

Group Fights Carolina Racial Injustice

Takes Legal Steps To Free Children In "Kissing Case"

DEC. 19—Conrad Lynn, general counsel for the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, a newly formed group, is preparing further legal action to secure the release from reformatory of James Hanover Thompson, 9, and David "Fuzzy" Simpson, 8, both of Monroe, North Carolina. Last Nov. 4 the two Negro boys were committed for indefinite terms to reformatory after one of them had allegedly been kissed by a seven-year-old white girl. The Committee reported on legal steps in the case in a general press release issued today.

Mr. Lynn of New York, a well-known civil-rights attorney, acting for the parents of the two boys and for the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, is getting ready to file papers in North Carolina Superior Court. He failed last week to win a modification of the boys' sentence from Judge J. Hampton Price of Monroe who had originally sentenced the children in the "Kissing Case."

MIGHT GET OUT BEFORE THEY'RE 21

The two boys were originally tried on three charges of assault and of molesting three

white girls, ages six and seven. All three charges stemmed from the same incident of the five children playing together in a ditch. The boys allegedly set a kiss by one of the girls as the price of her climbing out. In condemning them to indeterminate terms in a reformatory for Negro boys at Hoffman, N.C., Judge Price informed Hanover Thompson and "Fuzzy" Simpson that if they behave themselves well they might be released before reaching the age of 21.

The newly formed Committee to Combat Racial Injustice has undertaken to supply the legal assistance required to restore the two Negro boys to their families and to prevent victimization of parents or NAACP officials of the city.

According to the group's press release, its founders include Robert F. Williams (chairman of the group) and Dr. A. E. Perry, president and vice-president respectively of the NAACP in Union County, N.C., where Monroe is located; L. E. Austin, publisher of the Carolina

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXII—No. 51

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1958

Price 10c

Jobless Auto Workers Organizing in Detroit

What Can We Expect from New Congress?

By Carl Goodman

How much will working men and women get out of the next Congress in the way of civil rights, jobless pay, housing and other reforms? Something perhaps, but not much. Certainly nowhere near what they need. And the Northern and Western Democrats elected with the votes of the working people are preparing their alibi right now. They'll say they couldn't get past Senator Johnson, Senate Democratic floor leader, or Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House. These two gentlemen are from Texas. They run Congress. And they are experts at balancing between the Northerners and the Dixiecrats.

But are the liberals trying to upset the rule of this pair? Furthermore, are they trying to smash the control of the Southern Democrats over a majority of the Congressional committees? Not according to accounts of maneuvering now beginning on the Democratic side of both houses of Congress on the eve of the start of the new session.

Because of the sweep of the Democrats in the Nov. 4 elections, Northern and Western Democrats outnumber Southern Democrats nearly two to one in the Senate and about seven to four in the House of Representatives. Yet all that the liberals seek is to enlarge a number of key committees to obtain somewhat greater voice and a few more votes on them. They also want rule changes to make it less easy for Southern Democrats and Republicans to bottle up even mild civil rights and social-welfare legislation. To achieve their aims, the liberals intend to put pressure on Johnson and Rayburn but not to break with them. They propose to go no further than Johnson and Rayburn agree to go.

THEY'LL COMPROMISE

As one liberal Democratic Congressman, quoted in the Dec. 15 Wall Street Journal, said, "We're proposing enough changes so there will be room for concessions and compromise with him [Rayburn]. Some of the changes he might want anyway, or at least not be opposed to." Another Congressman said of the reaction of the Southerners to rule changes: "Of course [they] won't be happy about all this. But they are politicians and can count noses as well as we. Anyway, we'll try as much as possible

(Continued on Page 4)

A Mighty Power



Workers at the General Motors Chevrolet Gear and Axle Division in Detroit as they took strike action last Oct. 2 when their UAW contract expired. Today, GM, Chrysler and Ford workers are combatting unemployment and company speed-up of those still on the job.

Join with Employed At Chrysler to Fight Overtime, Speed-Up

By Albert Phillips

DETROIT, Dec. 13—Chrysler workers in Detroit, spearheaded by men and women from the Dodge Main plant, have given the lead in past weeks to auto workers seeking unity of employed and unemployed union members in the face of interlocking problems.

Since the changeover to new models in mid-September, the Dodge Main plant alone has worked some 96,000

hours of overtime, enough to have brought at least 300 workers off the unemployed list, had the corporation maintained a 40-hour week. In protesting this policy, the Dodge Local 3 (UAW) Unemployed Committee won enough sympathy from the employed workers to shut down the plant by demonstrating in front of factory gates on Saturday mornings. The action at the Main plant sparked similar demonstrations at Chrysler plants throughout the city.

7,000 Strike At Chrysler In Detroit

DEC. 16—Over 7,000 Chrysler workers in Detroit have been on strike since Dec. 2 against company efforts to further speedup production standards. During the two weeks since the strike began the corporation has laid off an estimated additional 25,000 workers in its plants across the country, claiming the Detroit strike has created a parts shortage that made continued production impossible.

UNEMPLOYED SKILLED WORKERS' COMMITTEE

Originally 5,000 members of UAW Local 3 walked out of the company's main Dodge plant after 24 hours of fruitless negotiations on an increase in production standards for 400 workers in the body department. A few hours later they were joined by 2,000 strikers at the Chrysler Conant Ave. stamping plant and the Chrysler foundry.

C. Pat Quinn of Dodge Local 3, charged the strike was forced by company efforts to "re-instate sweatshop conditions." As soon as the walkout came, company spokesmen indicated plans for legal action against the union by charging the strike violated the terms of the recently signed contract. International spokesmen for the union replied that since the issue of production standards is not subject to arbitration under the contract the strike was completely lawful.

Negotiations were broken off by the company, Dec. 14, and as of this writing a date for resumption has not been set. According to the Associated Press, a "union source" has said that UAW president Walter Reuther will intervene in renewed negotiations.

The Chrysler jobless workers were then joined in their campaign by a city-wide committee of unemployed skilled workers. Last month, this group along with the Chrysler jobless picketed Solidarity House, UAW headquarters, demanding that the International officers act to ban overtime while unemployment exists.

This UAW brass, who up to this point had ignored the unemployed, were finally forced to issue a public statement deploring overtime as "morally wrong and socially indefensible" while workers are jobless. The inadequacy of their stand is underlined by contrasting it to their action prior to the April UAW convention. At that time, under great pressure from the ranks—and because the top leaders were coming up for reelection—the International officers defied the contract and prohibited overtime in Chrysler plants while a strike at a West Coast Chrysler factory was in progress.

Despite lack of leadership from Reuther the recent actions of the unemployed have been so effective, that the Chrysler corporation went to court to secure an injunction against further demonstrations. Twenty-three unemployed Dodge Main and Chrysler workers were summoned to appear in court. Shortly before, the court issued a temporary injunction against demonstrations and ordered the jobless to show cause why it should not be made permanent.

The International officers, apparently because of "contractual obligations," refused to give legal aid to the workers who were cited, and they had to go outside the UAW's legal department. They retained Charles Lockwood, noted civil libertarian, and another lawyer of liberal inclinations. The local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union submitted a friend-of-the-court brief through its Detroit Chapter president, Harold Norris. The ACLU agreed with the unemployed that they were being deprived of their constitutional right of free speech and assembly.

At the trial, the presiding judge continually heckled the lawyers for the jobless. Then he read his ruling—making the anti-demonstration injunction permanent—from a statement prepared before he even heard the arguments of the attorneys for the unemployed. Thus the crowd of workers who overflowed into the corridors of the courtroom were treated to a

(Continued on Page 2)

Ala. Negroes Testify on How Racists Bar Them from Polls

By Lillian Kiezel

Alabama officials have used humiliation, fear, deliberate negligence and economic pressure to prevent Negroes from registering to vote. Ample evidence to prove these charges came from dozens of complaining witnesses at the hearing of the federal Civil Rights Commission held Dec. 8. The Commission functions under the 1957 Civil Rights Law as a fact-finding body which investigates all written complaints of disfranchisement.

Lowndes County has a Negro population of 13,000 but not a single Negro registered voter. Dallas County has a Negro population of 8,000 of which only 128 are registered.

In Macon County (Tuskegee), where Negroes outnumber whites seven to one, only 510 Negroes are registered against 3,016 whites. William P. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association testified that only 32% of all Negro applicants have been registered in the past eight years.

He said "... the board never warns us whether we have passed [the 'literacy' test] or not."

