the battle.

## The Role of the Negroes in American History

By Daniel Roberts

This is Negro History Week. What is being celebrated by the Negro community and its allies are the inspiring struggles waged during the last 200 years by an extremely oppressed section of the U. S. population. The Negroes fought first to eman-

mass demonstrations against the British from 1765 to 1776 and in the American Independence War until 1783, Negroes achieved the abolition of slavery throughout all Northern states. A Negro fugitive slave, Crispus Attucks, a lieutenant of Samuel Adams — was the first man to die for American independence during the Boston Massacre of 1774.

During the Civil War (the Second American Revolution), 200,000 Negro slaves ran away from the plantations and fought in the Union armies. President Lincoln declared that without their effort the North could not have won the war. It was their participation and pressure that led Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863 abolishing slavery in the rebel states.

In the great upsurge of the CIO in the 1930's and 1940's which clearly showed the revolutionary potential of the U. S. working class in a prologue to

the Third American Revolution — Negro militiamen wrote some of the most heroic pages. In turn their participation won the labor movement over to championing the demand for Negro equality.

The Negro people are again on

the march for equality. Since the onset of World War II, there

has been a steady migration of

Negroes from the misery of

Southern tenant farms to the

urban centers of the South,

North and West. They are leaving, intent on bettering their

condition of life by taking jobs

in industry. The Negro popula-

tion — even in the South — has

become urban in its majority.

New aspirations and hopes

have taken root in the minds of

hundreds of thousands of Ne-

groes. As a result all mani-

festations of segregation and dis-

crimination have become intol-

erable to them.

Even in boom time, they find

themselves checked and blocked

in getting jobs, in upgrading, in

obtaining decent housing and de-

cent schools for their children. They escape from the openly proclaimed segregation and discrimination of the South only to find it enforced by more devious means in the North and West.

### NEGRO GAINS

Ever since the March on Washington Movement in 1941, the Negro people have applied steady pressure on the government, on corporations and on the unions to obtain their civil rights.

They have forced many con-

cessions. The most important of

these were the Supreme Court

decisions in 1954 and 1955 de-

claring unconstitutional segre-

gation in the public school sys-

tem and in public parks and

playgrounds. The set of deci-

sions gave the Negro masses en-

couragement and confidence in

their struggle to wipe out all

Jim Crow barriers, since it placed

the law on their side.

There are three main reasons

for this:

(1) To prevent the unioniza-

tion of the South and maintain

the low wage structure of South-

ern industry and agriculture.

(2) To keep the South as the

breeding ground of racist con-

cepts and of semi-fascist cadres

that can be utilized against the

## Kutcher Carries Fight for His Job To White House

### Westinghouse Strike Needs All-Out Help

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Jan. 31 — The Westinghouse strike has entered its sixteenth week with no sign of a break on either side. This giant corporation has set its course toward a humiliating defeat for the electrical workers unions. Big Business generally views this as an extremely important probing operation against the newly-merged labor movement. Standing as the first line of defense are 55,000 Westinghouse workers who have withstood everything this corporation has thrown at them and have become all the more militant and determined.

The principle issue of the strike is the demand of the company to have unreserved rights to speed-up and rationalize its production without regard to its effect upon the workers involved. All the proposals for impartial fact-finding bodies made to date have been turned down by the corporation. They maintain that this province of free enterprise cannot be compromised.

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The organizing drive must be complete. It must include all workers on a completely integrated basis. It must mobilize the white and Negro workers together in self-defense against the anti-union, racist forces. From this unified power of the majority of Southern workers, the terrorists will recoil in fear. They will no longer dare to open fire on either Negroes or strikers. The offensive of the racists will be crushed.

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If the open shop is to be defeated in the South, if segregation is to be ended once and for all, the resources of the entire labor movement must be thrown into the battle.

GOVT. HELP

Although the corporation has been virtually eliminated from the small appliance market, it is maintaining its place in the heavy industrial equipment market through the cooperation of competitors who are taking Westinghouse contracts on a friendly "help out" basis. The most important group of Westinghouse customers, the big utility corporations have assured Westinghouse of full sympathy and cooperation. The government has come to the aid of Westinghouse with new orders as was reported in the Jan. 23 Militant. It also did its bit by sending the Justice Department into action against the UE by citing it under the Humphrey-Bullock Communist Control Act of 1954.

Slowly, but very slowly, the critical nature of this strike is penetrating the consciousness of the official labor movement. While money is being raised, there are only lone voices calling for an all-out campaign to come to the aid of the Westinghouse strikers. And this is exactly what is needed.

GOV'T. HELP

Since the VA will not reverse last month of that body's decision to cut off his disability pension, Kutcher said that at the hearing, "I was charged by faceless informers with giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and rendering assistance to the enemy." At the hearing it turned out that the charges were based on outright lies attributing to me ignorant and un-socialist statements plus such charges as being active in the Socialist Workers Party (which I never denied) and the fact that I wrote a letter to the editor of a newspaper defending civil liberties for the Communists (to whom I am opposed politically)."

"The VA committee," he con-

tinued, "decided not to take my

pension away and I consider that

a personal vindication against the

liars of the faceless informers as

well as a refutation of the mons-

trous charge that holding so-

cialist beliefs is treason."

Since the VA has restored his

## NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

**The Personal History of a Negro CIO Militant**

By Elizabeth Stephens

"I started working for Bethlehem in Lackawanna when I was 20 years old," Henry Moore, a Negro steel worker said to me the other day. "That was in 1919. And I started in as a scab."

He saw the amazement on my face and said, "Oh don't get me wrong. I didn't know I was a scab. I didn't even know what a scab was. All I knew was they promised to give me three times as much money for laboring in the Lackawanna Steel plant as I'd been getting in a textile mill in Georgia. My wife had just had a baby, and \$30 a week sounded fine to us."

