

ISL Promised A Hearing by Dept. of Justice

By John Thayer

An important test of the witch hunt is shaping up in the first hearing ever granted an organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. The hearing, scheduled for July 25, will be on a petition of the Independent Socialist League to be removed from the political blacklist. The ISL has sought such a hearing from the Attorney General for seven years. Other organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, have also sought in vain to get a hearing or a court test at which they could refute the arbitrary designation of "subversive."

WHY THE ABOUT FACE?

The sudden about face of the Department of Justice, which heretofore has met appeals for a hearing with repeated refusals, may be traced to the important civil liberties case won by the ISL's head, Max Shachtman, on June 23 when the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia ruled that Shachtman had for six years been illegally refused a passport by the State Department solely on the grounds that the ISL was on the Attorney General's subversive list. The court ruled that Shachtman possessed every citizen's inherent right to travel, which could only be taken away by due process of law and not by arbitrary reference to a political blacklist.

In their decisions all three judges pointed out that the ISL had asked repeatedly for a hearing at which it might show that it was not subversive. In the news accounts of the momentous decision this fact was also brought out. Furthermore there were

numerous editorial comments and implications about the unfairness of a procedure under which a listed organization had no chance of redress.

This unfavorable publicity for the Attorney General's list, coming against the background of open criticism of certain aspects of the list by such figures as Subversive Activities Control Board member Harry P. Cain, undoubtedly led the Department of Justice to grant the hearing.

The nature of this hearing, however, is not yet clear. Will it conform to the canons of due process of law or will it be another witch hunt kangaroo court?

A MONOLOGUE

In January 1951 the ISL was granted what the Department of Justice, with a straight face, tried to pass off as a hearing. It is described by the ISL as "a meeting" or, more precisely, a monologue. The Department of Justice official said practically nothing, the ISL was supposed to prove itself innocent.

When it tried to learn what the charges were against it, the assistant attorney general replied that he couldn't divulge that information. When asked what the evidence was on which the ISL had been listed, he again said he couldn't tell. Finally, when the ISL representatives asked what they could do to get off the list

(Continued on page 2)

Will They Decide Our Fate?



EISENHOWER



BULGANIN

A Cold War Armistice Or a Genuine Peace?

By Daniel Roberts

The dominant note at the Big Four Conference is agreement, negotiation and "peaceful coexistence." Each side refrains from derogatory outbursts against the other. Each side credits the other with a "sincere wish for peace."

Clearly, a truce is being prepared at Geneva designed to relax the cold-war tensions.

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world will greet the relaxation of tension with profound relief. Seemingly the danger of H-bomb war recedes from the horizon.

But is the relaxation of tension permanent? Can the mutual declarations of goodwill control the contradictions that brought mankind to the brink of World War III? Has the Geneva Conference opened up the road to permanent peace? Or are the hopes of mankind being played with in the most cynical manner?

These are life and death questions that must be answered. Up to a few months ago the U.S. State Department filled the air with bellicose declarations. And some of the spokesmen of Big Business talked openly of preventative war, rattling the H-bomb. Now the atmosphere has changed. A cold war armistice is being arranged.

What brought about this transformation? The answer to that question contains the answer to the questions about the lasting nature of the Geneva truce and the road to peace.

HOW THEY EXPLAIN IT

The entire U.S. capitalist press explains the change as follows: Ten years ago the rulers of the Soviet Union embarked on a drive to conquer the world. However, the free world in the West organized its defenses and finally stopped the "Communist aggressors" dead in their tracks.

Thus a world balance of power was achieved, forcing the Soviet rulers to sue for peace.

Now this explanation is a fable. It becomes a true story, however, once the names are changed around.

Eight years ago, the U.S. gov-

ernment launched the cold war. The aim was, indeed world conquest to enhance the profits of Wall Street. The major aim of the Big Business rulers of the U.S. was to reconquer the Soviet Union for capitalist exploitation and bring China fully under the sway of U.S. imperialist control.

But the revolutionary upsurge of the people of Asia cut across these plans for world conquest and confronted U.S. imperialism with a new challenge to its might.

Although the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 goaded the U.S. ruling class to an outburst of fury, the steady rise of the revolutionary wave forced it repeatedly to postpone its timetable for war.

Then the stalemate in Korea forced the Wall Street war-makers to recognize that a new world balance of power had emerged.

The Chinese revolution, the sweep of anti-imperialism in the rest of the colonial world, the rapid expansion of the Soviet economy — dramatically exemplified by the production of A-bombs and H-bombs — all these showed the Wall Street rulers that their power had been matched.

These were the developments that finally brought Eisenhower and Dulles to talk about peace and goodwill at the Geneva conference. Imperialism had been forced to retreat.

A BREATHING SPACE

But the inherent necessity of the profit system of imperialism to expand has not been altered. Despite the goodwill phrases, the U.S. government continues to prepare for war. But these must be longer-term preparations and must be masked by a seeming effort to arrive at world peace.

Thus Eisenhower and Dulles

(Continued on page 3)

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Morocco Independence Fight Exposes Big 4 Peace Fraud

N.Y. Times Succumbs To Witch-Hunt Heat

By Shirley Clark

What better way for a Congressional Committee to assure itself plenty of publicity than to point its witch-hunting finger at the daily press? When James O. Eastland,

Democratic head of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee on June 29, pulled the informer, Winston Burdett, Columbia Broadcasting System newscaster, out of the closet (he had already informed the FBI at least four years earlier), Sen. Eastland got front-page attention.

The public show of Burdett's testimony brought trouble to a long list of men and women in the newspaper world who, according to the tale of the informer, had been "associated" with the Communist Party no more recently than 1942.

Included in the long list of victims was David A. Gordon of the New York Daily News. J. G. Sourwine, Counsel for the subcommittee, at a hearing on July 13, asked Gordon: "While you were on the Brooklyn Eagle [1933 to 1943] were you a member of the Communist Party?" Gordon replied, "I am not a Communist and have not been in any way for the past twelve years." However, he stood on the Fifth Amendment when he was questioned about associates during the 1930's. This cost him his job.

N. Y. TIMES BUCKLES

Melvin L. Barnett, New York Times copy editor, also refused to inform about the political views of his friends and associates. He was carefully questioned by Sourwine to find out if the Times approved of his use of the Fifth Amendment.

Q. Did you, sir, after you had received the subpoena to appear before this committee, consult with your present employers about that matter?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you discuss with them the question of your demeanor in your appearance here?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you discuss with them the question of whether you would avail yourself here of your privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Tell us about what was said.

A. Yes, Sir. I told them at this time I would avail myself of my privilege against testifying against myself.

Q. With whom did you discuss this matter?

A. With Louis Loeb and other executives of the company.

Q. Were you told that if you took the Fifth Amendment here you would be discharged?

A. I was not so told, Sir.

However, by the afternoon session of the subcommittee hearing, Senator Eastland received a hasty note from the publisher of the Times, Arthur Hays Sulzberger. He took note of the testimony given that morning and

(Continued on page 3)

enclosed a copy of the letter "just signed" which told Barnett that he was fired.

Thus the publisher of the Times, which has given editorial defense to the use of the Fifth Amendment, hastily fired one of

(Continued on page 2)

Labor Movement In Wisc. Stops Cargo for Kohler

By Harry Ring

The public intervention of President Eisenhower in the Kohler strike directly after the company received a setback of far-reaching importance from the striking UAW-CIO workers indicates that the 15-month-old strike may be reaching the show-down stage.

In an unusual move for the present administration, the White House released on July 13 the text of a letter to Milwaukee Mayor Zeidler informing him that Eisenhower had instructed the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service "to intensify, in every way possible, the efforts of the service to bring the parties to the dispute into agreement."

Eisenhower's letter was released on the same day that the company gave up a desperate effort to unload several shiploads of badly needed enameling clay for its scab-operated plumbing supply plant. On July 2 the company tried to unload the first ship at Sheboygan, Wisc., immediately adjacent to the strike plant.

PREVENT UNLOADING

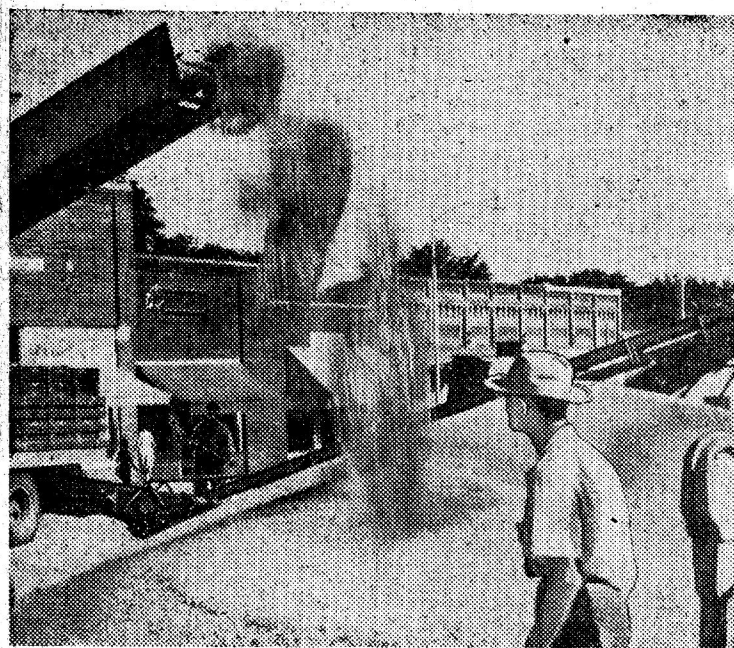
More than three thousand union-conscious residents of the town lined the dock to support efforts of the strikers to prevent unloading of the cargo. After a number of scabs got hurt trying to move unloading equipment to the dock, union-elected Mayor Rudolph Poltz ordered the Sheboygan police to stop any attempts to move the equipment.