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

J. Ernest Wilkins, only Negro member of the Commission, reported that in Wilcox County there are 8,000 Negroes to 22,000 whites but not one Negro is a registered voter according to registration lists. Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton who is chairman of the political action committee of Women's Clubs testified: "I know economic pressure has been applied to members of my race [in Wilcox County] and because of this they have not applied for voter registration."

Other witnesses, most of whom were professional people, testified to humiliation and threats which prevent Negroes from registering. Only one of the witnesses is a registered voter.

Under directives of Governor-elect Patterson, registration records have been impounded by Judge George Wallace in Barbour and Bullock Counties and by Grand Juries

in three other counties. Thus the Commission was forced temporarily to adjourn the hearings and appeal for a court decision. These officials have now received an order from Federal District Court Judge Frank Johnson to "produce the records or go to jail." They must appear with the records Friday, Dec. 19.

Patterson maintains that states' rights are being violated in Alabama. The Carolina Times of Durham, N. C. answers this editorially: "What the average southerner means by states rights is not the right of a sovereign state to govern itself or conduct its own affairs. He means he wants the right, without federal interference, to lynch or shoot down a Negro who attempts to vote, to maintain a lower salary scale for Negro teachers in the public schools and for Negro workers in industry, on the farm and elsewhere. In short, he wants the right to exploit and take advantage of Negroes wherever and whenever the opportunity presents itself."

Principle of Class Struggle in Politics

By Murry Weiss

Reporting last month's Cleveland Conference of American Socialists for the National Guardian, Dec. 9, John T. McManus pegged two "hardrock positions" in the discussion of socialist electoral policy: One position held by the Communist Party advocates "operating within the Democratic Party with the labor movement." The other position is held by the Socialist Workers Party "which refuses to support candidates of 'capitalist' parties, and advocates challenging them with independent socialist candidates in every possible situation." McManus said that a large number of participants in the discussion "took the floor to argue for 'middleground' maneuverability between these positions."

Obviously McManus does not pretend to do more than identify the different views. And as far as it goes, I would say, it is a fair summary of the two basic positions.

In my opinion the main task of the discussion of the 1958 election experience and of the perspectives for socialist political and electoral action is to clarify the difference between the two "hardrock positions." As for the middlegrounders, I would prefer to see their view elaborated before commenting. At the moment it is hard to see where a "middleground" position can lead when fully developed except to either of the "hardrock" positions.

ON SIDE OF LABOR BUREAUCRACY

As I said in my article last week the Communist Party and social democratic concept of "working in the Democratic Party with the labor movement" really means working with and for the labor bureaucracy. This is not the same thing as working in the labor movement. More accurately, the CP and the social democrats support the class-collaboration principle and practice of the

labor bureaucracy as against the socialist principle of the class struggle. That is why the dispute over socialist electoral policy is a dispute over principle and program and not a mere difference over tactics and maneuvers.

It has become fashionable to sneer at principles and make jokes about those who take principles seriously and use them as a guide to action. I like a good joke as well as the next person but I cannot help observing that the spoofing of principle became popular almost in direct proportion to the decline of the socialist movement. To my mind, a new rise in the socialist movement will be marked by a return to serious examination of basic Marxist principles; the atmosphere of snickering and skepticism when principle is introduced in a discussion will be dispelled. Certainly the youth coming to socialism will not fail to make a serious study of the principle

pled foundation of the movement.

The SWP openly states that it bases its view of the structure and function of the two capitalist parties on the Marxist principle of the class struggle. This principle holds that there is an irreconcilable economic and political conflict between the monopoly-capitalist ruling class on the one side and the industrial working class along with all other working people on the other. The class struggle in modern society leads to the struggle for power and finally to the establishment of the democratic rule of the working class. From this standpoint it is nonsense to regard the historically shaped political parties of capitalist rule as subjects for clever manipulation and transformation by the labor officialdom—with or without the assistance of "socialist" advisers.

BALANCE SHEET

And facts have abundantly verified Marxist theory. So far



Militant's Fund Drive Tops 100% at Close

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

DEC. 15 — Today the 30th Anniversary Militant Fund Drive achieved full and prompt success with \$19,368 contributed in the three-month period starting Sept. 15. Every group of Militant supporters met their quota 100% or over, with Oakland maintaining its banner position and hitting 151%. (See scoreboard, page 2.)

We know what energy and devotion the fulfillment of quotas entailed and we are all the more impressed and gratified by the splendid result.

Twin Cities Fund Director Fannie Curran sent a check of \$325.75 right on deadline and reports: "We had an excellent Anniversary celebration last Saturday. It was the proceeds from this affair plus our entire treasury which enables us to send in this payment. Farrell Dobbs really did us a very great service by staying over for our celebration. The spirit and attendance was wonderful and the results unprecedented here for many a year."

Clara Kaye of Seattle wrote: "We held three house socials in the past three weeks to help raise our fund; also, a number of friends raised their original pledges. With unemployment plaguing us, we feel very happy that we were able to fulfill our quota."

This is the second successful fund-raising effort of Militant supporters and Socialist Workers Party members in 1958. In the Spring Socialist Expansion Fund \$20,678 was raised; with the results of the Militant 30th Anniversary drive this makes a total of \$40,044 raised by socialist militants this year.

Advertisement Advertisement

New York

Special Meeting of Militant Labor Forum to Hear

Conrad Lynn

on the

CAROLINA "KISSING CASE"

Mr. Lynn is serving as attorney for Hanover Thompson, age 9, and David Simpson, age 8, who were sentenced to reformatory by a Monroe, N.C., judge until they are 21, because one of the Negro boys was kissed by a seven-year-old white girl. Mr. Lynn will report on court action he is preparing to initiate in North Carolina to release the boys.

Monday, December 22 — 8 P.M.

116 University Place (Off Union Square)

Contribution \$1 — Proceeds to North Carolina Defense

Monroe, N.C. — As Two Young Socialists Saw It

(The following story by Nora Roberts is reprinted from the Dec. 15 National Guardian. The author and Joan Garrett, both aged 16, went to Monroe for the Young Socialist, monthly youth publication.—Ed.)

MONROE, N.C. — Peace and happiness prevail in Monroe, North Carolina; at least, that's what the local papers say. Two little Negro boys, aged 8 and 9, sit in peace in reform school because a white girl kissed one of them. A white farmer is back in his fields in happiness after having severely beaten the pregnant wife of a Negro share-cropper in an attempt to rape her.

These are the two events which prompted us to go down and get a view of the peaceful community for ourselves.

Monroe is a small town, (pop. 12,000) situated 35 miles west of Charlotte, N.C., textile center of the South. Its main street looks like the center of any suburban town in the North or West. Trees line the streets cutting through rows of small, two-story stores and businesses. There is a white frame Protestant church in the background. **THE MARK OF THE SOUTH**

But when we entered the comfortable terminal waiting room marked WHITE we knew this was the South. The COLORED room, segregated by a steel fence, was dark and dismal, seating no more than 10 people.

We felt the cold stares as we asked, on the telephone, for Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Welcome to the social jun-

gle," said Mrs. Williams as she opened her car door when she came to pick us up. "You are now behind the iron curtain of hatred." The looks we got from the white people who saw us riding with her pointed up what she meant.

Robert Williams greeted us at his door. He is a big man, about six feet tall. Even so, we felt his power more in the way he talked and was talked about by his friends we met later. "White folks don't like all the publicity Monroe's been getting recently," he said. "They've set up a committee to lure industry down here and they don't want businessmen scared away." The Monroe newspapers back up his statement by charging big city newspapermen with "bad reporting" in their stories about the two boys.

Mr. Williams took us for a walk around the neighborhood. He showed us the school where his two boys go and where Hanover and Fuzzy went before they were taken off.

Wingate Avenue School is just barely large enough to hold the hundreds of Negro children who walk from all parts of the "happy" community to go to school each morning.

ONE-WAY STREET

A small cafe, owned and operated by Negroes, attracted our attention. We were surprised to see a white man sitting at the counter. Mr. Williams explained: "Segregation is a one-way business. A white man is free to go wherever he pleases, but if you have a dark skin, you go where the whites say you can go."

As we left the cafe, Dr. A. E.

Perry, vice president of the Union County NAACP, drove up. He offered us a lift across town to meet the mothers of the two boys in the reform school.

Monroe is laid out in sections, branching out from the center, like a patch-work quilt. Negro and white neighborhoods are patched one right next to the other, separated only by a narrow street. It is easy to see how children cross the street to play together.