Henry Moore was one of tens of thousands of Negroes who migrated North after World War I and found jobs in basic industry. Until the 1930's they remained walled off from their fellow white workers by seemingly insurmountable prejudice bred by the open shop conditions. Then came the great union battles of the CIO in 1935-37, 1941 and the strikes that followed World War II. These epic battles engendered a class solidarity that cut across all racial dividing lines and united Negro and white. It was the prime factor in the CIO's successes.

## STRIKE OF 1919 BROKEN

Moore's story is the account of how some of the best Negro militants arrived at union consciousness.

"I was one of a whole train that went off to the North in 1919," Moore continued. "It was a long trip. But when we got to Lackawanna we never even stopped at a railroad station. The train kept right on going into the plant over the company tracks. There were big crowds of white men outside the plant gates, and they roared in anger when the train took us through. We didn't know why."

"We worked day and night in the steel plant and slept there, too. It was us that broke the 1919 Steel Strike — and we didn't even know what we were doing. Not then, and not for a long time afterwards." The

strike lasted three-and-a-half months, and when it was lost, nearly all the Negroes that had been shipped up from the South were fired. For some reason, maybe because he was so husky and could stand up to the heat of the blast furnace, they kept Moore on.

"When the white men came back to work," Moore recalled, "they called me a scab and wouldn't work alongside of me. 'Scab' didn't sound any worse to me than the names the Southerners called me, and of course I was used to being Jim Crowed."

"I tried to get all my brothers to come North, too. Some of them did come, and we all lived together in a company house. Of course, we soon found that Northern prices ate up most of Northern wages. Four months after the strike the steel companies cut wages 20%. Still, it was a lot better than the South, and we wouldn't go back for anything."

Steel boomed in the 1920's like everything else. The coke ovens and blast furnaces operated day and night, and Moore and his brothers often worked double shifts three or four days a week. They saved money and put a down payment on a house.

"We figured things were pretty good. We used to say, 'A black man can get along all right if he stays in his own back yard, and keeps out of the white man's way.' Of course, we knew we worked harder than them, for less pay, and we knew Jim Crow wasn't only in the South. But we believed our pastor when he said we had to be patient and wait for God to bring us justice some day."

## THEN CAME DEPRESSION

The years of prosperity were soon over. The Great Depression was a tidal wave that rolled

## Negro-White Working Class Solidarity Forged in Struggle



"Here they come!" Negro and white workers pour out of Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Detroit's largest GM plant at 11 AM, Nov. 21, 1945, to begin the famous post-war GM strike. Members of UAW-CIO in 102 plants throughout the country hit the bricks 225,000 strong for 113-days in the biggest industrial strike in U.S. history. Their solidarity broke the war-time wage freeze, won the biggest wage increase to that date, and smashed all hopes of Big Business to bust unions by pitting veterans against unions or white against Negro.

over the whole American continent, engulfing the working class and at the same time uprooting old traditions and accustomed ways of thought.

"The 1930's turned all my ideas topsy-turvy," said Moore. "Not only mine but millions of peoples'. I don't have to tell you that the depression hit the Negroes hardest of all, that we were the first laid off and the last to get relief, that our pay was cut to 35¢ an hour, that many a day we'd wait at the plant gate to get two hours' work or none at all, and that most of us lost our homes to the banks.

"In the first months we thought the depression was a special tribulation just for the Negroes. But after a while we couldn't help seeing a lot of white people on the bread lines and in the relief offices, and waiting with us at the plant

gates. It made us realize something so big had happened it even cut through the color line.

"It was only in those years we got to hate the Company more than the white workers in it. We could see right in front of us, every day, how the Company pitted colored against white to drive wages down further."

Moore didn't happen to live in Detroit, so he never experienced directly the most brutal of all boss-inspired drives against the awakening class consciousness of both white and Negro workers. The Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion terror of 1935 and 1936, the anti-Negro riots of 1943, the insidious campaign of Henry Ford to block the CIO in 1941 by playing up the racial angle — all these he knew about only from reading: "I also read about the sit-down

strikes in Detroit, Flint and Akron," he said, "and how Negroes were joining the CIO by the thousands because it did not discriminate. I heard from relatives in the South that they were even joining secretly down there."

Then he participated in the short but hard-fought strike in

Bethlehem Steel to sign a contract with the CIO United Steelworkers of America. However, it wasn't until the great, victorious post-war strike of 1946 that Negroes of Bethlehem emerged not only as the most loyal union men, but as daring and tireless leaders in the battle.

"I learned more in that seven weeks of strike than in all the years that went before," Moore told me. "I learned that you can't wait for justice, you got to fight for it. I was proud of my race, because in the 1946 strike not one of the miserable

scabs cowering inside the plant was a Negro. We took the most dangerous posts and the longest picket shifts. And we knew that the best white union men were proud of us too. We had overcome their prejudices and won their confidence."

The modern history of Negro people in the U.S. begins with the birth of the CIO. Today Negro organizations such as the NAACP, struggling for civil rights, look to the labor movement as their most dependable ally.

The Negro struggle for equality and the working class struggle for socialism are inseparably joined.

The connecting link is supplied by the hundreds of thousands of Negro workers who, like Henry Moore, are flesh of the flesh of the union movement and who at the same time stand in the vanguard of the battle for civil rights.

FEBRUARY SELECTION  
BOOK-A-MONTH PLAN

SLAVE MUTINY. The Revolt on the Schooner Amistad. By William A. Owens. New York: John Day Co., 312 pp., \$4.00. (Feb. Book-a-Month price \$1.00 plus \$1.15 charge for mailing.)

