

May Day 1955 -- The Fight For "30-for-40"

An Editorial

May Day, the international workers' holiday, originated in 1886 in the struggle of the American working class for an eight-hour day. Let us remember that this struggle was led by radicals — socialists and anarchists — who saw the fight for a shorter working day as part of the fight to end capitalism and bring a better society into being.

Let us also remember that the leaders of the eight-hour movement were murdered by the American capitalist class. On May 1, 1886, 80,000 workers demonstrated in Haymarket Square, Chicago, for the eight-hour day. A police provocation was used to end the demonstration in blood and as a pretext to frame-up and to hang the outstanding leaders of the Chicago movement — Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fisher.

Today a new slogan is being raised for a shorter work week — thirty-hours work at forty-hours pay! Hundreds of thousands of workers are beginning to see 30-for-40 as the answer to their most pressing problems.

The productivity of the American working class has been shooting upward at a terrific rate because of mechanization, automation — and speed-up. The workers see no good reason why they should work themselves out of jobs. On the contrary they feel that if there is less work, because of increased productivity, then the workers should simply work less hours — without any decrease in their take-home pay. This idea is revolutionary.

Like all revolutionary ideas it is very simple. How can there be any argument with the idea that workers and their families should not suffer a decline in their living standards as a result of an increase in their productive power? Nevertheless 30-for-40 will meet with the most ferocious resistance from the American capitalist ruling class who own the factories, mines, mills and railroads. The capitalists run the factories for their private profit, not for the good of society as a whole, and certainly not for the good of the working class.

The system of private profit production is diametrically opposed to the idea of 30-for-40. Private profit production needs an army of unemployed and periodic economic depressions to wipe out weaker competitors. Capitalism without unemployment is like war without killing.

So two colossal forces are heading for a showdown struggle over this issue. The American working class will win in this struggle. And with its victory will come the end of the insane capitalist system with its wars and depressions.

But for this the American workers need a new leadership. A leadership that knows the enemy to be capitalism and dedicated to the struggle for socialism.

Einstein's Death Great Loss to All Mankind

On April 18 Albert Einstein, aged 76, one of the scientific titans of all times, and a stalwart enemy of the thought controllers, died in Princeton, N. J.

Einstein's genius was recognized when, at the age of 26, he published his "Special Theory of Relativity." High honors were heaped upon him in his native Germany.

But Einstein was not an ivory-tower scientist. As a pacifist he opposed imperialist World War I and suffered unpopularity and ostracism.

In 1915 he produced his "General Theory of Relativity" with the famous formula $E=mc^2$ — the key to the atomic age.

Einstein's genius lay in the synthesizing quality of his mind. He achieved a synthesis of seemingly separate and contradictory developments in scientific knowledge in the fields of physics, mathematics, geometry, dynamics, astronomy and electromagnetism. This synthesis required new concepts and formulas uniting space, time, matter and energy. From Einstein's work man now has a tremendously greater comprehension of the universe.

According to George Bernard Shaw, only eight scientists in all history were intellectual peers of Einstein. And only two of these — Pythagoras and Newton — did what Einstein did — synthesize the sum total of scientific knowledge of their time.

Einstein, who was both a Socialist and a Jew, made his home in the U.S. after fascism triumphed in Germany. During the second imperialist war, he communicated to Roosevelt the feasibility of an atom bomb because he feared Hitler's scientists would produce it. He hoped U.S. possession of the bomb would forestall its use by Germany. When it was wantonly used on the defenseless people of Hiroshima, after the defeat of Germany, he was filled with horror.

Since then Einstein's public activities fell into two categories. First, he tried to restrain the U.S. militarists, who were threatening World War III, by warning of the danger of destruction of life on the globe from radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere. Second, he boldly spoke out against the political repressions and witch hunt which are poisoning the atmosphere of this country.

On June 11, 1953, he defied a Senate Investigating Committee by publicly writing to a subpoenaed schoolteacher: "Every in-



ALBERT EINSTEIN

tellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e. he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

Einstein's influence undoubtedly has had much to do with the courage displayed by U.S. scientists against the witch hunters and thought-controllers.

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Govt. Supports Race Haters In School Desegregation Stall

Labor Rallies In South to Aid Strikers

April 19 — The mounting anger of the Southern working class at efforts to break the strike of 50,000 telephone workers and 25,000 railroad workers boiled over in a sympathy walk-out of 20,000 to 30,000 steel workers in Birmingham, Alabama. For a day Birmingham — "Pittsburgh of the South" — was on the brink of a general strike. It was prevented only by CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald, who ordered the men back into the mills.