SHOT-GUN SHACKS

We stopped in front of a group of small, unpainted shacks. They looked as if they would crumble if you blew on them too hard. They probably wouldn't though; they've been standing there for 100 years. "These are called 'shot-gun' shacks," said Dr. Perry. "There are three rooms, one behind the other. A bullet shot through the front door can go right through the house and out the back without stopping."

Mrs. Simpson, mother of eight-year-old Fuzzy, came out of the nearest such house. Mrs. Thompson, Hanover's mother, walked toward us from down the street. Both are domestic workers, supporting their children by themselves on the \$20 they make each week working in white homes. Mrs. Simpson said sorrowfully: "I miss my Fuzzy and I want him home with me. They won't even let me see him until he's been in that reformatory for a month."

As we talked, Dr. Perry pointed to a large brick school building a few hundred feet away. "There are a lot of decent white folks between the Negro children and that school," he said. "Unfortunately they're all lying here in this cemetery."

The sheriff was standing in the bus station as we prepared to leave. He asked a few questions about us but not of us, then stood watching us from across the street as we left. From the back of the bus window, we could see the Union County courthouse. A white cross of electric lights shone from its top over the peaceful, happy community of Monroe, N.C.

Captain Mulzac In Hospital

Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, prominent civil rights fighter, who was Independent-Socialist candidate for New York State Comptroller in the Nov. 4 elections, has been hospitalized. He suffered from asthma during the campaign, then was recently taken ill again. He is at the South Nassau Communities Hospital, Ocean Side, Long Island. Messages can be sent to Capt. Mulzac at the hospital.

Racist Target



CARL BRADEN

Braden Indicted For Contempt Of Congress

DEC. 11—Carl Braden, heroic Louisville fighter against Jim Crow, and a field representative for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, surrendered today to the U.S. Attorney's office in Atlanta, Ga. on an indictment for contempt of Congress. He charged the Justice Department with harassing Southern fighters for integration. Braden was indicted Dec. 2 for refusing to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities Committee last July about his work in the integration movement. The SCEF is a south-wide group working to end all forms of segregation and discrimination. If convicted, he faces a possible one-year prison sentence, a \$1,000 fine, or both. He was released in \$1,000 bond pending preliminary hearing.

A Louisville journalist, Braden gained national prominence in the Kentucky "sedition" case three years ago. Along with his wife, Anne, he had purchased a house in a restricted section of Louisville and resold it to Andrew Wade IV, a Negro. The house was bombed by racists but Kentucky authorities tried unsuccessfully to frame Braden and other integrationists for the crime and for "sedition."

Answering the present indictment Braden declared: "When the participants in this struggle—or even one of them—is harassed by Congressional committees and the power of the government instead of being given the help they need, others become discouraged and the movement is set back. That is what the Justice Department is doing with its left hand while it claims to support integration with its right."

(Continued from Page 1)

Times (Durham); Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, who headed the bus protest movement in that city; Carl Braden, Field Secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, G. L. Weissman of New York City is secretary. Conrad Lynn, the group's general counsel, resides in Rockland County where he is attorney for the NAACP. His law offices are in New York City. (Organizations were listed solely for purposes of identification.) The Committee's address is Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.

Judge Price's refusal on Dec. 10 to modify the sentences of Hanover Thompson and David Simpson exhausts the remedies in the North Carolina juvenile courts. Because the Superior Court of Union County is not presently in session, Mr. Lynn intends to institute action in the court of an adjoining county. He will return to North Carolina soon, the committee announced.

'SEPARATE BUT EQUAL'

A principal point being made by Lynn in his brief is that young Thompson and Simpson did not receive due process of law or a proper trial even under the latitude permitted in juvenile cases. What took place rather was a "separate but equal" trial. The judge first held a hearing for the whites involved in the case—the seven-year-old girl, a playmate and their parents. Later in the day, he conducted a trial for the Negro children. Though their mothers were permitted to be present, having been informed of the trial a few minutes before, they had no time to secure counsel. Robert F. Williams, local president of the NAACP, for whom they had sent, was not allowed to enter the courtroom.

Thus, the committee says, the Negro children and their parents were denied counsel, denied the right to hear or confront accusers and witnesses. Indeed, the mothers were not even permitted opportunity to speak to their children privately and learn their versions of the story. The two boys had been held incommunicado in the jailhouse for six days before the trial.

Advertisement

Carolina Times Urges Defense of Dr. Perry

(The following is an editorial, "The High Cost of Justice in the South," that appeared in the Dec. 6 Carolina Times, a militant Negro weekly.)

The second trial and conviction of Dr. Albert E. Perry, vice president of the Union County branch of the NAACP, reminds us of the high cost of justice in the South and the price one must pay if he takes the leading role in trying to advance the cause of his oppressed people. If Dr. Perry were a pauper he would have no alternative but to serve the term in prison to which he has been twice sentenced. That he has taken an appeal to the North Carolina Supreme Court only goes to show how expensive it is to get a fair trial even in certain sections of North Carolina.

We will not attempt to argue here whether Dr. Perry is innocent or guilty of performing an abortion. The trial of such cases is the function of a court and not that of a newspaper. We do think, however, that the mere fact the jury in the recent trial deliberated for more than four hours lends weight to the doubt that Dr. Perry is guilty. Any Negro or white person who has lived in the South is satisfied that no jury of 12 white men would take four hours to deliberate over the case of a Negro physician performing an abortion on a white woman if there were not some doubt in their mind as to his guilt.

We think Dr. Perry's case has reached the proportion where it transcends the fight for his freedom per se. It rather appears to us that it now has taken the status of a struggle between southern prejudice, backed by Ku Klux Klan influence and progressive Negro leadership. Therefore, the expense of the appeal should be borne by a committee arranged for that purpose and not entirely by Dr. Perry.

Like the Walker-Lassiter case, progressive white and Negro leaders should join hands to see that the case of Dr. Perry is decided on the evidence and not prejudice. This newspaper would like to see the NAACP or some other organization organize a committee for Dr. Perry's defense. Justice in such cases comes high, but when the expense is shared by all of us it makes it easier for those who seek it.

Advertisement

While in Monroe last week, Mr. Lynn also prevented the eviction of Mrs. Thompson, mother of the older boy. Although she has lived in her house for ten years, the previous week the landlord had refused the rent money and served her with eviction papers. On Dec. 12, coldest day of the year in North Carolina, with snow on the ground and no place for Mrs. Thompson to move her four children and belongings, the Justice of the Peace prepared to run through the final formality of ordering the constables to carry out the order.

Accompanied by Mr. Lynn,

Robert F. Williams, Dr. A. E. Perry and a delegation of Negro citizens, Mrs. Thompson appeared before the Justice of the Peace and contested the eviction order. Attorney Lynn demonstrated that it was full of gross technical flaws, and the Justice of the Peace was forced to declare it void. This is believed to be the first time a Negro tenant in Monroe has contested an eviction order of a white landlord, let alone defeat it. On Dec. 15 the landlord gave Mrs. Thompson an ultimatum to move by mid-January.

The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice reports that legal counsel has been retained

locally to act in Mr. Lynn's absence in such cases, as well as in the Dec. 19 hearing of the case of a white man accused of brutally beating a pregnant Negro woman in a rape attempt before her five children.

DUAL STANDARD

This alleged rape attempt occurred the same week as the "Kissing Case" trial. "The different treatment accorded the Negro children accused of an act that anywhere else in the world would be considered trifling, and that of the white man accused of a serious and violent crime," says the Committee, "symbolizes the racist dual standard of justice." Releasing the white man in low bail, the judge told the press that it was hardly likely he would be charged with intent to rape but on a lesser assault charge. "He was drunk and just out to have a good time," was the jurist's comment.

The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice, after studying local conditions, decided it would be prudent to have the complainant accompanied to court by counsel, lest she herself be victimized or, at the least, intimidated from testifying fully. Mr. Lynn retained legal counsel for the committee who will aid the woman with advice as she requests it and will endeavor to prevent the charge against her assailant from being dropped completely—that is, not sent to trial. It is this latter outcome, says the committee, that people in Monroe believe will happen if she does not have counsel.

Mr. Lynn, at the committee's request, is also undertaking a study of the record of the two trials of Dr. A. E. Perry, vice-president of the Union County NAACP, who shortly after leading a campaign to desegregate Monroe's only city-owned swimming pool, was indicted on a charge of performing an abortion on a white woman. Dr. Perry and the other NAACP leaders maintain the case is a frame-up in retaliation for his desegregation work. The State Supreme Court overturned the conviction resulting from the first trial, but a second trial recently ended in another conviction.