Here is a book more exciting than any of the romantic historical novels of derring-do that are so popular today. And what could be more appropriate for the celebration of Negro history week than this?

For the fact is that the story of the steady resistance of the Negro people to enslavement has been covered up so well — in slavery days by the slave owners, and afterwards by biased historians — that today we have only an incomplete, fragmentary history of slave revolts. And what information we do have comes not from the insurrectionary slaves but from the slaveowners' court records, newspapers, correspondence, etc. These are, of course, the most biased sources possible. Yet they were the keepers of historical records and scholars today must try to cull fact and truth from the hatred and prejudice with which these records are saturated.

## SLAVES TELL STORY

The story of the revolt on the Amistad is an exception. For here it is a case in which the slaves were able to tell their own story. Their story and that of their alleged owners and the greedy and pro-slavery U.S. Navy officers, who wanted the slaves declared salvage so they could be sold, had to stand the test of court procedure and cross-examination.

The Abolitionists worked hard at digging up collateral information and an Irish member of the commission set up by Britain to suppress the slave trade added more pertinent information.

The story is briefly this. In 1839 a mysterious schooner with odd rigging hovered off the Long Island coast. Its Negro crew tried to bargain with passing ships and with Long Island farmers for food and fresh water. The ship was eventually captured by an

American Navy vessel and taken to New London and the story began to come out. The schooner was from Cuba. Its cargo was a shipment of slaves newly arrived from Africa. They had managed to escape from their chains, overpower the slave ship's crew and take over the vessel. Some of the crew had escaped, others had been killed in the fighting. Two had been spared on condition they navigate the vessel to Africa. By then they had navigated East, but at night, taking advantage of the Africans' lack of knowledge of celestial navigation, they had tacked North. This, with the aid of storms, brought the ship off Long Island.

## CINQUE

The mutiny had been planned and carried out by a young African known to history as Cinque. He was the bold and wise leader who for two months maintained discipline in the crew, taught the African crew to sail the ship and numerous times thwarted tricks of the white captives to sail the ship into a trap. The book begins with Cinque's delivery to one of the huge slave depots on the West African coast. It describes his constant search for a way to escape, his defiance. Moreover, the whole story of the nightmare middle passage on a slaver is told.

How did all this come to be known? American authorities immediately threw the Africans, children and all, into prison on charges of murder and mutiny. Abolitionists sprang to their defense. A professor of languages at Yale found a Negro sailor who could speak the Meudi language. In the jail, where for several years the Africans were kept, the Abolitionists set up a school and taught the freedom-seekers English.

The case finally reached the U.S. Supreme Court. There Cinque and his companions were defended by former president John Quincy Adams. The tide of opinion in America, quickened by Cinque's heroic bearing in court, forced a decision freeing the Africans. Later they were returned to Africa.

If your criteria for a good book are that it is both entertaining and instructive — then you won't want to miss Slave Mutiny. — G. L.

## A New Pamphlet

Desegregation!  
Labor's Stake  
In the Fight  
For Negro Equality

By Jean Simon

10c.

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## ... Kutcher's Letter to President

(Continued from page 1)

know from personal experience, it is important to keep fighting.

"I believe Kutcher's fight is everyone's fight," Billings declared, "and I urge everyone to support the struggle of this legal veteran to maintain his beliefs and to regain his job."

## NEW YORK RALLY

Sparking a national campaign to mobilize additional public support for this major civil liberties case, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is organizing a rally in New York to demand restoration of the legless veteran's job.

Sharing the speakers' platform with Kutcher will be James Wechsler, editor of the N. Y. Post

which fought energetically for Kutcher's pension, Morris Jushe

itz, secretary-treasurer of the

New York City CIO Council and

Kenneth M. Birkhead, National

Executive Director of the Ameri

can Veterans Committee.

The meeting will be held Feb. 17,

8 P. M., at the Community Church,

main auditorium, 45 E. 35th St.

(between Park and Madison Ave.)

Kutcher will arrive for the

meeting after a trip to Chicago

where he will address a similar

meeting, Feb. 10, sponsored by a

large group of leading Chicago

labor and liberal representatives.

Among the sponsors are author

Saul Alinsky, Prof. Kermit Eby,

Joseph Brumberg, Maynard Krueger, Jim Cunningham and

Rev. Joseph M. Evans. The meet

ing will be held at the

Hamilton Hotel, Madison and

Dearborn, at 8 P. M., will feature

Kenneth Douty, Illinois Director

of the American Civil Liberties

Union, and Kutcher as speakers.

The splendid, principled fight

that Kutcher has waged for his

rights for over seven years, and

the encouraging growth of public

support to him, has struck effective

blows against the government-

sponsored attack on civil

liberties.

The restoration of his pension

by the VA gives added strength

to the demand for reinstatement

of the disability pension of the

Communist Party disabled veterans. Saul Wellman and Robert Thompson. Their pensions were revoked by the VA on the same illegal basis as Kutcher's. The political persecution of Wellman and Thompson has been carried to the point of demanding repayment of pension money already received. The Social Security Administration has joined in the attack by halting the old-age pension of Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster and other CP leaders on the frame-up charge that as party functionaries

are employees of a foreign project. Kutcher has thrown a

big stumbling block in the path of government efforts to extend the witch hunt literally into the home.

Kutcher's demand for restoration of his job with the VA will be argued in the Circuit Court in

Washington on or around Feb. 10. A favorable decision by the court would have a crippling effect on one of the witch hunters' most powerful weapons in their drive towards a police state — the unconstitutional "subversive list."

## TERROR NOT GRADUAL

On Oct. 22 a Negro youth, 16 years old, was murdered in Austin, Texas, and his 13 and 15-year-old sisters were wounded when bullets from a speeding car ripped into the hall where they were dancing and drinking sodas. According to a Texas Ranger captain, two white men have signed statements that they fired shots at the children during what was described as a "playful night of gunfire."