The ship then set out for nearby Milwaukee. State CIO officials in that city immediately threatened a city-wide general strike and declared that attempts to unload the cargo "might precipitate 50,000 workers down to the docks." Mayor Zeidler then prohibited the unloading at the city-owned docks.

Then bowing to the pressure of the bosses, who threatened huge damage suits, Zeidler revoked the ban on the hot cargo.

(Continued on page 3)

Store Wheat in the Streets



Farmers are shown unloading wheat in the streets of Albany, Mo., because of a freight car shortage. Grain elevators throughout state are filled. Because of the anarchy of capitalist production huge surpluses of food are rotting in U.S. warehouses while millions of people throughout world go hungry. Food prices remain high for U.S. workers despite surpluses.

JIM CROW ON SOUTHERN BUSES HIT BY COURT

Another legal victory against Jim Crow was won when U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting in Richmond, Va., ruled that segregation of Negro passengers in city busses

in Columbia, S. C., was unconstitutional. This decision overruled a previous finding by a federal Judge in South Carolina that Jim Crow in busses was legal. The racist practice of forcing Negroes to ride in the back of street cars and busses exists all over the South and in many border states.

BASIS FOR DECISION

In its opinion, the Circuit Court said, the principle enunciated by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases applied, namely, that "separate but equal" is actually unequal and is therefore in violation of the 14th Amendment. As yet there is no indication whether the authorities and bus company in Columbia will comply with the court's decision, try to evade it, or defy it.

The same day that the Circuit Court ruled on the Columbia bus case, lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went before the Interstate Commerce Commission with a frontal attack on Jim Crow in interstate travel.

They demanded that the ICC outlaw Jim Crow in train travel, station waiting rooms, restaurants and related facilities.

The NAACP legal case is built on the argument that railroads and railroad terminals segregating and discriminating against Negroes are violating the Interstate Commerce Act. It further argues that railroad depots cannot escape their obligations under this law by subcontracting such facilities as terminal restaurants to local concerns. These latter, it maintains, become subject to the Interstate Commerce once they start doing business in a terminal which is obviously in interstate commerce.

HOSMER REPORT

In November, 1954, Hosmer issued his report. It proposed a compromise settlement, outlawing Jim Crow on the trains and in waiting rooms, but not touching terminal restaurants and companies. The report is merely a proposal to the ICC, which will make the final decision.

Both the NAACP and the Jim Crow railroads and terminal companies have submitted written exceptions to Hosmer's report.

(Continued on page 4)

"Peaceful Coexistence" A Mockery Until the Imperialists Get Out!

By C. R. Hubbard

JULY 20 — On the eve of the Geneva meeting of the Big Four, martial law was declared in Casablanca as civil war flared up once again. The fighting has temporarily subsided, but all the tensions that brought conflict remain. The oppressed colonial people of Morocco, speaking with the same voice as millions of people in Asia, Africa and South America, have served notice that they will not tolerate diplomatic deals that leave them enslaved.

The new outburst of violence began on July 14 when a bomb of unknown origin exploded near a cafe killing seven Europeans. The next day, French colonists began a wave of terror and murder. A French mob lynched four Moroccans and invaded the old medina, the Arab section of the city, to burn, loot and kill.

Stalinist Parties In Asia Execute New Shift to Right

As advance demonstration to world imperialism of its readiness to deliver in a co-existence deal, and as a payoff to the neutralist capitalists of Asia, Moscow-Peking has ordered a simultaneous right turn by the Communist Parties.

The Indian Communist Party has come out openly for Prime Minister Nehru's foreign policy which includes acceptance of large-scale economic "aid" from U. S. imperialism.

Furthermore, according to the Christian Science "Monitor" of July 19, the Stalinists in India "are in the process of switching from the standard tactic of opposition to the ruling Congress Party." Instead they are assuming an attitude of "constructive criticism" with the aim of working within the capitalist-landlord Congress Party.

In Indonesia, where the Communist Party is in a government coalition with the tottering native capitalist class, it has officially announced that if it wins the coming first general elections in that country, it will not take advantage of that fact to form a Communist government. Instead it will form a "popular front" cabinet with a progressive, but non-Communist, premier.

Closely following the pattern is the recent change in line of the Communist Party of Japan. A new "soft" line has been announced, and the line followed since 1950 is now denounced as "left-wing adventurism."

In Malaya the Stalinist guerrilla leaders have written peace offers to the British. The Stalinists right turn has even been ordered in remote, medieval Nepal and Tibet. In the former the Stalinist leaders are resuming "legal" opposition, and to the latter Peking has returned the Dalai Lama.

Again it is seen how Moscow and Peking manipulate the Communist Parties of other countries to advance their own diplomacy regardless of the interests of the workers of those countries.

(Continued on page 4)



AHMED BALAFREJ, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party of French Morocco. Driven underground, like all nationalist movements that preceded it, by the French imperialists in 1944, it carries on agitation for freedom and political rights for the 9 million people of Morocco.

an inch. They want their privileges left intact.

The local French police sided with the colonial terrorists. They stood aside while the Moroccans were being lynched. They protected the Europeans and joined with them on their raids into the Moroccan neighborhoods. On July 18 Grandval dismissed the Casablanca Police Commissioner.

For two years, since the French deposed the Moroccan Sultan, Mohammed ben Youssef, and put a puppet ruler in his place, the movement for independence has spread throughout Morocco. Whereas previously the independence fight was primarily under the leadership of the popular, illegal Istiqlal Party, headed by Ahmed Balafrej, in the last two years there has grown up in the underground a National Resistance Movement based primarily on the working class.

A powerful strike movement developed and a boycott of all commodities made by the French was organized. The social questions of land reform, planned economy for the development of Moroccan resources and freedom to organize unions and strike were pushed to the fore.

The revolutionary struggle in Morocco is a part of the post-war colonial upsurge. Regardless of the decisions reached by the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucrats in Geneva, the colonial people mean to fight for their freedom. There can be no peace as long as Asia, Africa and South America remain under the imperialist yoke. The hope for peace can lie only with the complete victory of the colonial masses. And their struggle for liberation is part of the world-wide workers' struggle for socialism.

The Latest Sham Battle on Civil Rights

By George Lavan

As the 84th Congress prepared to adjourn, Northern Democrats busied themselves with a demagogic attempt to put the blame for the 100% record of surrender on civil rights legislation on the Republican administration.

The two Big Business parties maneuvered and the charges flew. But it was increasingly clear that while neither party desired to pass any legislation against Jim Crow both wanted to win Negro votes if that could be done at no greater cost than the issuance of phony statements.

In the House a Democratic group, headed by Reps. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and James Roosevelt (D-Cal.), made indignant statements over the refusal of certain federal agencies to testify before the House

NOT SERIOUSLY INTENDED

While the refusal of these agencies of the Eisenhower administration even to send a spokesman to the hearings, reveals their attitude on civil rights, it in no way rounds to the credit of the Democrats. The bills now before the House Judiciary Committee were never intended by the Democrats to be put on the lawbooks. They were thrown into the legislative hopper to save face with the Negro voters. Now some Northern Democrats are trying not to pass them, but to make a rec-

ord on them for subsequent use in campaign speeches before Negro and labor audiences and to put the Republican administration on the spot.

The decision to kill all civil rights legislation in this Congress was made by the top circles of the Democratic Congress as soon as last November's election returns showed the Democrats had a majority in both Houses. This flowed from the Democratic decision to let the Southern wing of the party control the lion's share of committee chairmanships and the machinery of control.

Surrender of the Northern liberals on civil rights was made public on the very first day of this Congress. That was the day when the Senate rules for the next two years were voted. Many Northern liberals had repeatedly promised to fight to change Senate Rule 22. This

is the rule permitting Southerners to filibuster civil rights bills to death. However, Senate Rule 22 was put into effect for the 84th Congress without a single voice raised against it. The liberals had decided to surrender without firing a shot.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) tried to explain away his action by saying later: "I could have made a whizzbang of a speech on civil rights on opening day . . . but what good would it have done? We would have made our fight and lost just like we did two years ago."

Humphrey's pose that he was above making a cheap and ineffective gesture on civil rights was given the lie by himself a month later when he threw eleven civil rights bills into the hopper. These Senate bills are the counterparts of those now before the House Judiciary Committee. They are all very good.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is actively lobbying to get them to the floor of the House and Senate.

However, they are not going to get onto the floors of the two Houses. Their sponsors don't intend them too. They are designed for one purpose: to confuse the Negro and labor voters into thinking that the Democrats didn't sell out on civil rights.

Clear proof of this is the fact that an overwhelming majority of the committee conducting hearings on the federal school aid bill are Northern Senators. Yet they reject an anti-Jim Crow amendment. Indeed, the Dixiecrats haven't had to denounce the NAACP-sponsored amendment; liberal Democrats, like Douglas (D-Ill.) and McNamara (D-Mich.) have done the dirty work for them.

Who is Hildy? Where is She?

By Marvel Scholl

There are few people in the country who don't know who Hildy is — a four-year-old fugitive from religious and legislative bigotry. An innocent victim of religious pressure which seeks to tear her from the happy, secure home where she has lived with her foster parents, Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Ellis, since she was ten days old. A happy, well-adjusted, intelligent child who is surrounded by the love and devotion of two people who took her to adopt as their own. A baby who, innocently and unknowingly, faces the loss of all that has been her world, to be heartlessly tossed into an orphanage.