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

Subscription: \$3 per year;
foreign: \$4.50 per year;
Canadian: \$3.50 per year.

THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid
at New York, N.Y.

Published Weekly by the Militant Publishing Association
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: CH 3-2140

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

Business Manager: BEATRICE ALLEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XXII—No. 51

Monday, December 22, 1958

Reuther Recoils from Labor Party

In a Dec. 9 speech, AFL-CIO president George Meany threatened that if the anti-labor offensive continued, the unions would form their own political party. But just in case anyone had hopes that he might have meant business about it, his associate, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, set the record straight at a press conference the next day:

"I think Mr. Meany was misunderstood," said Reuther. "The American labor movement is committed to work within the framework of the two-party system. A labor party is wrong because it would further fragmentize our society. We need less division and more unity."

The statement would make any conservative European labor official blush. But it is typical of the narrow mentality of American labor's top brass and accurately states Reuther's own credo. Long ago, Reuther abandoned his socialist views. Since then he has pursued class collaboration on both economic and political fronts. Like Meany, he has spared no effort to keep the unions "committed" to the capitalist parties.

Nor can it be argued that Reuther has tried to advance labor's basic interests within the two-party system. An advocate of the cold war, he is among the noisiest supporters of the ruinous armaments program. For example, at the same Dec. 10 press conference, he asserted that "meat-axe slashing" of the arms budget is "foolhardy and could turn out to be disastrous."

The Powell-Schuman Case

The new year threatens to open on the keynote of a political heresy trial in San Francisco in which fundamental issues of free speech, free press, the refusal to recognize China, the crimes of American imperialism in the Korean war, and the prosecution of the cold war are all wrapped in one explosive package.

After six postponements, requested by the government, the Powell-Schuman "wartime sedition" trial is set to start Jan. 19 before a federal jury.

John W. (Bill) Powell, his wife Sylvia and Julian Schuman published the China Monthly Review in Shanghai during the years of the Korean war. Powell had inherited the publication from his father who died shortly after World War II. The publication was concerned mainly with internal developments of China. According to an article by Laurent B. Frantz in The Progressive, the Review also reported and commented editorially on what was going on in Korea, saying "among other things, that the United States was engaged in 'aggressive acts,' that the Chinese and North Koreans were defending their homelands, that the Chiang Kai-shek regime was corrupt, that the United States had used the fighting as an opportunity to test bacteriological weapons, and that the Korean truce talks were being intentionally stalled by U. S. negotiators."

The indictment of "wartime sedition" was made three years ago after the Powells and Schuman had returned to the U. S. It is based exclusively on the editorial views and comments published in the China Monthly Review.

The legal issues in dispute became intertwined with cold-war foreign policy when the defendants demanded the right to prove the truth of their statements since the indictment rested on the con-

The statement was made with the approval of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department which he heads.

Yet despite such reactionary pro-capitalist positions as these, it has become increasingly fashionable in some radical circles—most particularly with the leaders of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social-Democratic Federation—to try to paint up Reuther and the wing of the union bureaucracy he represents as "progressive."

If socialists want to advance their aims in the union movement, the CP and SP-SDF leaders claim, it is necessary, above all else, not to become "isolated" from such "socially conscious" officials as Reuther. They argue that it is impractical to even think of an advance towards independent labor political action without the leadership of the Reuthers.

Reuther's latest declaration—and his record of class collaboration of which it is a part—demonstrates the very opposite. If the ranks of labor are to be unshackled on the economic and political field, it will come only on the basis of the development of a broad left-wing movement in the unions based on a class-struggle program.

The spadework for the creation of such a left-wing in the unions is the job of the most class-conscious militants and particularly of the socialists. And the job won't be done by misrepresenting the Reuthers as "progressives," but by exposing them for what they really are—Big Business' little helpers in the unions.

tention that the Review's charges were false. This entailed the right of defense attorney A. L. Wirin of Los Angeles to go to China to gather evidence. The State Department refused him a passport. Judge Goodman threatened to bypass the State Department and send Wirin to China as an "officer of the court." The State Department was forced to break all precedent and issue a passport to Wirin.

However the State Department still refuses to enter into the normal "judicial assistance agreement" with the Chinese government. As a result the possibility of gathering the necessary evidence and witnesses is blocked.

The Powell-Schuman indictment is based on the 1917 sedition act. Conviction would mean a penalty of 20 years imprisonment on each of the 13 counts. The 1917 act was once called by Professor Zechariah Chafee "the deadliest blow ever struck at a free press in the United States." Under this act almost 2,000 socialists and pacifists were prosecuted for opposing World War I and Eugene V. Debs was sent to prison for making an anti-war speech.

Because of the touchy issues involved in the case the government has been handling it like a hot potato. Yet it is reported that Attorney Brownell regards the case as a "political must."

The American Civil Liberties Union intervened in the case two years ago charging that the prosecution represents "a serious threat to fundamental liberties." The Powell-Schuman Defense Committee, which has valiantly fought for the harassed defendants through all the tortuous legal and witch-hunt persecutions, is appealing for funds to continue the fight at this crucial point. Contributions should be sent to the Powell-Schuman Defense Fund, Charles Mattox (treasurer), P. O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1, Calif.

... Principle of Class Struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

and have become organic to it.

The CP and social democratic leaders claim that their political policy is the only cure for the terrible isolation of the socialist movement. But isn't it a fact that over the past 20 years the socialist movement in the U. S. has suffered its worst isolation and even demoralization? Yet this is exactly the period in which the CP and SP abandoned the traditional principle of independent socialist electoral action and of refusal to support any capitalist party candidates.

Of course, I don't claim that this was the only factor which led to the catastrophic decline; but can it be seriously denied that it was a major contributing cause?

It is also noteworthy that the socialist movement in the United States enjoyed its highest prestige and largest following during the period of Debs when the movement held it to be an unbreakable principle never to support candidates of

the capitalist parties. In those days, running independent socialist tickets was the norm.

Again I will not deny that other factors benefited the socialist movement during this hey day; but can anyone deny that the Debs electoral policy was a major contribution to the early success of the socialist movement?

REVOLUTION SETS IN

For over twenty years the principles of class-struggle socialism have been debased by the opportunist practice of lining up the radical workers, socialist and communist, to vote for the parties of the ruling class. Not everyone agrees with the principle of socialist working class politics as we have outlined it, but there certainly is a widespread revulsion and utter disgust with the policy of squandering the precious cadre of the radical, communist working class in the insane pursuit of influence in Democratic clubs.

Such revulsion from the course of the CP and social

democrats is healthy and progressive; it is one of the best signs of new life and vigor in the American socialist movement. But for this mood to realize its progressive potential and turn towards Marxist clarity and action on the American political scene, it is necessary to settle accounts with the politics of the labor bureaucracy and the politics of collaboration with the labor bureaucracy.

Advertisement

Every Test Kills

By Linus Pauling

The Nobel prize winning scientist speaks out against the nuclear bomb tests.

10 cents

Order from:

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Rise of Generals Worries Gen. Eisenhower

By Joseph Hansen

Eisenhower is commonly caricatured in political cartoons as the care-free President. He doesn't worry about how meaningless his observations are at a press conference or how badly he tangles up his English. He doesn't get alarmed over the way Dulles teeters at the brink of war. All he asks of life is a few simple necessities such as a putting iron, some golf balls and leisure to try them out on a Georgia green.

This popular image of Eisenhower appears to be somewhat exaggerated, however. Recent information that came to the New York Times through unacknowledged channels in Washington indicates that the President is bothered these days about a question of world import—the drift toward military dictatorship in countries under U. S. influence.

The disclosure appeared under a headline suggesting that a poll had been taken of the emotions of some 170,000,000 people: "U. S. Laments Rise of Army Regimes." But Dana Adams Schmidt, who wrote the special dispatch to his newspaper, specified a narrower group: "The sudden spread of military regimes in the free world worries the Eisenhower Administration."

SIXTEEN GENERALS

What kicked off the worry is the fact "that in the last six months generals have taken control of the governments of seven countries—France, Iraq, Lebanon, Thailand, Pakistan, Burma and the Sudan. The to-



General Franco (left), Spanish Dictator

tal of generals heading governments in the non-Communist world is sixteen."

The Administration, if we are to believe Schmidt's report, did not intend to achieve such results; it was not a policy aim. "Yet the United States Government's position as world leader in the contest with the Communist bloc makes it inescapable that responsible men at the topmost levels of Government should be asking why the democratic system is ailing in so many parts of the world and what, if anything, the United States should be doing about it."