There has been no report of steps taken against the killers, but the local District Attorney is hard on the heels of a weekly newspaper, the Texas Observer, because it "tried to create the insinuation that a racial issue was at stake and that lives of Negroes were in jeopardy." The D. A. has threatened to haul the editor before a Grand Jury. According to him, the killing was a "case of two irresponsible boys attempting to have some fun by scaring Negroes."

If they judge by the record, the "playful" gunmen need not greatly worry over their fate. In Mississippi, the confessed murderers of Emmett Till are now negotiating for royalties on a prospective film about their foul deed. In Virginia, Ira Hinton, a white storekeeper, while drunk killed 23-year-old Howard Bromley with three bullets in the back because Bromley, a Negro, had allegedly put his arm around Hinton's brother and called him "son."

Last month a jury of Hinton's peers swapped jokes with the killer's family during a 21-minute "trial" and then set him free. The only conviction reported

recently in a case involving Jim Crow was that of six Negroes in Greensboro, N. C. On Jan. 30 they were fined \$15 and costs for "trespassing" on a city owned golf course. (Last fall, segregation on public golf courses was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court — implementation to be made "with deliberate speed."

While Eisenhower has been proclaiming the need for a "gradual" approach to Jim Crow, Major General E. M. Caffey, Judge Advocate General of the U. S. Army, was telling the Georgia House of Representatives how much he appreciated a speech upholding white supremacy delivered by his good friend, Rep. J. P. Flint of Georgia. Caffey told the Georgia racists, "If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that."

After his comment was picked up by the press, the Pentagon complained that Caffey had been misinterpreted. His remarks, it was explained, were merely "praise of the speech-making ability" of the Georgia Congressman.

## SEATTLE

## Seattle Afternoon

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Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
118 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468  
Editor: MURRY WEISS  
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

"Entered as second class  
matter March 7, 1954 at the  
Post Office at New York,  
N.Y., under the act of March  
3, 1879."

Monday, February 6, 1956

Vol. XX — No. 6

## Another Leak in the Dike

British Prime Minister Eden is in Washington for consultations with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Eden has explained the purpose of his visit as seeking the coordination of the strategy of the two countries in the face of a complex world situation. The U.S. and Britain are the two most stable capitalist countries in the world. The crisis-ridden French government, unable to produce a prime minister in time, has been frozen out of the talks.

The range of topics scheduled for discussion spans the globe. The political and military dikes the imperialists have so painstakingly erected to stem the tide of national and social revolution are being breached in many places. However, it is clear that uppermost in the minds of the British visitors is the new leak that has been sprung in the Middle East.

It is here that the conflict between British and American oil interests have given the Arab masses an opportunity to advance their national independence movement by playing the main contending imperialist powers in the area off against each other. Economic and military aid offered by the Soviet government recently strengthens the Arab nationalists further. Eden wants coordination of the strategy of imperialism against the Arab revolution.

N. Y. Times correspondent Drew Middleton, writing, Jan. 29, from aboard the Queen Elizabeth, and clearly expressing the sentiments of the British diplomats en route to the U.S., says, "When Sir Anthony and President Eisenhower survey the world horizon, the queer state of affairs in Saudi Arabia, rich in American oil production, and the Buraimi oasis where British oil operations are starting,

## Truman's Memoirs

In the second installment series of his Memoirs now being published by the N. Y. Times, ex-President Truman relates in detail how at the end of World War II, the U.S. government sought to prevent the Chinese people from achieving a government of their own choice.

The Truman Administration wanted China as a Wall Street colony. Chiang Kai-shek was its agent. But, as Truman admits, this representative of the landlords, bankers and U.S. imperialists "did not command the respect and support of the Chinese people." In fact he was hated by them.

Nevertheless, every move Truman made was designed to preserve the power of the dictator. When the war ended, he says, "we . . . had to take the unusual step of using the enemy [the defeated Japanese troops] as a garrison until we could airlift Chinese troops to South China and send Marines to guard the sea ports."

Why the "unusual step"? Against whom were Japanese troops to be used? The answer is: against the Chinese people, themselves, who had fought heroically against Japanese imperialism since 1937 and who were now pressing forward to rid the country of all foreign domination.

## The Mirage of Class Peace

David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers Union, has been an ardent advocate of the "Geneva Spirit" in labor-capital relations. He won laurels in this field by his notorious January, 1954, arm-in-arm tour of the steel plants with former U.S. Steel president Benjamin F. Fairless. The union official and the steel baron paraded their good fellowship while the company opened one of its most savage attacks on union working conditions and security in a year when mass unemployment ravaged the steel industry.

Now this crusader for class peace, who has sent down a ruling that "in America there is no class struggle," has just extended another olive branch to Big Business. Speaking to a conference of the American Management Association, he militantly attacked any notion that a battle was shaping up in the coming steel negotiations. "We neither contemplate nor anticipate 'war,' 'a big battle,' or a 'strike,' and I pray and hope the feeling is mutual," he pleaded.

To emphasize his appeal for amity he castigated any notion of a Labor Party "now or ever." Organized labor, he asserted, in its new merged form believed the country's needs could best be served "in the framework of our existing two parties."

Coming at the end of steel's best profit year, McDonald's case for repealing the law of the class struggle seems to be well founded. After all, 1955 was the year when some of the biggest corporations decided to postpone any major showdown with

will be the point of greatest difficulty. It is there that the British want a settlement..."

U.S. oil interests in the Middle East have taken advantage of the anti-British feeling among the Arab masses there to gain immediate economic advantages over their main competitor in the field.