Hildy and her foster parents are in hiding. There is a habeas corpus warrant out to snatch Hildy bodily from the Ellises and turn her over to her natural mother to be placed in the Catholic Charitable Institution for adoption by a Catholic family. Mr. and Mrs. Ellis face jail sentences and heavy fines for refusing to give Hildy up to this fate.



HILDY

LEGALIZED BIGOTRY

The story of Hildy began even before her birth when, in 1950, the Massachusetts legislature passed a bigoted adoption law making it mandatory that adoptive parents and children be of the same religion.

Hildy was "born Catholic." The Ellises are Jewish.

Hildy's natural mother, Marjory McCoy, a young student nurse, knew the Ellises were Jewish. She gladly consented to allow them to pay all her expenses while she waited the delivery of her baby. She signed a certificate of consent to adoption. When Marjory McCoy left the hospital ten days after her literal "delivery" she went out alone. Hildy went out that same day, but she did not go alone. She was in the arms of her already adoring adoptive parents.

Since that March, 1951 day, the Ellises have fought with every legal weapon at their command to keep their baby, to make her truly theirs, and to give her all the love and devotion, security and happiness which should be the birthright of every child.

And they have been thwarted at every turn by the machinations of the Catholic Church.

When Hildy was five weeks old the Ellises filed a petition for her adoption. Marjory McCoy, acting under "unknown pressures" also filed a petition. She asked that her child be returned to her so she could place it in the Catholic Charitable Institution for adoption by a Catholic family.

In this first hearing, Marjory testified that she had not known that the adoptive parents were Jewish. In a subsequent hearing her doctor, Herman C. Sands, who had arranged for her care, delivered her baby and arranged the adoption, testified that Marjory and her mother had known that the prospective parents were Jewish, that when he told them, Marjory had said: "That's all right, Doctor. You're Jewish and look how good you are to us." Judge Reynolds, presiding

in the case then and now, ruled against the Ellises. He ignored the doctor's testimony and took Marjory McCoy's as the truth. For four years the case has dragged in the courts. Ten days ago Judge Reynolds cited the Ellises for contempt of court and issued a writ of habeas corpus authorizing the sheriff to pick up Hildy on sight.

Thereupon Mr. and Mrs. Ellis and Hildy disappeared. At this writing they are still in hiding.

On July 19, their lawyer, James Zisman filed six petitions before Judge Reynolds, asking that all orders and writs in this case be vacated. Mr. Zisman based his petitions on new evidence, on two mystery witnesses who have come forward secretly and who are willing to testify if necessary. He also cites the testimony of Dr. Herman Sands. The doctor says that Marjory McCoy Doherty (the mother has since married and has another daughter) lied when she testified that she had not known the Ellises were Jewish.

There are millions of wage and salary earners from whom the employers deduct withholding taxes. Instead of the employers sending the withholding taxes to the Federal Reserve

WHAT ABOUT HILDY?

Hildy is today the center of the whole country's attention. Her fate has not been decided yet. But what will happen to this happy, chubby little minx who doesn't even know that her world is about to be shattered? If she is torn out of the secure world she has always known, thrust among strangers, will she grow up to be a useful citizen, a well-adjusted adult?

Or will she grow up to be just another statistic — another juvenile delinquent?

Must this innocent baby be the victim of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy whose insolent disregard for human rights knows no bounds where their insatiable greed for power is concerned? If the Roman Catholic Hierarchy wins this fight — where will Hildy be then?

... ISL Hearing

(Continued from page 1) led it to pro-U.S. opportunism in the cold war.

The government's usual use of the term "Communism," means a connection with the Soviet Union or the Stalinist parties. If it does not maintain this in the case of the ISL, what precisely does it mean by the term "Communist"?

Similarly, the government has referred to the "doctrines" of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. The ISL attorney asked the government to specify which doctrines it meant and what they were. This was refused. The trial examiner answered in the vein that everybody knew what Communism was and what the doctrines of Marx, etc., were.

The Attorney General in his listing had described the ISL as (1) Communist; (2) an organization which sought to change the government by force and violence; and (3) subversive. At Monday's preliminary hearing the government stated it would charge the ISL only with the first two points and would not press charge three. It was also announced that the Justice Department would require three days to present its case against the ISL.

At a preliminary session on July 18 to hear procedural arguments, the Justice Department's trial examiner turned down 24 requests made by Attorney Rauh. These were aimed mainly at getting the government to specify the meaning of its charges by defining its terms.

For example, the government has listed the ISL as "Communist." Yet it is well known that the ISL is a bitter opponent of the Stalinist parties as well as of the Kremlin. Indeed, many socialists accuse the ISL of being Stalinophobe, i.e. filled with such hatred of Stalinists that it takes positions based not on fact but on emotion, and that this hatred has

Both Capitalist Parties Help Bankers to Loot U.S. Treasury

By Sam Marcy

A virtual revolution is shaping up in the relations between the U.S. Treasury and the banks. It is a long, sordid and complicated story, but the essence of the matter is that the U.S. Treasury is slowly but surely delegating to the banks its authority to collect taxes.

Incredible as this may seem, it is nevertheless a fact. What began as an emergency war measure during the Roosevelt era, developed into a trend under the Truman administration and is now in the stage of becoming the uncontested policy of the Eisenhower administration.

BANKER'S PROPOSITION

Here is how it all got started. During the Second World War the banks were the chief agents in selling and distributing war bonds. When the bonds began to be sold in the hundreds of millions of dollars, the banks in effect said to the Treasury, "Instead of us sending the cash to you as the bonds are sold, why don't we keep the money in our banks for the duration of the war. In case you really need it just give us some notice and you can withdraw the cash balance at any time. In the meantime, each of our 11,000 banks will open a checking account for you so you can draw on your account, provided of course, you give us sufficient notice. We will call this account, 'The Treasury War Loan Deposit.'" This proposition was accepted.

Thus the Treasury accumulated in the commercial banks billions of dollars. It is to be noted that the banks were not required to pay any interest at all for the use of the Treasury's funds derived from the sale of war bonds.

One would think that at least with the end of the war this collusive agreement between the banks and the Treasury would be terminated. But the very opposite took place. The banks not only showed a reluctance to close their War Loan accounts with the Treasury but came up with a new idea.

There are millions of wage and salary earners from whom the employers deduct withholding taxes. Instead of the employers sending the withholding taxes to the Federal Reserve

... N. Y. Times

(Continued from page 1) its own employees for making use of this constitutional right.

Amos Landman, a former freelance writer for the Herald Tribune, according to an AP dispatch, said, "The youthful Communists I knew fifteen years ago have long since quit the party, married, reared children, bought homes, and assumed responsible positions. They never engaged in subversion. To subject them to what I have gone through would be dispicable." For refusing to be an informer, Landman was fired from his job as publicity director for the National Municipal League.

Lyle Dowling who works in the music department of The Oxford Press, New York, also used the Fifth Amendment. He said he was not a Communist but had been denounced as a "neo-Trotskyite" by the Daily Worker.

The witch-hunting sensationalism of the "investigations" was most clearly demonstrated in the headline charge that former "Communist," Charles Grutzner of the N. Y. Times, leaked military secrets when he served as a reporter in Korea during the war. Grutzner filed a story to his paper on the appearance in Korea of U.S. Sabrejets, the F-86. The fact that Grutzner's story was cleared by the Pentagon could have been discovered by the witch hunters without any publicity at all.

"SO MUCH HOGWASH"

Glenn Stackhouse, a UP correspondent during the Korean war, came to Grutzner's defense by pointing out that he too had filed a story on the F-86. He said in a telegram to the subcommittee: "Whole security thing so much hogwash, since Sinores (Chinese) by that time well aware of presence of Sabres, having been in combat with them."

But facts that have to do with security — or any other kind of facts — are not what the Eastland subcommittee wants. Their job is to keep alive the witch hunt, intimidate the press and try to force people into becoming informers. Anyone who scorns that role must fear the loss of his job.

The capitalist daily press in the U.S. is about as subservient to the interests of Big Business and the State Department as any press could be. But that is not enough for the witch hunters who seek to intimidate all opposition out of existence. The conformism of the police-state is their goal.

Bank or the Treasury, why don't they send it to the private banks? "We will merge these accounts," the bankers proposed, "into the War Loan account, and give it a new name, 'The Treasury's Loan and Tax Accounts.'"

And so, in March, 1948, the banks were permitted to accept receipts of withheld income taxes. As can be seen, this meant additional billions of dollars in the coffers of the banks for which not a cent of interest was paid to the Treasury.

THEY COULD HAVE SAID

Now, the Treasury could have answered the bankers this way: "We cannot legally do this. As you know, there is a law passed by Congress and signed by the President, which says that only the Federal Reserve Bank shall act as banker for the U.S. Treasury. And besides that, we are losing hundreds of millions of dollars in interest while you are using our money for your own investments and loans, on which you make enormous profits."

But instead of talking to the banks in this manner the Treasury, on Jan. 1, 1950, capitulated to a new series of demands by the banks. So that the banks were not only privileged to accept taxes withheld from wages and salaries, but the system was extended to include deposits of payroll taxes for the old-age insurance program as well. Also, under a special arrangement large payments (checks of \$10,000 or more of corporate income and profits taxes) became eligible for deposit in the banks.

In June, 1951, large payments of individual taxes were included in that arrangement. Finally, in July, 1951, Railroad Retirement taxes were also included in this system.

All in all, by 1953, there were at least \$7½ billion belonging to the U.S. Treasury distributed in the country's network of commercial banks on which no interest was being paid. Since this was the handiwork of both the Democratic and Republican politicians an iron curtain was drawn over this shady affair, except for those who specialized in capitalist financial juggling.