The information coming down Schmidt's pipe line is that the Eisenhower Administration "does not consider itself responsible, much less to blame" for the most recent instances in which generals have become heads of government whether by legal or illegal means. But the fact "that the President of the United States is a general probably adds to the sensitivity of the Administration."

The same confidential source leaked the reasons going the rounds in White House circles for the fragility of democracy in the "free" world. These include the following:

"A general lack of literacy, let alone education; a lack of experience in parliamentary

life and in Government at high levels.

"Such low standards of living that public interest could not rise above immediate material needs."

"Weak political traditions, especially where the multiplicity of political parties prevented development of the concept of loyal opposition."

THE REAL REASONS

If the real reasons for the political rise of the generals are being discussed, they were not mentioned in Schmidt's report.

First of all, since they were offered for consideration, it is necessary to assign responsibility for the lack of literacy, the abysmal standards of living and the absence of parliamentary traditions in the colonial areas. These are legacies left by the imperialist powers. Whether or not they are the chief causes in industrially retarded regions for the weakness of democracy, the fact is that since the end of World War II, the imperialist powers have sought to reestablish by economic, financial and political subversion, by napalm and high explosives, the rule that fostered such conditions.

Both Eisenhower and Truman helped finance these efforts of the colonial powers; and engaged in the dirty business themselves in the case of China, Korea, Taiwan and Lebanon.

However, despite these conditions, it is simply not true that democratic aspirations are feeble in the colonial world. The exact opposite happens to be the case. Freedom from foreign rule, the winning of national independence and sovereignty—aims now sought in vast areas of the world—are primary demands of democracy.

That is why the freedom fighters from Indochina to Guatemala continually point to the American Revolution of 1776 as one of their sources of inspiration. If they are forced, in some cases, into undemocratic military forms of organization, that is explainable as a consequence of the imperialist efforts to crush them.

White House lamentations over the unfortunate importance of generals in government are in ludicrous contrast to actual policy. Where peoples in other countries have launched movements for democracy the State Department has opposed them, labelling them "communist" for publicity purposes.

A glaring case was the installation of Colonel Armas, a military puppet, in Guatemala in 1954. Eisenhower's cloak-and-dagger crew openly boasted about their role in overthrowing by force and violence the democratically elected Arbenz government.

Besides putting men like the Guatemalan colonel in power and pouring billions of dollars down the drain to keep in power dictatorial figures like Chiang Kai-shek in colonial and semi-colonial areas, Washington has backed and reinforced capitalist regimes in Western Europe whose evolution is in the fascist direction.

This has been made dramatically clear in the case of France, where De Gaulle, a bonapartist general, is now in the saddle. And, of course, the fascist General Franco is high on the list for dollar hand-outs.

The only democracy in the foreign policy of the Democrats and Republicans, we can conclude, is the phillip packaging that is advertised over the Voice of America.

PREPARING FOR WAR

The truth is that the bipartisan policy of both Republicans and Democrats is to build the greatest military machine the world has ever seen, a machine that ties together all the military dictatorships, dictatorial regimes and imperialist govern-



GEN. DE GAULLE

ments in Latin America, the Far East, the Middle East and Western Europe.

The aim of this policy is to shore up and maintain capitalism against the world trend toward socialism; and, if the opportunity can be created, to restore capitalism in the Soviet bloc countries.

This policy requires unending shouting about the danger of war and provocative actions to give reality to the shouting. It requires emphasis on military preparedness—constant appeals to the alleged need for stockpiling nuclear weapons and securing strategic places from which to launch them at Soviet targets.

It requires financing the most reactionary military cliques. It requires setting up U. S. bases abroad where the American officer caste, as one of its functions, can bring its reactionary influence to bear in local politics in support of the military cliques. Is it surprising that these cliques move into direct power from the dominant positions that American policy and American money create for them?

DOMESTIC EXAMPLE

To this we should add, finally, that besides directly opposing democratic movements in other lands and sending dollars and armaments to dictators and military cliques, Washington sets a very poor example at home of its concern for democracy. (We will leave aside the example of a general in the White House, in view of the "sensitivity" over this reported by Schmidt.)

It is only now that America is beginning to emerge from the worst witch-hunt of its history, a witch-hunt that was launched in 1947 with a "loyalty" purge of every government worker who might entertain any idea of political opposition to the Democrats and Republicans. Congress and the White House took the lead in spreading this witch-hunt throughout industry, the schools and the entertainment fields.

Both by example and direct inspiration, this witch-hunt touched off similar anti-democratic manifestations in other countries.

Aside from the witch-hunt, eloquent testimony is available from the Negro people, among others, on how unreconstructed both Democrats and Republicans remain in boasting about their love for democracy while aiding and abetting the worst enemies of the civil rights and civil liberties of minority groups in America.

Even the denial of the democratic right of minor parties to a place on the ballot in the United States has its effect abroad. It encourages reduction of the democratic process to two-party, then one-party, and finally despotic military rule.

The foreign generals who line up at Washington's free dollar counter, don't need to do much research to discover the White House's real attitude toward democracy. If a reactionary governor like Faubus can flout civil rights in Arkansas without disturbing Eisenhower's game of golf, a reactionary general like De Gaulle can feel secure about taking over across the Atlantic without endangering White House support.

In fact if a little shrewd crying out in alarm over the "communist" danger is done and the possibility emphasized that American monopoly holdings might be nationalized should he lose out, the general is certain to get full backing from the White House and Congress in putting down democracy.

Advertisement

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS
On Socialism
And the Labor
Movement

Order Free Catalog from:
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

'A Kind of Legend with the Teamsters'

(The following interview with Farrell Dobbs appeared in the Dec. 14 Minneapolis Tribune. It is by Sam Romer, Tribune Staff Writer.—Ed.)

One of the men who detonated the social earthquake in 1934 that changed Minneapolis from a bitter anti-labor "open shop" city to a union stronghold came back for a visit last week.

He is Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, a tiny radical group that still hopes for a revolution to abolish the capitalist system. Dobbs, now 51, had been a candidate for president three times on the Socialist Workers ticket—in his 1936 race, he was on the ballot in six states and got 8,148 votes.

But in the five years following 1934, he was a powerful force within the Minneapolis labor movement and the growing Teamsters union—and the man generally credited with evolving the strategy of over-the-road organization which propelled men like Dave Beck and James R. Hoffa to their positions of power.

A LEGEND

As a matter of fact, Dobbs has become a kind of legend within the Teamsters movement. Old-timers still shake their head in bewilderment when they recall that Dobbs turned his back on a promise of \$15,000 a year as a Teamsters general organizer and chose instead the rocky road of revolutionary agitator.

In an interview last week, Dobbs expressed no regrets and spoke hopefully of a "New wave of radicalization" which would revive his party as a force among American workers. With closely-cropped gray hair challenging a still youthful face, Dobbs reminisced of the 1934 days when strikers and special deputies died in the Minneapolis market place and national guard soldiers patrolled the city streets.

Dobbs was a coal yard worker and part-time driver when the ferment began percolating late in 1933. He was a North high-school graduate whose first job had been with Western Electric Co. as a central office equipment installer.

But the depression caught up with him in 1932 and he found the coal yard job. He worked 12 hours a day, six days a week,

he recalled, and barely made out at 30 cents an hour. Then came the NRA and the work-week was cut—but so was his take-home pay.

"I had a wife and three children," he said, "and the issues were strictly economic. I was ripe when Grant Dunne came along as a volunteer union organizer."

Grant Dunne, of course, was one of three Communist brothers who followed Leon Trotsky instead of Stalin and who had decided to channel the growing restlessness among the workers into union channels. Because

"The union hall became too small for our meetings and we began using an empty theater." Things came to a head within two weeks. The union made its formal request for recognition; the employers quickly rejected it. Then came the first strike wave in May 1934.

BATTLE OF DEPUTIES RUN It lasted almost two weeks—and included the battle of "Deputies' Run" in which a special deputy was killed in hand-to-hand fighting. It ended after Floyd B. Olson, the Farmer-Labor governor, intervened and secured an agreement for union recognition.

However, it turned out that the employers regarded the agreement as limited to the truck drivers; the union insisted that it apply to the warehouse and inside employees, as well. The argument led to the second strike in July.

Again, union picket squads roamed the city streets and the trucking industry slowed to a halt. In what Dobbs remembers as "the ambush," a truck began moving in the market place; when pickets sought to stop it, the area suddenly teemed with police armed with riot-guns. Two pickets were killed.