The revolutionary tide invariably finds the weak spots in the world imperialist system and breaks through. The Second World War gave millions of Asians the opportunity to fight for their liberation from all imperialist domination. Nationalist movements took advantage of arms and money supplied to them by either side of the contending camps of colonial rulers and then used these to fight for their independence. It is clear that the Arab world is following the same strategy in this respect.

It is no longer possible to separate one imperialist power as "good" and another as "bad" in the eyes of the rising Arab masses. Popular movements in this area, regardless of the initial issues, are rapidly broadening out to threaten all imperialist intruders. Thus, demonstrations staged in December and January against the British-subsidized Jordan government in opposition to the Baghdad Pact, wound up with attacks on all imperialist embassies including that of the U.S. Ever new social layers are being awakened to political life and drawn into the struggle.

In the course of this struggle the working masses will find the feudal and tribal structures they are saddled with in many areas as obstacles in their road and will sweep them into the same dustbin as the Chinese workers and peasants swept their archaic institutions.

## Memoirs

As for large-scale use of U.S. troops to impose Chiang's rule on the Chinese masses, "the American people would never stand for such an undertaking," Truman confesses. So that recourse was out.

He then sent Gen. Marshall to China to prevail on Chiang to make "peace" with the Stalinist leaders and form a coalition government with them. Truman makes clear this was a sheer tactical device to gain time until Chiang was strong enough again to mount an offensive. "It seemed then it was the only practicable course."

When Chiang reopened civil war despite Marshall's advice, Truman promptly furnished him equipment, money and a water-lift to Manchuria.

Chiang had to flee to Formosa with the aid of the U.S. fleet. But despite the dictator's complete discreditation, Truman continued to recognize the Chiang regime as the legal Chinese government and continued to ply it with military aid. That is still the government's policy today under the Republicans.

It is high time that the U.S. government abandon its plans to transform China into a Wall Street colony. Recognize the real Chinese government in Peking! Cease aid to Chiang! Withdraw the Seventh Fleet from the Formosa Straits!

## "Class Peace"

the unions for the sake of profiting from the boom, and the labor officials strained every effort to curb militancy and strikes. Yet what was the record in this year of "class peace"?

"Wildcat" strikes against speed-up erupted in auto and other industries. The South saw a series of hard-fought strikes in telephone, railroad, sugar, textile and hotel industries. The UAW Perfect Circle strike in Newcastle, Indiana, came face to face with the national guard and martial law used to open the plant to scabs.

Westinghouse workers have walked the picket lines in one of the longest and bitterest strikes in recent history. New York and New Jersey longshoremen conducted a political strike against government invasion of the rights of their union. The independent United Electrical Workers, while engaged in the Westinghouse strike, came under government attack under cover of the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act. And the Kohler strike entered its 20th month as the year ended.

This was "class peace" in a boom year when the biggest corporations deliberately restrained their union-busting strategy. What will it be in a year when Big Business feels the pinch of an economic slump?

McDonald's formula against a Labor Party is the same as his labor-management peace formula. Class collaboration on the economic and political fronts go hand in hand. Neither formula can serve the labor movement the moment the basic reality of the class struggle in American society dispels the mirage of class peace.

# The Economic Boom in Western Germany

By John Black

The conservative trade union bureaucrats of the West German labor movement have been forced to take brutal measures in an attempt to stem the growing discontent and fighting spirit of the rank-and-file trade union workers.

The Jan. 17 N.Y. Times reports: "The Building Workers Union closed down nine Communist-controlled locals in the Ruhr today. The action, carried out with military precision, inaugurated a national move by the West German trade union movement, a prime target of Communist infiltrators."

The list of locals closed by the national union officials reads like a roll call of the important industrial centers of the Ruhr area. Among them are Essen, Dusseldorf, Duisburg, Muenchen-Gladbach — names of cities that have become famous as centers of the most revolutionary struggles of the German workers in the pre-Hitler days.

The Ruhr district of the Building Workers Union has over 50,000 workers. The elected district executive committee has been dissolved. Nine of the 18 locals were closed, 15 of the 25 paid union officials were dismissed. Technical and youth organizations were also closed. The National Executive is discussing further expulsions.

The trade union leadership is troubled and scared. This kind of action, a violation of the most elementary trade union democracy, is the only reaction it is capable of in the face of a ground swell of radicalization in the West German working class movement during the last six months. The national leadership of the strong trade union movement in the West German Republic is demonstrating during this period that it is neither capable nor willing to lead any kind of fight along class lines



ADENAUER

against the masters of industry. This, in spite of the pressure for a battle manifested by the industrial working class in many ways and regardless of the most favorable economic conditions.

In these circumstances the West German working class is beginning to search for a new leadership. The revival of the influence of the Stalinist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in the shops, shipyards and mines is an expression of this process.

### THE NEED FOR STRUGGLE

An unprecedented boom for West German capitalism is creating very favorable conditions for a vigorous struggle on the economic front. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation, Europe's administrative body for handling the distribution of aid under the Marshall Plan, estimates that in the first half of 1955 industrial production rose at a faster rate in West Germany than in any country in Europe outside the Soviet bloc. Industrial production was 17% higher than in the

corresponding period in 1954. The output in agriculture rose 5%.

The Jan. 6 issue of the West German *Handelsblatt* (Commerce paper) carries an estimate by the Bank of German States that the rise in West German export trade was percentage-wise faster than in any country of the capitalist world. The share of West Germany alone in the world export trade is now equal to the pre-war share of the unified German Reich in its "best" years, that is, under the forced and artificial "export or die" program of Hitler's Germany.

German capitalists have regained their markets in the Middle East, South and East Asia. German engineering concerns play a significant role in the attempted industrialization programs of those areas.