HOW THEY EXPLAIN IT

The recession of 1953-54, however, made it inevitable that the curtain would be at least partially lifted. Early in December, 1954, Secretary of Treasury Humphrey and Under-Secretary

Burgess were called to testify before a sub-committee on economic stabilization and were requested, among other things, to answer why the billions that the Treasury had in private banks "were not transferred to the Federal Reserve Banks immediately upon receipt?"

Humphrey answered, "There are two principal reasons why funds are not transferred to Federal Reserve banks immediately upon receipt. One is that such a procedure would have damaging effects on the economy of the country: The second reason is that it would result in no financial gain to the Treasury. . . . Serious dislocations would occur if the government receipts should be transferred immediately to the Federal Reserve banks. This action would remove the economic stability advantages now derived from the use of tax and loan accounts."

Humphrey's second reason, namely, that no financial gains to the Treasury would result, is an obvious fraud which he did not even bother to amplify. His prediction, however, that the transfer of the funds to the Federal Reserve would have "damaging effects" (on the banks) is true. Since the banks have invested the funds in loans, pulling several billion dollars out of bank reserves into the Treasury would indeed be a hazardous proposition to the bankers in the present state of phony capitalist prosperity.

The significance of this is that it shows the banks have hope-

lessly adapted themselves to this new relationship to the Treasury and cannot extricate themselves from it without great risk of incurring a financial panic.

Last week the Treasury went into the money market for two billion dollars. It succeeded in getting the loan at an interest rate of one and seven-eighths percent. This is a short term loan in the form of Treasury "tax anticipation certificates." It means that the Treasury needs cash to tide it over until the income tax season arrives — about six months from now. And it means that the Treasury needs cash in advance of the tax collection season; otherwise it faces, what is called, a treasury overdraft.

To cover such a situation, Congress made available to the Treasury a special five billion dollar credit at the Federal Reserve Bank so it won't have to borrow from the banks for such short term purposes. Mr. Humphrey in 1953, himself, asked for the renewal of this law.

Why doesn't he therefore utilize this fund instead of borrowing from the Wall Street money sharks?

Here, too, the banks have adapted themselves to what amounts to an annual give-away — or rather, throw-away — that they say they cannot do without.

The consequences for the pursuit of such fraudulent policies may be a little late in arriving, but they are absolutely inevitable.

TRENTON SIX FRAME-UP PROSECUTOR PROMOTED

Liberal Democratic Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey, who was elected with strong labor and Negro support, has just appointed Trenton District Attorney Mario H. Volpe to a \$16,000 a year judgeship.

Volpe, a Republican, became notorious as the prosecutor in the Trenton Six frame-up. In addition to helping prepare the "evidence," he vindictively fought the racist case through three trials, hoping to build a political career on the electrocution of the six Negro men.

"Confessions," which figured in the trial were shown to have

been wrung from the terrorized defendants by endless sessions of grilling and by the use of drugs.

At the third trial four of the defendants were freed and two sentenced to life in a compromise verdict. One of the latter, Collis English, died soon after in prison and the other was freed in a deal by which he pleaded guilty, thus "rehabilitating" Volpe's and the Trenton police's reputation.

Governor Meyner is not known to have appointed union or Negro leaders to any important office.

The Secret of GM's Fabulous Profits

By Myra Tanner

All was expectation and joy on the morning of July 6 as the stock market opened for business on Wall Street. General Motors, the world's largest industrial enterprise, had made public its plan to split its stock three ways. For each share of common stock that is held, three will be given in exchange. A dozen extra stock experts were placed on the floor of the stock exchange to handle the rush.

The opening trade was the biggest in the history of the stock exchange. Twenty-eight thousand shares sold at \$128 each. The three shares of stock that will be issued in September will tend to equal the one share held now. But in the meantime the price of the stock gets a boost. Under the initial stimulus of the announcement, the price of all GM stock rose by over \$1.3 billion. The duPont family, largest single holder of GM stock, gained \$125 million in the speculative boom. In addition they got a boost on the selling price of their other holdings.

The price of the new stock that will be issued will be about one-third its present cost. GM will be able to expand its stock sales. In particular, it plans to induce over 100,000 salaried employees to buy stock in place of salary increases. This would add to company capital and cost the corporation less. The employees would be buying the stock at peak prices. When things get rough, as they inevitably will, they may have to sell it for next to nothing. A similar scheme is being planned for salaried employees of Ford.

The N.Y. Times, July 10, drooling over the wonders of the profit system, gave the following calculation on GM stock history: If you owned \$1,000 worth of GM stock in 1908, you would now have stocks worth \$600,000. In addition, you would have collected \$338,472 from dividends and sale of stock-buying privileges. All this — without lifting your finger.

Yes — it's a soft life. If you own enough GM stock, you can live on the French Riviera for the rest of your life and never do a lick of work. This gilt-edged paper has magical powers. It creates untold wealth. Merely possess it, and your life is transformed into a dream of idleness and wealth.

It doesn't take brains — just enough money to purchase the stuff. Then fairy stories come to life. Like the goose that laid golden eggs, the stock will provide for you — and without demanding anything in return. This mere piece of paper, even more miraculously than the goose, yields hundreds of thousands of dollars over the years, without so much as a wiggle in its dark, locked vault. This is capitalist heaven. Ain't it grand?

But GM stock holders and the writers in the capitalist press don't really believe in fairy stories. They may not mention the fact — for obvious reasons — but they understand well that those gilt-edged papers represent the labor of hundreds of thousands of auto workers straining every muscle and nerve to keep up with the worst speed-up system in the world. That's why such big profits keep rolling in.

General Motors, only last month, passed through the biggest crisis it has faced in recent years. The five-year contract came to an end. The corporation was faced with a demand for security from the auto workers. Would the settlement seriously affect their profits?

Many auto workers reasoned that if security could really be won by a guaranteed annual wage then they could tackle speed-up and put an end to it. But GM came out of the settlement with only a token concession to security. And the union did nothing to halt the life-robbing speed of the production line. That's why so many auto workers protested through an unprecedented wave of "wildcat" strikes.

GM knows only too well that wage concessions — as long as

they're not too big — can be compensated for by means of the speed-up. They can get back in profits all that they had to give in wage raises, and more, by increasing the speed of the production line.

No section of American labor works at a faster pace than the workers in the auto industry. The pace of work is almost completely determined by the company. And it sets a back-breaking speed on the line.

Every time the production line is increased by so much as one more car an hour, that extra car goes to the company without paying one-cent in wages. It is as if the auto workers were forced to present GM with a free gift of one car an hour. And when the line is speeded up to two extra cars, three, then four — and when the hours grow into days, weeks, then years — all over the GM auto empire — it is easy to see why GM makes such lush profits. It is easy to see why they came out of the June negotiations full of plans for expansion and a stock split.

As far as speed-up is concerned, General Motors passed the crisis of negotiations successfully — with Reuther's help. The company still controls the speed of the line. It is still in a position to force the auto workers to work until they are exhausted at the end of the day.

Yes — a lot of easy living is in the hands of GM stock owners. They won't ever know what it's like to leave a GM plant at the end of a shift too tired for any good living, even if they could afford it.

This is justice in the eyes of the defenders of capitalism. For them — it's the best of all possible worlds. But for the producers of all this wealth — it's a very different story.

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Why Plants Run To Puerto Rico

By Antonio Torres

On July 14 a meeting of 1500 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, held at 100 East 17 St. in New York City, highlighted the problems created by runaway shops that seek refuge in the low wages of Puerto Rico and the policies of the Island government that exempts these companies from taxes and provides them with other gifts.

The rally, attended mainly by workers of Puerto Rican background, enthusiastically demanded passage of a bill to raise the minimum wage law in Puerto Rico as well as on the mainland.

The growing number of shops fleeing to the South and to Puerto Rico is a direct menace to the conditions of union workers in the North. The unions are beginning to realize this more and more.

The president of the union, David Dubinsky, pointed out that living costs on the Island were higher than in New York. In support of the demand that Puerto Rican workers be given a decent wage, he said, "As long as they want to keep Puerto Rico on a starvation wage of coolie workers, Puerto Rico will become a school where people learn a trade and go to Chicago, Philadelphia and New York City to make a living."

Some would-be leaders of the Puerto Rican community in New York City apparently see things differently. Jose Monserrat, President of the Council of Hispanic-American Organizations and also the representative of the Department of Labor, Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, has tried to apologize for the policy of the government of the Island. In a recent radio broadcast over station WHOM, quoted in the Spanish paper "El Diario," he said:

"The most popular public position is not the one we are apparently taking — that we are apparently against increasing the minimum wage. As I have said, the contrary is true. BUT, nevertheless a responsible government, that is not based on demagoguery, must many times assume positions that are not very popular."

He then goes on to explain how an increase in minimum wages would in some industries cause a rise in wages of 257%. This, he claims, could cause unemployment on the Island.

He insists that the government of Puerto Rico is not opposed to a rise in the minimum wage "as long as these increases are made with regard to the ability of industry to pay, taking in the economic realities of our Island."

With a promise of "pie in the sky," he tries to paint a future where all Puerto Ricans will be able to work at decent wages that will enable them to properly care for their families. But for the present, we must be guided by "the ability of industry to pay."

The Island is being industrialized at the expense of the workers there as well as on the mainland. The workers on the mainland who have decent conditions find their jobs being transferred to the Island by the profit-hungry bosses. The workers on the Island are paying for the industrialization of Puerto Rico with the most miserable pay and living conditions imaginable.