The city teetered on the verge of open violence as police began conveying trucks while motorized picket-squads picked off unprotected vehicles. When a stalemate resulted, federal mediators offered a peace proposal.

The union quickly accepted ("not that we liked it," Dobbs added) but the employers turned it down. Then Olson declared martial law and moved troops into the city to enforce the mediation proposal.

"For several days, the troops gave permits only to firms which signed the proposal," Dobbs said. "But then they opened up and began granting

permits to non-signing firms too. We held a mass meeting at the Parade grounds and decided to stop the trucks again."

RAID UNION HQ The military struck back. At dawn the next day, soldiers raided the union's headquarters and arrested V. R. Dunne and other strike leaders. But Grant Dunne and Dobbs escaped through the simple device of not replying to their names.

Instead, they rallied the pickets and began stopping trucks again. Soldiers roamed the streets, arresting stray pickets and transporting them to a hastily established stockade on the fairgrounds in St. Paul.

Meanwhile, the national guard also raided the offices of the employers' Citizens Alliance. "But our pickets evaded the military," Dobbs explained, "and we stopped the trucks again. The stalemate continued—and after more than five weeks, the employers signed again. The union was here to stay."

With an estimated 5,000 members, the local became the focal force in extending union organization in Minneapolis and throughout the Upper Midwest.

But the intransigent radicalism of Dobbs and the Dunne brothers often brought them into conflict with Daniel J. Tobin, then general president of the Teamsters.

A "committee of 100," inspired by Tobin, finally ended their influence within the city's Teamsters; shortly afterwards, Dobbs and other Trotskyists were tried under the federal anti-sedition act and given penitentiary sentences.

Advertisement

Los Angeles

A Gala
NEW YEAR'S EVE
Party

featuring
Sydni Dori
Singing the Blues
Dancing—Buffet—Favors
Entertainment
In a congenial and
intimate atmosphere
1702 E. 4th Street
contribution \$1.50
Ausp.: Socialist Workers
Party

The Negro Struggle

By Frank Krasnowsky

The Negro Vote on 'Right-to-Work' in Seattle

SEATTLE—The final, detailed reports of the Nov. 4 elections confirm the fact that attempts of Seattle business interests to line up the Negro vote against the labor movement failed completely. On the contrary, the Negro workers stood in the forefront of the defense of the unions against "Right-to-Work" Initiative 202.

In those Seattle precincts in which a majority of residents are Negro, Initiative 202 lost by better than a 4-to-1 majority. In fact, the Negro vote in defense of the unions was the one bright spot in the defeat of 202. The initiative lost statewide by less than a 2-to-1 vote, whereas its 1956 predecessor, Initiative 198, has been beaten almost 3 to 1.

This overwhelming demonstration of solidarity with the labor movement must come as a surprise to big business interests, as well as to some self-styled Negro leaders and to the trade-union officialdom. They all seriously underestimated the class consciousness of Negro workers who would not fall for the anti-union line of the employers even when dressed up in racial-equality demagoguery.

The Minutemen for Freedom and Initiative No. 202—as the local front group for the National Association of Manufacturers called itself—counted heavily on the just grievances of Negro workers against discriminatory policies in the craft unions to win adherents for their anti-union campaign. They characterized 202 as an act to "preserve freedom and liberty" and managed to get a group of eleven Negro ministers and one bail bondsman to sponsor a meeting in favor of the union-busting initiative in Seattle's "International" community.

Their campaign only succeeded in arousing the anger of the Negro workers. The ministers were deluged by phone calls from their congregations demanding that they withdraw their support for Initiative 202. Negro and white workers transformed the pro-202 meeting into a demonstration against the measure. All but three of the ministers who had sponsored the meeting came out openly against

the bill. Several of them asserted that their listing as supporters of 202 was a fraud since it had been done without their knowledge or consent.

The majority of Negroes in Seattle came here during World War II and in the post-war years. They are only too familiar with open-shop conditions in the "right-to-work" states of the South—with the low wages, miserable working conditions and racial discrimination in plants run by employers "unfettered" by unions. They have centered their fight on breaking down prejudice and discrimination in the unions and in opening the doors of the labor movement—not in tearing down the house of labor.

Their class consciousness was further revealed by their favorable response to the campaigns of socialist candidates Jack Wright and Clyde Carter, running for Washington State Legislature on the United Liberals and Socialists ticket. It was the Wright-Carter campaign committee that opened the attack on the pro-202 meeting with a leaflet demanding a vote to "Keep the Southern System out of Washington State" and calling upon supporters of the meeting to change their position. The Wright-Carter campaigners were also the first to alert the labor movement and the Negro community to the dangers to both the union movement and the fight for civil rights inherent in the divisive meeting. Their efforts helped to make a shambles of the anti-labor meeting.

Union distributors at the pro-202 meeting distributed the anti-202 literature of UL&S along with literature of the unions. Clyde Carter joined a group of Negro workers and ministers in sponsoring a successful rally against 202. In those districts covered by the Wright-Carter campaigners the vote against the "Right-to-Work" bill ran as high as 15 to 1.

The unity in action of the Negro people, the labor movement and the socialists—that is the formula for success in the struggle against the employers and against the system of Jim Crow.

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1958

NUMBER 51

Negro Parents Score in N.Y. School Fight

DEC. 17 — Striking Harlem mothers won a victory today in their struggle to get their children into integrated schools. The children have been kept out of three of Harlem's Jim-Crow schools since September. Justice Nathaniel Kaplan of the Domestic Relations Court declared, at the end of a re-hearing of the case on Dec. 17, that he had jurisdiction to decide if a school were segregated, but he reserved decision until the middle of February.

On Dec. 9, Justice Kaplan found four of the parents guilty of violating the State Compulsory Education law. He ordered them to have their children back in school before they reappeared before him today. Mrs. Viola Maddy, one of the striking mothers, answered this in a statement to the Amsterdam News: "We will go to jail and rot there if necessary, but our children will not go to Junior High Schools 136, 139 or 120."

At the Dec. 17 hearing, defense attorney Paul Zuber was joined by Hubert T. Delaney who delivered an appeal for the parents. Judge Delaney, long associated with the fight for civil rights, based his eloquent argument on that clause in the 14th amendment of the Constitution which guarantees equal educational standards to all children. The result was that Judge Kaplan revised his former order and the children remain out of school. The still-striking parents remain firm in their conviction that their children will receive an inferior education in a predominantly Negro school.

While the case is being decided, Attorney Paul Zuber is acting as a teacher for all the children. He announced that there will be a hearing with the Board of Education before State Education Commissioner Allen on Dec. 29.

Calendar of Events

CHICAGO

Ring in the New Year at our gala New Year's Mardi Gras! Live entertainment—dancing—refreshments—gaudy supreme—at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 777 West Adams Street. From 9 P.M. until ??? Phone DE 2-9763.

DETROIT

New Year's Eve Party, Wed., Dec. 31, 9 P.M. Donation \$1 per person. Door prizes, refreshments, favors, entertainment. 3737 Woodward. A.S.P.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Comradship, conviviality, dancing, refreshments, midnight buffet and loads of favors will all be featured at our NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY at 116 University Place. (Off Union Square.) Contrib. \$1.00. Militant Labor Forum.

Advertisement

New York

SPEND XMAS EVE

with the Young Socialist Alliance At Village Art Studio 46 W. 21 St. (Second floor) Dancing, Refreshments Entertainment The celebration starts at 3:30 P.M.

Special Offer

The Wall Between

By Anne Braden Until Jan. 15, only this exciting and absorbing book is being offered for \$3.50, plus 15c postage, instead of regular price of \$5.00. A study of Southern race relations based on the fight to break down the walls of housing segregation in Louisville in which Anne Braden and her husband Carl played a leading role.