The extent of West Germany's resurgence on the world market can be gauged by the announcement of Adenauer's government that it is preparing a politically motivated economic aid program for underdeveloped and neutralist countries. This is described as an economic inducement to support its world campaign against the diplomatic recognition of the East German Republic by these "uncommitted" countries. Coupled with these promises are threats of diplomatic and economic reprisals against any country entering into diplomatic relations with East Germany (N.Y. Times, Dec. 13).

West Germany's industries have even invaded the American market. As an example we can cite the more than tenfold increase of Volkswagen (automobile) exports to the U.S. in the years from 1953 to 1955. On the home market, too, these industries are prospering. For example, the Opel Corporation, a General Motors affiliate, an

announced a phenomenal 116% profit in the middle of 1955.

### RISE IN LIVING COSTS

In the face of this vigorous economic upsurge the workers have shown their determination to gain concessions from the trusts now, while the boom is still on. They have been spurred on by the increasing rise in the cost of living. The issue of the *Handelsblatt* already cited carries a report on the price situation for 1955. The Adenauer Government boasts that prices have remained stable. But a close look at the figures gives the lie to this claim. From November 1954 to November 1955, industrial products went up 2.3%. Agricultural prices shot up 6.1% in the same period. Cloth prices rose sharply too. The very things that the workers spend most of their wages on are rising fastest.

The German capitalist economy is monopolized to an exceptionally high degree. Dr. Viktor Agartz, educational director of the German Trade Union Federation, has since been ousted from his position by the conservative leaders of the Federation, in a report to the 1955 National Convention of the Trade Union Federation in Frankfurt, estimated that three fourths of all West German products are sold at monopoly-dictated prices. Such a firm grip on the economy makes it easy for the capitalists to plunder the consumer at will. The destruction of German industrial machinery during World War II led to the introduction of the latest and most advanced technological equipment. This and the skill of German craftsmen make for a high productivity per worker. Germany's re-penetration of the world market has in part been made possible by this. For the same reason, even at the height of the present boom some unemployment prevails. Thus in

December 1955 almost half a million unemployed were added to the ranks of the destitute. Over a million West German workers are now out in the streets and definitely not in on the boom.

### NEW WAR BURDEN

An additional economic burden is about to be loaded on the unwilling shoulders of the German proletariat. Dr. Schaeffer, West German Finance Minister presented his budget to the Bundestag, Dec. 8, 1955. The total estimated outlay for 1956 of almost eight billion dollars includes a two billion dollar item for the establishment of West Germany's new army. Adenauer's contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is to consist of half a million soldiers. This is an army five times the size permitted to Germany after World War I. The standing army and the expenses involved in maintaining this parasitic body were never sanctioned by the workers. The working class has repeatedly manifested sharp opposition to rearmament. Nonetheless, it is the workers who will have to carry the burden of the army.

Adenauer and Schaeffer had let it be known that any budgetary deficit arising from the rearmament would be underwritten by the United States. This story helped Adenauer push his bill through the Bundestag. All illusions on this score were rudely shattered at the December, 1955, meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris. The U.S. representatives, viewing German economic competition with some alarm, pulled the skids from under Adenauer and Schaeffer when they pointed out that West Germany "could well afford to pay its total armament bill."

[First of a series of two. Next week: The Wave of "Wild Strikes" in West Germany.—Ed.]

## ... Peace Pact Rejected

(Continued from page 1)

that reached the stage of imperialist development later than the others its survival depended on its capacity to conquer world markets. Japan also needed war, too, arrived late as an imperialist power and wanted nothing less than China as its own special preserve.

The Soviet Union is fundamentally different. Its survival does not depend on conquering markets. The workers revolution of 1917 brought planned economy into existence. Production in the Soviet Union ceased to be dependent on profit. Soviet economy won't collapse without a war budget.

Bulgarian speaks in the interests of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union just as Eisenhower speaks in the interests of the capitalist class. But this caste really wants peace with the capitalist world. It believes in coexistence with the West. It has hoped to buy that peace with its betrayals of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in the capitalist world for two-and-a-half decades.

### CHINA AND EAST EUROPE

The Kremlin didn't want the Chinese revolution. The Stalinists did everything in their power to make a deal with the U.S. and its puppet Chiang Kai-shek. They agreed to leave the capitalist system in China intact and even to protect U.S. capital invested there. But Chinese capitalism was too weak. Chiang was long accustomed to dictatorial rule. His regime, bankrupt and degenerate, could not brook even the most modest reforms on which a capitalist popular front could rest.

Stalin thought he could coexist with capitalism in the East European states. Although he confiscated as war booty the property of the Nazis and their collaborators, he retained capitalist property relations from 1944 to 1948. He pitted the weight of the Red Army against the insurgent people of East Europe and foisted on their backs capitalist regimes.

This bureaucratic experiment with coexistence was short lived — but not because Stalin's overtures to the capitalist world were insincere. In the first place, this hybrid social set-up was highly unstable. Capitalist economy cannot flourish where the capitalists do not control the armed forces and law-making powers of government.

And secondly, the cold war caught up with this direct attempt at coexistence. The U.S. drive for World War III could not leave unresolved the question of power in the Buffer states. Either these countries would be abandoned to capitalism, in which case they would be crushed under military dictatorships and used as armed bases for an imperialist thrust at the Soviet Union, or they would be assimilated by the Soviet social structure.

Stalin and his imperialist allies

did not expect this outcome — and did not want it. But history does not conform to the wishes of statesmen, be they capitalists or Kremlin bureaucrats. History has its own objective laws. The class struggle decides big social questions not political regimes which are merely one of the instruments in that struggle. In a revolutionary epoch such as the one in which we live, the people intervene into the affairs of the world and make their own history.