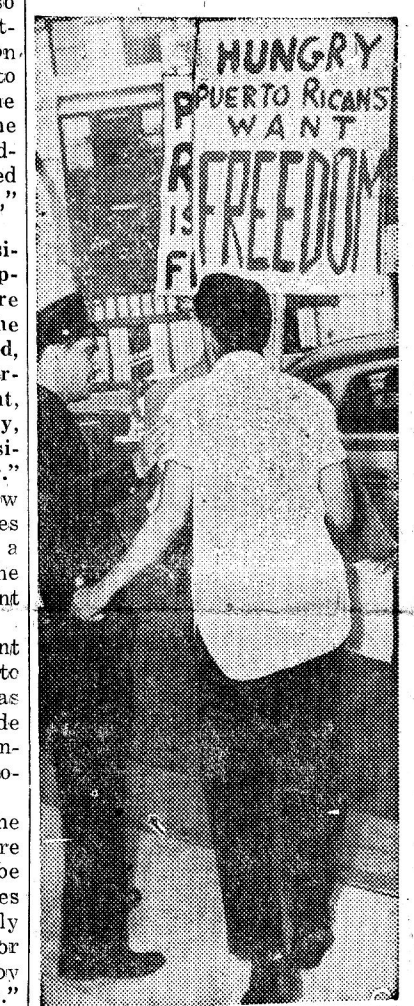
Dubinsky points out that a

worker in New York City who gets \$1.83 an hour, would do the same work in Puerto Rico for \$1.44 less.

The arguments of Monserrat who poses as a friend of the Puerto-Ricans in New York City and who often presents a liberal and pro-labor facade are the arguments used by Southern bourgeois to prevent organization of the South.

It is obvious that industries moving into Puerto Rico from the mainland are looking for the cheap wages and low taxes that the Island offers. If the wages and conditions of the workers on the Island are improved it will mean a general rise in the conditions of the Puerto Rican working class. Those industries that can't stay in business unless they pay sub-standard wages should be nationalized and run by the workers of Puerto Rico.

They could and would obtain the support of the workers on the mainland. However, if the policy of a Monserrat prevails and the workers of Puerto Rico wait for their bosses to give them increases sometime in the future, they will be cruelly disillusioned while at the same time undermining the conditions that their mainland brothers have won.



Placard-bearing picket near federal court house in New York, where 16 Puerto Rican Nationalists were on trial last September on the frame-up charge of conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence. Big Business hopes to maintain Puerto Rico as an open-shop, low-wage, bosses paradise by such witch-hunting persecutions.

TEXTILE UNION FORCED TO YIELD ON SPEED-UP

The 13-week strike of 15,000 New England textile workers ended July 18 without the 10c. an hour cut the bosses had demanded. This defensive strike of the CIO

Textile Workers Union, however, was not a complete victory. The strikers were forced to make concessions.

Most important of these was on the question of speed-up or stretch-out. In the old contract the work-load could be changed only after approval by the arbitrator which took approximately a year. Under the new contract the company may increase the work-loads pending the arbitrator's subsequent review. Moreover, while the union retained its six paid holidays the company will no longer have to pay time-and-a-half for work performed on three of these holidays; also the escalator clause was dropped.

The cotton-rayon workers were forced out on strike when the company refused to accept the CIO union's proposal of renewing the old contract without changes. This old contract, signed in 1952, had marked a 6½% wage cut. The arrogant mill owners, complaining that New England textile wages were still higher than those in the South, demanded an additional ten cents an hour cut from the workers' meager wages and fringe benefits.

The strike began in mid-April

when two-thirds of the cotton-rayon mills in New England refused to renew the old contract. The one-third that signed up, as well as those mills, employing some 10,000, that settled piecemeal in the course of the long strike, did so with the provision that any concessions granted by the union to the hold-out bosses would automatically be given them.

Textile wages average 14 to 55 cents an hour below wages in other industries in New England. They are already so low that no clear differential exists between them and Southern scales. A New England worker receives on an average \$130 an hour plus nine cents for fringe benefits, according to the mill owners. In a strictly fine-combed cotton mill down South the worker averages \$1.27 an hour, and if the mill is unionized, he gets seven cents in fringe benefits.

The plight of the textile workers is evident: a 6½% wage cut in 1952 and a long, bitter strike in 1955 to prevent a 10 cent an hour cut. Beaten back in their wage-cut offensive, the employers have won an opening to take it out of the workers' hides by a merciless speed-up.

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The Scientists and the H-Bomb

The Militant last week published Albert Einstein's last message to the world. In it he warned that mankind must abolish war or face possible destruction through nuclear weapons. Eight other world famous scientists also signed the statement.

Then on July 15, eighteen Nobel Prize winners in science issued a similar declaration. The eighteen said: "The full employment of weapons feasible today can infect the earth with radioactivity to such an extent that whole peoples can be annihilated. . . All nations must come to a decision to renounce force as a final resort of policy."

The scientific community is speaking up at this time in the hope of prevailing on the Big Four Conference to negotiate a lasting peace.

They hope to find in Eisenhower, Eden, Faure and Bulganin men of reason, whose actions will be guided by the presentation of dispassionate scientific conclusions. Hundreds of millions of war-weary people throughout the world share that hope.

But here is where the scientists make their big mistake. They are addressing their appeal to the wrong people and their pleas fall on deaf ears. Worse. Their appeals allow the warmakers to masquerade as friends of peace.

Thus, on July 15, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden replied to scientist Bertrand Russell, who had asked his opinion about Einstein's message.

Renunciation of nuclear weapons and war itself "is in full accord with the policy

Her Majesty's government has always followed," Eden proclaimed.

What a cynical lie! The government Eden is talking about has always been ready to shed oceans of blood in defense of capitalist profits. It has not changed its ways.

Once the most notorious of imperialist governments, it is now an eager participant in Wall Street's plans to go to war for the sake of world plunder.

It is true that these plans suffered a serious setback at the hands of the Chinese revolution. There is now a stalemate between the capitalist governments and the Soviet bloc — a new world balance of power.

The capitalist warmakers must make longer term preparations and mask these for the time being by a seeming willingness to negotiate differences with the Soviet bloc.

They can therefore make sham agreements with the scientists. But no appeal to reason, no presentation of scientific evidence can deter the capitalist warmakers from their ultimate resort to force.

For mankind to achieve peace, it must change the social and economic system under which it lives.

We socialists take the warnings of the scientists seriously. It spurs us on to struggle with greater determination for the kind of social order in which working people run the government and production is conducted for use and not for profits. Under the world order of socialism peace will be as natural and inevitable as war is under capitalism.

Two of a Kind

Democratic bigwigs are licking their chops over their victory on the Dixon-Yates contract. They see in it a juicy campaign issue for 1956.

The Dixon-Yates contract, Democrats claim, is the "biggest giveaway since Teapot Dome," the famous scandal of the nineteen twenties. By defeating it they believe they can pose as defenders of public over private interests.

It is indeed a fact that the Republican administration was caught red handed in a back stage deal with the utility trusts to knife public power. It is also true that some pretty scandalous use of the FBI was made against the City of Memphis.

But by what right can the Democrats proclaim themselves as champions of the common man in the fight against Big Business? Can their record stand examination on this score? Not at all!

The greatest "giveaways" the country has seen took place during World War II when billions of dollars went out in cost-plus contracts, raising corporation profits to unheard of heights. This is common knowledge.

Yet another "giveaway" of gigantic proportions was kept under cover by collusion of both capitalist parties. It is revealed in this issue of The Militant.

In his article (see page two) Sam Marey reveals the following significant facts: Since World War II under Democratic administrations, and since 1953 under a Republican regime, banks have been col-

lecting payments on government war bonds and investing the funds without giving the government one cent in interest for their use.

Instead of curtailing this "giveaway" after the war the banks were allowed to collect, in addition, payments on withholding taxes and income taxes, railroad retirement taxes and social security funds.

Thus the banks had a huge sum of government funds, estimated as at least \$7 1/2 billion by 1953, available for their use free of charge, for investment.

Banks are private institutions whose aim is to invest their capital for the purpose of reaping profits. Yet they are now using government funds for their own benefit diverting millions from the government treasury.

The banks benefit still further by this arrangement. The Treasury, being temporarily short of funds, was forced to go into the money market and borrow two billions from these same banks, at an agreed upon interest rate. In essence the government is borrowing its own funds but is paying the banks for this privilege. This procedure has the tacit approval of Democrats and Republicans.

In spite of these facts, the Democrats have the gall to raise a hue and cry over Dixon-Yates. Both boss parties have worked diligently to promote private interests at the expense of the country. They will continue to do so notwithstanding the tons of propaganda that will come off their campaign production lines in 1956.

"Give Them an Inch --"

Herbert Brownell's Justice Department is getting ready to launch the offensive against the labor movement that was prepared last year by the passage of the Communist Control Bill of 1954. William F. Tompkins, chief of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, July 7, told some Rotarians in Texas that petitions will soon be filed against some, as yet un-named, organizations as "communist infiltrated." This procedure will deprive that union of legal rights to organize and bargain collectively under the National Labor Relations Act.

The Tompkins announcement left the daily press speculating as to which labor union would be singled out as the first victim. In view of the fact that the witch hunters don't have to prove that a union is "communist dominated" — merely "infiltrated," they could choose almost any union in the country. As a matter of fact, they can suspend NLRB rights for months while mere suspicions of infiltration are investigated.

The broad use that the Communist Control Act can be put to was made clear when Tompkins listed the industries suspected of "infiltration." This list included steel, mining, oil, chemicals, railroads and trucking.