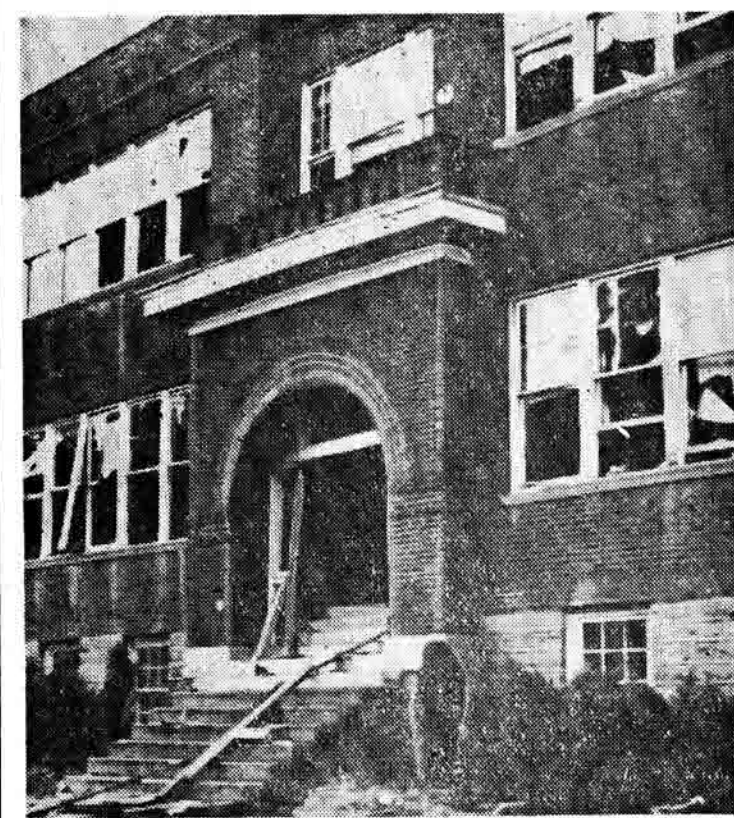
Order through PIONEER PUBLISHERS 16 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Why Eighty-Seven Children Died In Chicago Parochial School Fire

By Ethel Bloch

Bombed Out



This junior high school in West Virginia was integrated five years ago. But it was bombed by racists last month. Failure of federal authorities to enforce school desegregation has emboldened white supremacists throughout the South and encouraged acts of terror.

It was 2:40 P.M., on December 2—a lovely, clear winter day, and mothers in Chicago were putting on their coats, getting ready to meet their children at school gates, when fire broke out in the Roman Catholic parochial school, Our Lady of The Angels. Mothers living in the neighborhood later reported that the first they knew that anything was wrong was when instead of the usual cries of delight which always filled the air at that hour they heard the horrible screams of their children trapped in the flaming building. Before that day was over 87 children had died.

There have been numerous unavoidable catastrophes—the plagues of the middle ages, which took millions of lives; the deaths resulting from floods and earthquakes. These were all tragedies which the human race was not yet equipped to cope with. And the same was true for the early devastating fires when man had not yet learned how to build fireproof buildings. But that is not the case with the Chicago school fire. That fire was avoidable. Today we have the knowledge and the materials with which to build completely fireproof schools, homes and factories.

The Chicago school fire started in the basement, at the bottom of a stairwell. In minutes it had spread to the first and second stories of the two story building. The heat and smoke were unbearable, forcing many children to leap to their death from the second floor. How could the fire have spread so rapidly and killed so many in a building which had been inspected a few weeks before and which, according to Chicago Fire Commissioner Quinn, had complied with all the laws? If this building did meet the standards of the law, then obviously there is something badly wrong with the law. What are the fire laws like?

NO FEDERAL RULES U. S. News and World Report, in its Dec. 12 issue, brings to light that there is no federal fire-safety standard. It also reports that there is no national agency with authority to say how a school shall be built and furthermore there are no nationwide records of school conditions. The article states that, "School safety is left in most areas to local regulations. Only a few states impose statewide requirements and state inspections." The results of this lackadaisical attitude is seen not only in the Chicago fire but also in the results of the investigations which were hastily carried out in a few states in the wake of the wide public alarm it created.

Col. Robert Ewbank, Chicago Building Department Administrator, made the situation clear, Dec. 2, when he said that a building which does not meet the code as it was revised in 1950 cannot be forced to bring it up to date. "You can't insist that an old building be rebuilt," he observed philosophically.

Here is the glaring contradiction. The equipment, the labor and the know-how are available, and certainly the need for our children to learn in safe, beautiful buildings is great. But instead of the government insisting that the old fire-traps go, they let them get older, more crowded and more treacherous. Truly, capitalism is the criminal in the Chicago fire. For it is a system that puts even the safety of children at the bottom of the list. There aren't any huge profits to be reaped from fire-proof schools.

... Liberals in Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

to avoid any public embarrassment for them. . . . Beside the votes will be taken in private at a secret party caucus, and the finger-pointing and shouting will be done in private."

In the Senate, the liberals are even less bellicose. "Their sights," says the Dec. 15 Wall Street Journal, "are set for prodding Mr. Johnson into action later in the session"—after they hope to get some organization of their forces. The attitude of the liberals to Johnson is best exemplified by the fulsome praise for his "moderation" from Sen. Proxmire (Wis.), held to be the most liberal of the Northern Democrats.

The key to the Southerners' control of the major Congressional committee is seniority. And this is based on the virtual one-party dictatorship of the Democratic Party exercises in the South. It permits the same Congressmen to be continuously reelected. This dictatorship is perpetuated, among other means, by the open shop, by disfranchisement of Negroes (and work-

ing-class whites as well) and by terror. Yet the liberals do not attack the seniority system in Congress and do nothing to aid the working people in the South free themselves from Dixiecrat rule. In Congress, accordingly, even when they have a substantial majority in the Democratic caucus, the liberals content themselves with pressuring the Southerners for some elbow room.

Now that the elections are over, the liberals are promising far less than when the campaign was on. As one leader of the House liberals said: "I don't regard the election as a mandate for anything specific. . . . All he promised is that his group would try to assure 'something positive' coming out of Congress this session."

GITANO SERIES ON FBI

Another installment in the series of articles on the FBI by Henry Gitano will appear in the next issue of the Militant.

A Modern Temple of Capitalism

By Penny Carr

In Westbury, Long Island, surrounded by acres of velvet lawns, stands a modern temple of capitalism. Its glass brick, colored walls and modern design makes it a favored out-of-the-way route with which to impress visiting foreign dignitaries. A big neon sign blinks out "O. E. McIntyre Co."

Surely the visiting dignitary will ask what wonderful kind of product emerges from this multi-million dollar dream plant. The lights burn all night and the hum of the machinery never stops. Perhaps it produces shoes? Coats for cold New York winters? In a somewhat defensive voice the host says no. Toys perhaps for happy American children? "No."

The visitor hates to think that such a magnificent plant is the home of a useless product, but he asks anyway. Baudles? Trinkets? More "noes." How can the embarrassed host explain it—bluffs? Junk mail? Even to him that sounds dreadful. "Advertising," he says brightly, "one of the biggest industries in America. Thousands of people working just on this night shift." The big car drives around the plant and off into the night. The neon sign blinks on, "O. E. McIntyre."

They come from all parts of Long Island to work the night shift at McIntyre's. Mostly women come, Negro and Puerto Rican women from their segregated low-cost housing in Amityville and Freeport; white women from lily-white, low-cost housing in Levittown and East Meadow. They leave tired, grumbling husbands to feed the kids and get them off to bed,

name in the Philadelphia phone book—all punched on white cards and stuffed into the box in front of you.

"Let's see some real production tonight," says the smiling supervisor and she claps her hands crisply, twice, like a fairy-tale witch casting a spell. She doesn't tell you there's a quota, but she walks back and forth all night eyeing the size of stacks in front of each woman.

There's a murmur of furtive conversation, like kids in a school hall. The one who is slower at alphabetizing is never seen after the first night. The college-trained woman whose stack is the highest is placed at a tiny corner table isolated from the others. The young men from the mail room ceremoniously carry in the biggest box in the place. The Manhattan phone book is for her to work on.

At 10 o'clock a shrill bell rings and hundreds of women line up in a tiny lunch room to buy tasteless, expensive suppers. You have 15 minutes in line, ten to gulp the food down, five to puff on a cigarette and get your reddened, unfocused eyes back to the endless cards. There aren't many night jobs for mothers on Long Island.

Somehow, along the work tables a whisper of "union" is started. The frequent sudden firings worry the women. "One of the girls in my car pool was laid off. She worked here five years." "We're skipping supper tonight. There's a meeting in the back of the lunch room." The whispering continues and a supervisor hears some of it. Two nights later the whole floor gets an invitation down to

the main lounge. The women are grateful. A half-hour break, no matter what the reason, feels like a gift. We file in, several hundred red-eyed women, and sit on the comfortable sofas. They greet us with smiles and serve coffee. A good looking young executive talks to us in a patronizing tone that probably he usually saves for his deaf, senile grandma. "Now we know there's been talk of a union and we believe in giving you the true facts."