### DEEDS NOT WORDS

In his reply to Bulgarian Eisenhowers said that "it is deeds and not words alone which count." It might appear that he has come over to the Marxist view which always scoffed at the much-touted idea that the UN charter and treaties between nations, mere words, would guarantee peace to a war-weary world. But the Marxists, who always look for the basic economic conflicts in society, never denied the importance of "words" either.

Fundamentally, foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. The irreconcilable nature of the conflict with the Soviet Union arises not in the antagonism of Big Business and the Kremlin, a derivative conflict, but out of the growth of the world revolution.

### A SOLUTION SEEN

The UN charter, in the hypocritical words of diplomatic language, was an expression of the relations that existed among the victorious nations in World War II. Since then new relations developed and were expressed in special treaties contracted outside of the formalities of the UN. Thus NATO, the West European alliance, was brought into existence. Then SEATO for South East Asia and the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East.

These treaties expressed in their own way the new relations among nations. German militarism was revived. The Japanese were re-armed. Chiang Kai-shek was laden down with weapons of war with which to harass Chinese commerce in the Formosa Straits and keep alive the perspective of the invasion of the mainland. The U.S. acquired a worldwide string of air bases which forms a ring around the Soviet borders.

A non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union would run directly counter to this basic task of U.S. imperialism of arming the capitalist nations for World War III — over the objections of most of the people.

### NATURE OF BUREAUCRATS

The Wall Street government in Washington, of course, is not adverse to dealing with the Kremlin bureaucrats. They have in the past and they will in the future. They will negotiate every last drop of counter-revolutionary advantage they can gain from Stalinist betrayals of the working class.

The problem is much the same as the one Big Business confronts at home with the organized labor movement. The labor bureaucrats do not control the armed forces and law-making powers of government as they always hope to get a negotiated class peace. Struggle stirs up the rank and file and endangers the privileged positions of the union officials. Taking advantage of the fear to struggle on the part of bureaucrats, Big

capitalism is being concentrated in its ruling center. In gathering the wealth of the world and its control into its own hands, the capitalist class of America has also gathered the internal contradictions of a dying economic system.

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The conflict centering over the non-enforcement of Supreme Court rulings and the defense of Southern Negroes from racist terror is shaking the whole political structure of the country. Ever since the brutal Till murder

## The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

### Youth Want Jobs (III)

The "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns of the Thirties and early Forties were marked by a relatively high degree of success because they correctly estimated the relationship of forces in particular local communities, then used the correct tactics for the situation — the picket line and boycott.

But the aims of these campaigns were, of necessity, limited to ending job discrimination in Northern urban communities (where organized labor had won the right to picket) and in areas where Negroes were in a majority. This meant, in the main, compelling small retail stores to hire Negro clerks. The same tactics were used to win jobs for Negroes in chain stores, in some bakery, milk and other delivery services doing business in colored communities, and even some public utilities and small plants located in or near the ghetto.

It is clear from the history of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns that they worked under special conditions, and could possibly be useful again, but only under similar conditions.

There is a big difference in the situation facing Negro youth seeking jobs today. Negro workers, taking advantage of the changed relationship of forces on a national scale when war production needs increased the demand for labor, broke through the Iron Curtain that limited them to jobs in Negro areas or services. Again it was mass pressure that won gains. The March on Washington Movement, with its threat — no idle one — that hundreds of thousands would demonstrate, won an executive order requiring non-discriminatory hiring in defense plants.

At the same time, industrial unions, par-

ticularly of the CIO, which had been able to organize on a mass scale only by admitting Negroes to full membership, received a big influx of colored members.

Thus, the picture for youth seeking jobs today is quite different. Not that there are unlimited jobs available: On the contrary the predominant picture in industry is still one of discrimination in hiring and up-grading. Moreover, automation, increased productivity, scientific discoveries and technical progress only mean more profits, not more jobs, so long as they are limited by the organization of production for profit rather than to satisfy the needs of man.

Negro youth today have two main alternatives before them: They can seek a business or professional career, generally within the confines of the segregated colored community — if they can afford it. Or, they can seek jobs in industry.

For the mass of Negro youth, the latter is the only realistic perspective. And it is not a gloomy one. It means opportunities to carry on the struggle against job discrimination and for equal opportunities within industry, within and through the unions. It means "doing missionary work" among white workers, educating them, combatting the propaganda of those who profit by keeping workers divided in order to pit white against Negro.

A conscious working class perspective for Negro youth today means opportunities to participate in building and leading the organizations of the class that will be the decisive force in reconstructing society and in ending the class, race, sex and age limitations on the freedom and progress of mankind.

[Last of a series of three.]

## "The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit"

By Joyce Cowley

Sloan Wilson is the author of a best-selling novel, "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit." I haven't read it but a review in the N. Y. Times describes it as a book with a "happy ending" about a man who manages to make money and stay honest, too.

In a recent issue of the N. Y. Times Magazine, the same author writes about "The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit." He read a couple of articles, one warning career women against ulcers, the other outlining opportunities for women at the "administrative level," and he got worried. He checked government publications to find out how many married women were working, and he is now thoroughly alarmed and predicts that one day women will be dashing off to work while men "loll around the house in kimonos." On both of them will dash off and a great 12-handed machine will mind the children. Maybe they will take turns on careers — the husband can have on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and the wife will get the rest of the week. His final suggestion is for men to become more motherly as women become more fatherly.

### MONEY IN MARRIAGE

He obviously thinks that women belong at home, but is embarrassed to find himself defending such an "old-fashioned" point of view. So he admits that some working women are justified. Some don't want to get married and others haven't been asked. Some find that they have to take jobs to keep the family together, and he admits no one can blame them.