The AFL and CIO both opposed the legislation when it was being prepared by Brownell and the Justice Department. They correctly termed it a "union-busting" measure. Many officials in the labor movement who had illusions that the Democrats would defend labor's rights, were

also shocked when the Democrats, in a wave of witch-hunting fear, capitulated completely to McCarthyite pressure and voted for the Communist Control Bill — even adding an amendment to outlaw the Communist Party.

Now that the "union-busting" is about to begin, the Justice Department is preparing its defense against the charge. Tompkins came up with the absolutely safe prediction: "The left-wing leaders of these unions will without a doubt raise a hue and cry that we are engaging in union-busting."

From there it will be a simple transition to dismiss the charge of "union-busting" as simply self-defense on the part of "communists" or "left-wingers."

The union-busters won't stand a chance of cracking any section of the organized labor movement if the American workers fight back with solidarity in their ranks. But the labor bureaucracy stands in the way. The bureaucrats have tried to buy peace with Big Business by opening the door wide for the witch hunters to enter. They have tried to prove their own "loyalty" by expelling dissident unions and enforcing conformism in their own ranks.

But the labor-hating bosses of this country have only one final goal: They want to run their private profit enterprises without any interference from anyone — including Reuther and Meany. The labor bureaucrats will never succeed in buying peace and security for their own privileged positions. The breaking of so-called "left-wing" unions will be merely a dress rehearsal for Operation Open-shop.

Political Persecution of GI's by Army

By Carl Goodman

A man can be drafted in the Army, serve his full two-year hitch, compile an excellent service record — and then be discharged as "undesirable." For what "crime"? For alleged political opinions and associations before his induction.

The Army set up this type of discharge on June 18, 1954 under regulation 600-220-1 after Joseph McCarthy — then witch-hunter in chief — had accused Army authorities in the Peress case of "coddling Communists."

ROBBED AND BRANDED

The undesirable discharge robs a soldier of mustering-out pay and federal and state veteran's benefits. It brands him as a "subversive" and prevents him from getting federal employment or any kind of job where "loyalty" screening prevails.

Since the regulation went into effect, over a thousand undesirable discharges have been issued or are pending. In the meantime numerous service men and veterans have challenged the provision and are suing for honorable discharges.

In San Francisco alone, the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union has recently appeared on behalf of six inductees who face undesirable discharges. These all deal with alleged political associations prior to induction.

The ACLU has argued that there is no obligation on the Army to induct anyone, but once having taken a person into the Army, any separation should reflect the character of his service. Last December the ACLU won an honorable discharge for a service man on whom the Army was going to apply its "subversive" brand.

Famous Army Discharge



Dr. Irving Peress, honorably discharged army dentist, shown at Senator McCarthy's grand inquisition a year ago. McCarthy's attacks accelerated the army's witch hunt and the stigmatizing of GI's, suspected of pre-induction "Communist" or socialist sympathies, with undesirable discharges.

Here are examples of other cases being contested: In Aberdeen, Washington, Walter Kulich is fighting against having an honorable discharge granted him last January changed to an undesirable discharge. The Army wants to make the change because it claims that Kulich's father is a "Communist." Both Kulich and his father deny the allegation.

"INHERITED" GUILT

Kulich has appealed to Washington State congressmen who demanded a congressional investigation of the "undesirable discharge" program. Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R) has described the Kulich case as "guilt by association, even if there isn't any guilt."

In another case, Charles Marshall, who was beginning a professional baseball career with the St. Louis Cardinals before his induction, has protested the "undesirable discharge" he received at Fort Ord last March.

Among Marshall's "crimes" were the following: He kept copies of the Nation and New Republic in his locker. His mother, Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, "entertained Negroes socially." His father, Daniel G. Marshall, successfully fought as an attorney in the California courts for legalization of mixed marriages and was associated with the defense of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

At induction time, Marshall had refused to answer the loyalty oath required by 1948 regulation or to give information about past political activities. He did so as a matter of principle. This was used as another count against him. The Army specifically grants inductees the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about member-

ship or association in organizations alleged to be subversive. But the Army authorities then punish a soldier who utilizes his constitutional right.

Another soldier contesting an "undesirable discharge" is Roger St. Helen, accused of having attended meetings of the Progressive Party in 1948.

REJECT COMPROMISE

Since February, the Army has again granted a few "general discharges" under honorable conditions" to security cases. In 1948, such discharges, previously issued only to neurotics, misfits or chronic petty offenders, were used to usher "loyalty" cases out of the Army.

Under its provisions, veterans receive mustering-out pay and GI benefits. But this category of discharge carries a stigma, too. It brands the carrier permanently as a "suspect" who has always to explain why he received this type of discharge. It bars him from employment as effectively as an "undesirable discharge."

In their fight against the "undesirable discharge," civil liberties defenders refuse to accept the "general discharge" as a valid compromise. They demand an end to all persecution for political beliefs and associations. They demand nothing short of honorable discharges for service performed in the Army in those cases where the only basis for the undesirable or general discharge is the alleged political past of the serviceman.

... Kohler Cargo Stopped in Wisc.

(Continued from page 1) At the same time, in an effort to placate the union ranks that put his Democratic administration in office, he announced that he would not try to compel city workers to unload the clay. Realizing that the unions meant business, even if Zeidler didn't, the ships hauled anchor and at last report were headed for Montreal.

The Kohler strikers are still engaged in a difficult battle. The Kohler company has a long, bloody, union-busting record. Their determination to maintain sweatshop conditions is matched only by that of the workers to establish decent union conditions in the plant.

In 1934 Kohler smashed an AFL organization strike with mass evictions, injunctions, tear gas and bullets. For twenty bitter years they maintained low wages, an inhuman speed-up and silicosis-breeding working conditions. On April 15, 1954 the Kohler workers, now members of the UAW-CIO, went on strike resolved to stay out until the company understood that its days of sweatshop tyranny were over. They have kept that resolution in the face of an injunction limiting the number of pickets to the point where the company has been able to operate with scab labor.

A major development in the struggle came on April 5, 1955, when the Sheboygan County Farm and Labor League, which they actively supported, ran an independent slate that won the Mayor's office and a majority of the City Council. The first big result of that victory came when Mayor Ploetz ordered the city police to stop the moving of the unloading equipment to the dock.

The inspiring action of the Sheboygan and Milwaukee union movement in blocking the unloading of the clay has, with good reason, evoked a sharp, disturbed reaction from Big Business circles nationally. In a lengthy analysis of the union's victory at the docks, the July 15 Wall Street Journal says, "The union's success may inspire it to similar tactics in the nation's ports against other employers with which it may have future disputes. . . Shippers can see. . . a threat of secondary boycott closing a port though neither the shippers or the dock workers have any direct interest in the dispute."

Despite the victory of the union in this round, the company is maintaining, at least publicly, an arrogant front. After failing to get through the urgently needed clay they announced they would settle only on the basis of their original, miserable contract offer, that drove the workers to strike. They also added to their insulting terms: "No rehiring of strikers discharged by the company, no layoff of present workers to make room for strikers, and the preservation of law and order in Sheboygan and Sheboygan County."

The militancy and tenacity of the Kohler workers and the effective actions of the Sheboygan and Milwaukee union movement is a splendid example and lesson for the national labor movement. They also indicate good prospects that Kohler will wind up filing his "terms" in one of his principal bathroom products.

... JIM CROW TRAVEL

(Continued from page 1) port. Argument before the ICC will center around the report and the exceptions.

The NAACP takes vigorous exception to Hosmer's position that the ICC has no authority over the Union News Company's "white only" restaurant in the Richmond railroad station, which is involved in one of the test cases.

The weirdest argument of the year was put up by the Richmond Terminal Company. It admits to having signs on its waiting rooms designating "Colored" and "White." But, it says, no one is compelled to pay any attention to them. These signs, goes the story, are only for the convenience of travelers of either race to accommodate their desire to be with members of their own race.

Other developments along the segregation front in the South during the past week included

the announcement by the Macon, Georgia, chapter of the NAACP that it would burn its membership lists, if necessary, to protect Negro teachers from losing their jobs. This was in answer to the recent unanimous vote of the Georgia Board of Education to revoke "for life" the teaching licenses of any teachers in the state's public school system who "support, encourage, condone or offer to teach or teach" racially mixed classes. Since many Negro teachers in Georgia belong to the NAACP, which is actively working to bring about school desegregation, the racist Board of Education could consider such teachers' NAACP membership as ipso facto evidence to revoke their teaching licenses.

Another ugly manifestation of deep-rooted white supremacy in Georgia was the refusal of the Atlanta public library board to open the city's main library to Negroes.

... Armistice or Peace?

(Continued from page 1) are negotiating simply for a breathing space which they will try to use to reverse the world relationship of forces in favor of U.S. capitalism.

However, the working people, too, can use the breathing space to inflict further defeats on the system of imperialism. Fresh working class victories would slow down the U.S. government's war drive even more.

What is needed to score these victories is the building of revolutionary parties that can lead the working people to the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of workers and farmers governments in every land.

Then the world-wide triumph of socialism would establish world peace by eliminating forever the capitalist cause of war.

This revolutionary course is not the one the Kremlin pursues. Khrushchev, Bulganin and Zhukov are at Geneva not as the genuine representatives of the working people embattled against imperialism but of the parasitic and oppressive bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

What brings them there is the growing crisis of their bureaucratic rule. The very revolutionary gains that forced imperialism to retreat have also weakened the grips of the Kremlin dictators.

FEAR REVOLUTION

These bureaucrats fear the further spread of the revolution as much as do the imperialists. They aim not to strengthen their prospects at the Geneva bargaining table but to betray it.