For a solid week they march us down for lectures about the "beauties of working at 'O. E.' The disadvantages of a union . . . each of you are judged on individual merit . . . a great American tradition . . . every supervisor keeps her eyes on you and knows who is ready for advancement." The women don't react much. But the paid half hours off are a luxury.

"Now we know about your little meetings in the lunch room and of course we won't try to stop you. But your supper hour is designed for you to eat in. We know many of you don't have time to eat at home. Nobody functions at their best on an empty stomach. Isn't that so, ladies? . . ."

The lunch room meetings grow smaller and finally come to an end. The whispering stops and then the half hours in the "bosses' lounge stop. The mailing room people are escorted down for a week. They were whispering too.

A huge, modern building, a multi-million dollar plant, hundreds of men and women—and not a shoe, a coat or a toy to show for it. O. E. McIntyre, a great American industry. Product: junk mail.

Holiday Book Bargains

(Use this ad as your order form)

(All books clothbound unless otherwise stated; if no mailing price is indicated, it is included in price of book.)

THE MAN FROM MAIN STREET.

A Sinclair Lewis Reader. Selected essays and other writings 1904-1950. Includes writings on literary, labor, social and political subjects. (Originally \$3.75) \$1.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

GUILTY MEN 1957 — SUEZ AND CYPRUS. By Michael Foot and Merwyn Jones. Two of the most talented journalists of the Labor Party left wing trace the steps in the imperialist invasion of Egypt and the repression of the independence movement on Cyprus. (Originally \$1.95) paper covers \$1.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE CIRCLE OF GUILT. By Dr. Frederic Wertham. A noted psychiatrist examines the life sentence of a "juvenile delinquent" for murder and finds poverty and anti-Puerto Rican prejudice guilty. (Originally \$3.00) \$1.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF ART. By Arnold Hauser. A classic work of Marxist interpretation and relation of developments and trends in literature and all the arts to society and its classes. Illustrated. Paper covers. 4 volumes. \$1.25 per vol. (plus 10c mailing charge each or 20c for all)

JEWS AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION. By Hyman Levy. The roots of anti-Jewish acts in the USSR. Author, long prominent in British Communist Party, was expelled for writing it. This Library Book Club edition includes British CP reply to Levy by R. Palme Dute. Paper covers. \$1.50 (plus 15c mailing charge)

TELL FREEDOM. Memories of Africa. By Peter Abrahams. A talented Negro novelist relates the moving story of his growing up and emergence into racial and political awareness in the Union of South Africa. (Originally \$4.00) \$1.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE I.W.W. By Paul F. Brissenden. The now classic, long out-of-print, study of American syndicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World. Regular price \$7.50. Special to Militant readers \$5.00. (plus 15c mailing charge)

BIG BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK. An Autobiography. Long a rare item, this autobiography of the leader of the IWW is again in print. \$2.25 (plus 15c mailing charge)

HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR. By Henry David. Another out-of-print classic again available. The celebrated frame-up and the origin of May Day. Regular price \$6.75. Special to Militant readers \$3.50. (plus 15c mailing charge)

OUT OF THE DEPTHS. By Barron Z. Beshoar. The most detailed account of the Ludlow Massacre in the Rockefeller-owned coal fields of Colorado. (Originally \$3.50) \$3.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. By Samuel Yellen. Documented accounts of important strikes in U.S. history. Paper: \$1.95 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE GREAT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE: FROM SHAKESPEARE TO SHAW. By Annette T. Rubinstein. A Marxist interpretation of English literature with selections from the writings of great authors. 946 pp. List price: \$7.50. Special price \$5.00 (plus 20c)

CHAUCER AND HIS ENGLAND. By G. G. Coulton. A social study of the medieval England which forms the setting of the Canterbury Tales. Regular price \$4.00. Special to Militant readers \$2.98 (plus 15c mailing charge)

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA. By W. E. B. DuBois. The monumental work on the subject from which all subsequent works have been quarried. 746 pp. (originally \$6.50) \$3.95 (plus 20c)

NEGROES ON THE MARCH. A Frenchman's Report of the American Negro Struggle. By Daniel Guerin. Remarkable study by a French Marxist. Best work on contemporary fight of Negro people for equality. cloth: \$1.50 (plus 15c mailing charge) paper: \$1.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph K. Rusk. Magnificent biography of the great figure of Radical Reconstruction. (Originally \$6.00) \$2.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

GIANT IN CHAINS by Barrows Dunham. A Marxist account of the meaning and history of philosophy. In popular style, not professional jargon. Intensely interesting and witty book. (Originally \$3.75) \$1.50 (plus 15c mailing charge)

A GENERAL HISTORY OF SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL STRUGGLES. By M. Beer. Five volumes bound as two containing: Social Struggles in Antiquity; Social Struggles in the Middle Ages; Social Struggles and Thought; Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners; Social Struggles and Modern Socialism. Regular price \$12.50. Special price for Militant readers \$9.95 (plus 25c)

A SHORT HISTORY OF FREE THOUGHT. By J. M. Robertson. Regular price \$5.00. Special for Militant readers \$2.89 (plus 15c mailing charge)

ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By Margaret Cole. The life and work of the successful British industrialist who became a utopian socialist, putting his ideas into effect first in his factory mills and model village in Scotland and later in the famous Harmony colony in Indiana. (Originally \$3.50) \$1.50 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. By David Shannon. The most recent history of the American SP from its founding and days of glory under Debs to its present decline. (Originally \$4.50) \$1.95 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. By James P. Cannon. The development of the present Socialist Workers Party since its expulsion from the Communist Party in 1928 for opposing the growth of Stalinism. cloth: \$2.75 (plus 15c mailing charge) paper: \$2.00 (plus 15c mailing charge)

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY by James P. Cannon. (cloth) \$2.75 (plus 15c) (paper) \$2.00 (plus 15c)

THE JEWISH QUESTION — A MARXIST INTERPRETATION by A. Leon. Excellent history and analysis. (cloth) \$1.50 (plus 15c) (paper) \$1.00 (plus 15c)

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S. By Charles Beard. A landmark in the writing of U.S. history. \$6.9 (plus 15c)

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS by Charles Beard. (paper) \$1.25 (plus 10c)

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Vann Woodward (paper) \$1.50 (plus 10c)

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS by S. Lilley. (Originally \$3.75) \$3.25 (plus 15c)

RUSSIA 20 YEARS AFTER by Victor Serge. A veteran of the October Revolution and Stalin's revolution draws the balance sheet of a revolution betrayed. (cloth) \$3.50 (plus 15c)

THE LONG DUSK by Victor Serge. A novel. Anti-fascist and anti-Stalinist refugees caught in France by Nazi invasion. The beginnings of resistance movement. (Originally \$2.75) \$1.00 (plus 15c)

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Georges Lefebvre (paper) \$1.95 (plus 10c)

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY by Peter Fryer. The author was Hungarian correspondent for the London Daily Worker. Here is the eyewitness story of the uprising his paper wouldn't print. (paper) \$1.00 (plus 10c)

THE HAWK AND THE SUN by Byron Reece. A novel by a South-easterner about a lynching in a small town. (Originally \$3.00) \$1.00 (plus 15c)

CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN by James Kutcher. The celebrated witch-hunt victim tells his story. (paper) \$1.50 (plus 15c)

THEODORE WELD, Crusader for Freedom. By Benj. P. Thomas. Biography of important but little known Abolitionist leader. (Originally \$4.25) \$1.00 (plus 15c)

TENDER WARRIORS. The story of the heroic Negro children of Little Rock who breached school segregation. Told in photographs. (paper) \$1.99 (plus 15c)

MILLTOWN. The story of one of America's greatest labor struggles—the IWW-led textile strike in Lawrence in 1912—told in photographs. (paper) \$2.29 (plus 15c)

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE: 1935. Just published. \$4.00 (plus 15c)

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. The three volumes in one. \$10.00 (plus 15c)

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Special price. \$1.98 (plus 15c)

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. cloth: Vol. 1 \$3.50 (plus 15c) cloth: Vol. 2 \$3.50 (plus 15c) both \$6.00 (plus 15c) (paper) Vol. 2 \$3.00 (plus 15c)

STALIN—An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence. cloth: \$3.50 (plus 15c) paper: \$1.95 (plus 15c)

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN. cloth: \$4.00 (plus 15c) paper: \$2.50 (plus 15c)

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. cloth: \$5.00 (plus 15c) paper: \$2.00 (plus 15c)

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION. cloth: \$3.50 (plus 15c) paper: \$1.00 (plus 15c)

STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS. paper \$1.00 (plus 15c)

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place

New York, 3, N. Y.