What really disturbs him are not exceptional cases of this type but a prevailing attitude that a woman ought to do something more than devote herself whole-heartedly to helping a husband and children. He thinks the work of good wife is made to appear "drab" and argues that it consists of a lot more than scrubbing and vacuum cleaning. The wife of a successful man learns more about investments, accounting and upper bracket public relations than most women in offices. He winds up with an eloquent sales talk: "There's money in marriage, girls! The retirement benefits and opportunities for travel are often excellent."

One reason he's so strongly in favor of women becoming what he calls "executive wives" is because male executives are becoming more and more helpless in their personal lives and have no time for anything but work. He tells about a friend, president of a small college, whose capable wife screens his social engagements, keeps track of personal finances, runs his house and takes care of the children. If his wife decided to have a career of her own, the man would succumb from confusion and bewilderment.

This college president worked out an interesting theory. He thinks leadership in many large organizations requires so much energy that only compulsive workers — i.e. neurotics — are capable of large-scale success. That's the reason there are so many wars. Compulsive workers are seething with hatreds and are more likely to fight than the ordinary people they lead. (Especially when it's the ordinary people who do the actual fighting!)

The college president believes that without an unusually warm, dedicated wife, most successful men would not have children and there would be no reproduction of the great. Now there's one of the best arguments I've heard yet for the career wife. We might eliminate these compulsive neurotics, whose aggressions are encouraged by our present society and who play such a destructive role. (Mr. Dulles, for instance.)

### THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Mr. Sloan makes some interesting comments of his own. In other societies, he says, a man could have a lot of wives — the more successful the man, the more wives he had. Now all this "career talk" is reducing the one wife permitted Western man to just a fraction, and it's time to rebel.

He goes on to tell how sorry he feels for the career girls he has known. They may wear gray flannel suits, even carry a briefcase and look glamorous in the street. (Depends on your taste — I can't see anything glamorous about gray flannel and a briefcase) — but the unmarried ones live in lonely walk-up apartments and their social life consists mostly of going to the movies with girls like themselves. He knows of one case where a girl sneaked into the office to work late at night simply because she had nothing else to do. (If he will put me in touch with the girl, I have a number of suggestions as to what she could do with her time. Evidently girls in gray flannel, like their male counterparts, have few interests outside of themselves.)

The married career women that he knows are not much better off. Mothers are semi-fulfilled, husbands are harried and "hard lines of discontent set in." (To round out this picture, maybe he should check up on the jobless wives of rich men. I've heard that time drags for them, and they are likely to fill the idle hours with pursuits like bridge, alcohol and sex.)

Mr. Wilson concludes that women should leave the ulcers to men. I don't know if this is chivalry, or if there is some kind of prestige involved in getting ulcers. Obviously, the problems he raises have very little general application. Few men require the kind of wife he has in

mind. For instance, most husbands would be delighted if their wives did a little less screening of their social engagements. Not many women work at an "administrative level" — the average income of women workers is still about \$1400 a year. While it's true that ten million married women are working, most of them are married to men who make less than \$5,000 — often a good deal less. The management of their personal finances requires more knowledge of how to dodge bill collectors than it does of investments and accounting. When the husband makes more than \$10,000, there's about one chance in ten that his wife holds down a job, compared with one in three at the lower income level (I read those government bulletins, too). So most successful men are still able to buy a wife and get full value.

In case things reach a point where there are no longer any women willing to make a full time occupation of helping bewildered executives, there are other solutions suggested by Mr. Wilson himself. Facetiously, he spoke of a 12-handed machine, taking turns at careers and men becoming more "motherly." But he's looking in the right direction.

The twelve hands that will care for children while both parents are at work, are those of trained, intelligent nursery school workers. They can create a happy environment for children to play and grow, and in some ways will do better than the average mother who lacks both the facilities of a nursery school and the training and experience of a teacher.

Mr. Wilson must have heard about the machines that are available for other household tasks. He knows the kind of people who own the most up-to-date dishwashers and floor polishers.

As for taking turns at careers, it could be deeply satisfying for both the man and his wife. Women will not only have a chance to get out in the world — but men, who complain they are confined in an office and shop, having no time for anything but work, can cut their working day in half. They'll have time to go fishing and take the kids to a ball game, they may even screen their own social engagements.

In one sense, men will become more "motherly." They will have more time to spend with their children and get to know them better. They will help in the concrete tasks of caring for the home, alcohol and sex.)

This is a perspective that means greater freedom for men as well as women, and I don't know why men should object to a shorter working day, less financial responsibility, more leisure and more fun. I can foresee a day when no one gets ulcers and even the compulsive neurotic will learn how to enjoy his life.

Cola G. Parker of Neenah, Wis., shown at Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers convention last Dec. in his keynote speech to the Big Business gathering he attacked the newly-merged AFL-CIO as a "sinister force."

Even in the short run they will not provide more jobs for auto workers. In the same Jan. 17 speech where GM president Harlow H. Curtice made his highly publicized announcement about spending one billion dollars for "expansion" he estimated a drop in auto production this year of 18% under 1955.

Now that the cuts have come we can be sure that the least efficient units will be stopped first, and that those requiring the least manpower per unit of production will be kept operating. In other words, all other things being equal, the cuts in working force will be even greater than the cuts in production.

### LONG LINES AT GATE

Everything indicates that

many thousands of auto workers will be out of work this year,

the blame on the company.

The defense of the two Negro workers by the entire membership, acting without official backing, marks a high point in interracial working-class solidarity.

Until the end of World War II Negroes were virtually excluded from auto plants in Los Angeles.

Militant UAW members succeeded in breaking down the lily-white hiring policies after a long struggle.

The union termed the walkout, which took place at 11:30 A.M., "unauthorized" but placed the blame on the company.

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