The impact of the Chinese revolution on the Soviet masses and the constant growth of Soviet industry despite bureaucratic mismanagement have heightened the self-confidence of the masses. Correspondingly, the role of the privilege-seeking Soviet overlords has become more hateful than ever to the Soviet workers and peasants.

This development was predicted by Leon Trotsky in 1937 in his book The Revolution Betrayed. Trotsky wrote: "The Soviet Union cannot rise to a higher level of culture without freeing itself from . . .

humiliating submission to a caste of usurpers. . . All indications agree that the further course of the development must inevitably lead to a clash between the culturally developed forces of the people and the bureaucratic oligarchy."

The great uprising of the East German workers of June 17, 1953 against the Kremlin rule was a full-fledged confirmation of Trotsky's predictions. The East German workers did not want to return to capitalism. They wanted to eliminate all bureaucratic obstacles to the building of Socialism.

CRISIS SHARPENED

The Soviet bureaucracy stands in dread of new explosions similar to those in East Germany.

The crisis of the Stalinist regime was already manifest before Stalin's death. Since then a crisis of succession has aggravated the more basic dislocation of the bureaucratic rule. The new dictators must jockey and maneuver. They hope by means of a deal with imperialism to safeguard the Soviet frontiers and win a free hand in consolidating their rule against the masses.

For such a "peace" pact, the Soviet bureaucrats eagerly undertake to mislead working class struggles against capitalism wherever they have the power to do so.

But should they succeed in bringing about serious reverses to the world revolution this would again alter the relationship of forces in favor of U.S. imperialism. And this would prompt the U.S. government once again to step up its drive to war.

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World Events

SECOND INTERNATIONAL "SOCIALISTS"

from 30 countries met in London July 12. The Conference opened with a speech by the former Prime Minister of England, Clement Attlee. The distance these people have traveled from revolutionary socialism and the working class could be seen in the debates at the Conference which were a reflection of the conflicting views among the capitalists. Former Defense Minister of France, Jules Moch, called it "idle" to seek motives for the "new" Soviet foreign policy. The former British treasury boss, Hugh Gaitskell, replied that "Russian intentions are at the root of the whole international situation."

TEN THOUSAND TRUCKS

was the price asked by the Nazis for the lives of Hungarian Jews during World War II. Israel's Premier Moshe Sharett reported. The Jewish Agency was unable to meet the price when the Allies turned down the offer. Then followed the systematic murder of Hungarian Jews.

ELECTIONS IN INDO-CHINA?

The long-awaited statement of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam on the elections to be held to reunify Indo-China was issued July 16. Included in the agreement signed in Geneva last year that brought a truce in the civil war in Indo-China, was the future unification of the country through elections in both North and South. Diem, however, announced that the Southern government did not consider itself bound "in any way" by the Geneva agreement. In what amounted to a declaration of intention to unify Indo-China through war instead of elections, Diem said it is up to "us Nationalists to accomplish the reunification of Vietnam." He told the people of the North that "with the agreement and the backing of the free world, the National Government will bring you independence in freedom." Tillman Durdin of the New York Times pointed out July 17 that Britain and France "have been trying to persuade Mr. Diem at least to consult with the Northern regime. The two powers have felt that talks would be evidence of their ad-

herence to the accords and would allow postponement of a final decision until the South was stronger and politically better organized." The North has three million more people than the South. In addition, Durdin admits, "considerable Communist influence remains among the inhabitants of the South." For these reasons the South felt it "had no chance of winning an election." Diem is financed largely by the United States and does the bidding of the U.S. State Department.

THE STALINISTS IN JAPAN

conforming to the prospects of a deal between the Kremlin and the West, have changed their line again. Gordon Walker, correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, reports that the Communist Party of Japan has already announced an end to "left-wing adventurism."

STRIKES ARE TREASON

in South Korea. President Syngman Rhee, U.S. puppet, warned farmers and workers, July 15, that they would be treated as "traitors" if they went on strike. According to Dictator Rhee "those who stage strikes hereafter will be considered as people serving in the Communist interest."

SALAH BE YUSSEF

exiled head of Tunisia's independence movement, the Neo-Destour Party, denounced the "home-rule" agreement with France as "maintaining French rule for an indeterminate period."

ANOTHER H-BOMB WILL BE EXPLODED

this time by the British government, the London Daily Mail reported July 13. The test explosion will be made at sea. "The time and place of the explosion are as yet one of Whitehall's most carefully guarded secrets," the Daily Mail said.

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

meeting in Birmingham, England, voted on July 13 to protest to the British government's refusal to grant visas to two Communist delegates who had been invited as observers from the International Union of Students.

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The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

The Southern Judges Speak

Federal courts in the South have now "acted" twice under the Supreme Court's implementing decision on school desegregation. "Acted" is put in quotation marks because both three-judge courts sanctioned the continuance of the status quo — Jim Crow schools.

Legal tests came sooner in these places — Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va., — because both were among the cases that had gone before the Supreme Court. After its implementation ruling, the high court sent these two cases back to the lower courts for "enforcement."

The "enforcement" rulings of both circuit courts were the same in essence. The South Carolina ruling came first and set the pattern. Here the three judges listened approvingly to the same lawyers who had told the high court that desegregation wasn't possible in South Carolina in the "foreseeable future" or "perhaps until the year 2015." The line these lawyers now took was that the present Jim Crow schools should be okayed for the present and in the meantime the school board would have a survey made by experts of the physical, educational and sociological problems involved in possible desegregation.

Chief attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Thurgood Marshall, opposed this as no desegregation plan at all, especially as there is no hint of how long the

"survey" will take. He asked for a time limit. But here the court absolutely refused to commit itself.

Judge Parker, from the bench, gave a gratuitous lecture, on how desegregation might best be evaded without violating the Supreme Court decision. The high court, he said, "has not decided that the federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the states. It has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools. . . . The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action."

The white-supremacist legal minds of the South are saying in effect, don't declare defiance of the Supreme Court's ruling, accept it as a necessary evil. It can be got around by delaying tactics and interminable litigation to prove that our segregated schools result not from state and local imposition of Jim Crow on the Negro schoolchildren but from "voluntary" segregation by the two races.

But the Negro people are opposed to all segregation and the idea of "voluntary" segregation on their part is ridiculous. To pass off — even in court — the South's brutal Jim Crow as voluntary, would take a lot more than legal trickery. It would take widespread Ku Klux and White Citizen Council terror to silence all voices exposing such a fraud.

No Matter Where They Run

By Fred Hart

When American Safety Razor of Brooklyn ran South to escape union conditions it was a case of wish thinking influencing management judgment.

The big brains of ASR liked the stories of docile Southern labor. The ads of Southern Chambers of Commerce printed in the big city papers looked mighty attractive — they all spelled cheap labor.

The way they had it figured the new move was going to save the company about a million and a quarter annually in wages to say nothing about other benefits previously paid in New York that would be saved.

But the ads and the Southern open-shop promoters didn't tell ASR there was a union danger, and if they did it was only to assure ASR that Southern unions were safe and responsible.

However, no sooner did ASR get its plant in operation in Staunton, Virginia, when a union went into action. The CIO Electrical Workers began to organize the plant.

For shops facing inevitable unionization the Southern open-shop promoters have a secondary line of defense. Certain AFL unions are encouraged to come in and sign contracts known as "sweetheart agreements."

When the CIO campaign began the AFL

International Association of Machinists appeared in the shop competing with the CIO. Both local newspapers came out in support of the IAM; ASR supervisory employees openly took a stand for the IAM; and, the local newspaper attempting to influence some of the more backward workers at ASR reported that IAM was the choice of the company president.

In the course of the campaign the IAM gave the IUE a dose of the same red-baiting tactics the IUE uses against the rival United Electrical Workers (independent) who had the ASR under contract in Brooklyn. Just as IUE red-baits its independent rival it became the target for similar red-baiting from the IAM.

But the red-baiting proved to be of no use to the IAM. It lost heavily to the CIO. What counted with the workers in the ASR plant at Staunton was the plain fact that the ASR wage rates were about 20c an hour less than organized CIO plants of the area. Secondly, the IAM was too close to management to be trusted. And thirdly, a growing awareness is evident among Southern workers that the big differential between Northern and Southern pay scales can be knocked out by union organization.

We venture to predict that ASR is going to wonder pretty soon why they ran away from Brooklyn.

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Defense Witness Is Victimized at Bridges Trial

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18 — The civil trial to strip Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent) of his citizenship, was resumed here last Monday after a two-week recess. Defense Attorney Telford Taylor, former war crimes prosecutor at Nuremberg, brought Bridges to the stand as the first witness for the defense.

The defense established by its examination of Bridges that, while he collaborated with Communists along with all others who were ready to help in the union struggles, he emphatically denied membership in the party.

Bridges is being tried under a provision in the Nationality Act of 1940 which prohibits naturalized citizenship to any "person . . . who believes in, advocates or teaches or is a member of or affiliated with any organization that (believes) in the overthrow of the Government by force and violence."

THOUGHT-CONTROL LAW

Thus the trial is based, to start with, on a thought-control law applied specifically to non-citizens. The government is trying to prove Bridges was a member of the Communist Party at the time he became a naturalized citizen and therefore should be stripped of his citizenship and turned over to the immigration authorities for deportation to his native Australia.

The current trial is the most recent of an interminable series of government actions to deport the longshore union leader. Since 1934, when Bridges played an outstanding part in the famed longshore strike, he has been subjected to no less than one criminal trial, two congressional bills, two deportation hearings, and four other major government investigations.

It is widely felt among West Coast longshoremen of all political beliefs, including the left-wing opponents of Bridges' Stalinist policies, that this record of government persecution is clear evidence of an attempt to weaken and smash one of the most effectively organized and militant sections of the labor movement. That is why the overwhelming majority of the ILWU rank and file are solidly for the defense of Bridges.

BLOWS AT DEFENSE

There is even more than the usual amount of bias and prejudiced conduct of the government in this trial. On Friday, July 15, Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman ruled that the defense evidence, showing that Bridges' conduct through the years was incompatible with Communist Party policy, was inadmissible. Judge Goodman also ruled that "the question as to the relationship of the Communist Party to any union is a collateral issue not before this court."

Defense Attorney Taylor characterized these rulings as requiring the defense to "establish a colossal negative — non-membership."

Other government agencies also cooperated in hamstringing the defense. Frank Jenkins, after testifying in Bridges' behalf, was met in the courtroom corridor by Coast Guard officials who took away his waterfront security clearance pass.

Defense Attorney Richard Gladstein called this action a "foul blow." He said that he had purposely refrained from calling working longshoremen for fear they would be screened from their waterfront jobs. And now, "right in this building," he said, "my worst fears have been realized."

There are moments in the trial when the government attorneys unabashedly reveal their whole thought-control approach to the case. Thus, in the course of Assistant U. S. Attorney Lynn J. Gillard's cross examination of Bridges the idea of the "class struggle" went on trial along with Bridges.

Referring to the great waterfront strikes of the Thirties Gillard asked Bridges, "Didn't you know a 'class struggle' was on?" Bridges replied, "I knew there was a struggle on the waterfront. . . . and I knew which end I was on."

"You knew there was a class struggle?" persisted Gillard, attempting to "trap" Bridges into admitting he believed in the class struggle idea.

"Listen," Bridges answered, "I didn't have to give it any names. We knew what it was." Questions and answers continued in this vein for some time.

The trial is in recess until next Tuesday.

THE MILITANT

1955 Auto Strike Scene



Pictured above are some of the 4,000 Baltimore GM workers who struck last June in protest against failure of new contract to satisfy their grievances. Thousands of other Ford and GM workers did the same during their contract negotiations. Now Studebaker workers have shut down the company's South Bend, Ind., plant to enforce contract layoff provisions. (See story this page.)

UAW WINS MICHIGAN OK ON JOBLESS PAY CLAUSE

The United Auto Workers, CIO, has scored an important advance in making operative the recently negotiated Ford and General Motors supplementary unemployment benefit plans, generally

called the Guaranteed Annual Wage. The Michigan Attorney General ruled July 13 that such benefits paid by employers did not constitute wages and could be collected in the same week as state unemployment compensation. A similar ruling has been issued by the state of Connecticut.

The Michigan decision is of special significance to the union since more than half of the Ford workers and almost half the GM workers are employed in that state. The Connecticut ruling was welcomed by the union in that the laws of that state had been pointed to as being so designed as to exclude the operation of the plan. A number of GM plants are located there.

At the same time as the UAW was registering these gains the National Association of Manufacturers was organizing its forces for a campaign to put an end to employer-paid unemployment benefits. A "workshop" of 600 bosses in the New York area was

"Wildcat" Hits Studebaker for Illegal Layoffs

JULY 20 — The Studebaker plant in South Bend, Ind., remains shut down by a spontaneous walkout that began on July 14. The walkout started with 55 workers on the final assembly line who charge that seniority is being violated in the lay-offs which are taking place.

UAW officials tried to get the men to return to work immediately without success. Then a session with the Studebaker-Packard management similarly failed.

The present "wildcat" strike of the final assembly line men is another bitter fruit of the union's acceptance last August of cuts in wages and working conditions to allow "poor little Studebaker" to improve its "competitive position" in the auto industry. At that time officials of the International and UAW Local 5 pressured the workers into taking these cuts voluntarily. The argument of the "labor statesmen" was that by so doing the workers were saving the company and their jobs.

THE PAY-OFF

First came the wage cuts, which averaged 14%. In March the company invoked the second half of the union's giveaway program. It announced that new work standards were to be put into effect.

What this meant in the form of super speed-up and loss of jobs (the very jobs that the giveaway policy was supposed to save) soon became apparent. The company announced that it would maintain the same rate of production at its South Bend plant (66 cars an hour) with the work force reduced from 10,200 to 8,500. On July 6 layoffs of 1,700 began.

Not content with this, the company violated seniority in the bumping process that takes place when there are large-scale firings. Fed up with the wholesale destruction of their hard-won union conditions, the 55 final assembly men walked out and closed down the plant. The company announced the gates would be open the next day but the 8,500 to 9,000 workers who still have jobs at Studebaker stayed out and are still out at this writing.

There has been a drastic shift of sentiment among the Studebaker workers since they were conned into accepting voluntary wage and work standard cuts last summer.

The Local 5 leadership, which had plugged the giveaway, was

overwhelmingly repudiated at the union election last May. Louis Horvath, who had been president, didn't even dare run again. His group put up a candidate who was advertised as having first opposed the union's retreat and then having gone along reluctantly. It was to no avail. No one connected with the administration that had supported the deal could have been elected to dog catcher.

On July 12 Local 5 took a strike vote over the announced lay-offs that the earlier wage cut was supposed to have prevented. Out of 7,010 ballots cast 82% were for strike.

Thus the new leadership of Local 5 has a clear mandate from the Studebaker workers to conduct themselves militantly. Only this can stop the rapid deterioration in wage and working conditions in Studebaker and recover the ground already lost.

The danger of the union's giveaway policy last summer at Studebaker for wages and conditions in other auto plants can be seen in the current negotiations with the American Motors Corporation. This is another of the "little" auto companies. It is the result of the combine of Hudson, Nash and Kelvinator.

It is now in negotiations with a new contract. With an eye on what Studebaker got from the UAW last summer, it is trying in current negotiations to chisel down long-established wage and working conditions in its plants. Again the argument is that the union must remove "penalties" (company talk for past gains of the 24,000 American Motors workers) to improve the company's "competitive position" with the Big Three auto manufacturers. If this is done, the corporation negotiators imply, then American Motors will accept a settlement along the lines of the Ford and General Motors settlement.

American Motors workers can find out from the Studebaker workers what comes of accepting such company demands. However, the present militant temper of the auto workers has been demonstrated by the "wildcat" strikes accompanying the Ford and GM settlements as well as subsequent shutdowns at Willow Run, Budd Co. and Studebaker.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Visits Louisiana Sugar Strikers

Editor:

The highlight of a trip my husband and I are making through Louisiana came last Monday when we went down to the towns of Gramercy and Reserve. The Colonial Sugar in Gramercy and Godchaux Sugar in Reserve have been on strike for 13 weeks. You probably read something about the strikes in the paper. Both plants are organized by the CIO Packinghouse Workers. We went there to see how they were getting along.

We went to Gramercy first. It's a town of about 2,000 or so. We drove by the refinery and there weren't any pickets there — just a State Police car and what looked like a few deputy marshals. We didn't see any union headquarters around so we stopped and asked an old man by the road how to get to the union headquarters.

When we got to it there were a whole bunch of cars and quite a few people outside. Inside there was a good sized room where the meetings were held and then a smaller room. There were quite a few men lined up outside the office, white and Negro in line together. These towns are about 45 miles up the Mississippi from New Orleans. It was about 8:30 A.M. when we got there. We went into the meeting room and a young man in his early twenties came up and introduced himself.

My husband told him he was a packinghouse worker in Chicago and was on vacation in Louisiana and had come down to see how they were doing. The young man said he would get the union president.

The president came and he was very glad to see us. As we sat there talking to him a bunch of men brought up chairs and joined in the conversation. The young

man who had greeted us at first did quite a bit of talking and we liked him a lot. He seemed to be a fire-ball. We had only been there about 10 minutes when a man came up and the president introduced him as the vice-president.

He told us that he was on the way home when he met the man we had asked directions from and he told him that a man and woman from out of state were looking for the union headquarters and he had come back to see what it was all about. They told us that there were about 800 to 850 union members out from Colonial and so far not one single man had crossed the line. The company had gotten a court restraining order there that prevented any picketing at all and they hadn't even had a token line since the week before. Still no local person had crossed over.

They estimated there were about 150 scabs in the plant, they were brought in by bus mostly from Leesville and LaCompte. The company had said the preceding Friday that they were getting out about two million lbs. of sugar. (With the 850 men at work the average production was about 2 1/2 million lbs. a day.) The company, of course, was implying that they didn't care how long the men stayed out. Then on Saturday they went through town with a sound truck asking anyone to come to work on Monday.

The company had made house calls to all the strikers asking them to come back to work, but not one did. The solidarity was wonderful. The leadership was impressive too, there wasn't that gap you feel in most unions nowadays between the rank and file and the leadership.

The most important victory that has been won in both these locals, Gramercy and Reserve, is the breaking of the color line. And the women of the town are

and all the other misery before we can have socialism?"

Just one more thing before closing. I got a hold of a paper that is published by some outfit that calls itself Common Sense of Union, New Jersey. It says that it is anti-Communist, but every article is anti-Jewish. Communism and all the world's troubles are placed at the foot of the Jews for their own gains. It reads worse than Hitler. Can you comment on this?

L. S. Chicago, Ill.

[We are familiar with the native fascist paper L. S. refers to. It is typical of a whole host of Jew-hating, anti-Negro papers published locally in almost every section of the U.S. Along with the others, it was an enthusiastic supporter of Senator McCarthy. It has long been a supporter of Gerald L. K. Smith. It is gratifying to note that a New Jersey rabbi, labelled by this hate sheet, recently won a legal judgment of \$30,000 against it. — Ed.]

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