For three weeks the temper of unionists in the South has been rising at the arrogance of the Bell Telephone Co. and the Louisville and Nashville and other struck railroads. Southern workers recognize the importance of these strikes for the future of unionism in the South.

Just prior to the sympathy walk-out of the steel workers two incidents occurred. In Birmingham police brutally clubbed away picket lines to bring in scabs. In Montgomery, Alabama, a "special agent" of the strike-bound Western Railroad shot and killed Samuel Jones, an elderly, retired railroader who had just walked away from the picket line. It is reported that the murderer was immediately flown out of the area.

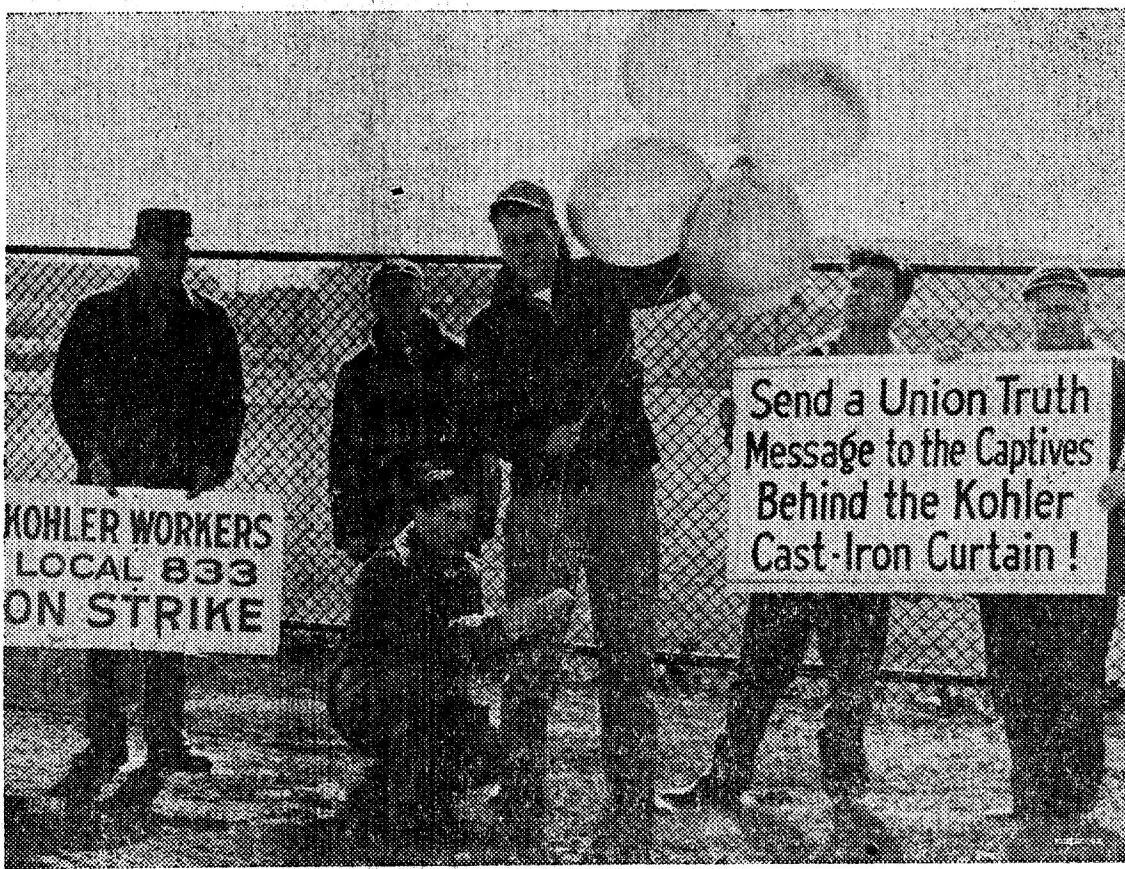
SYMPATHY STRIKE

On the evening of April 14 the steel walkout began at the giant Fairfield mill (U.S. Steel.) Next day, according to the United Press, 30,000 steel workers were on a sympathy strike. Another 50,000 were expected to come out. Steel District Director R. E. Farr predicted that all operations would be halted and that every business in Birmingham, hiring CIO workers, would feel the sympathy strike. At the same time two operating Railroad Brotherhoods, which are not on strike but whose members have refused to cross the picket lines of the non-operating unions, announced that they were joining the walkout. This brings the number of rail strikers to about 30,000.

McDonald has succeeded in forcing the members of his union back to work in this instance, but the conditions which excite the sympathy of all union men in the South haven't changed. Southern Bell is flying in scabs from as far away as Cleveland, Ohio. Almost every night there is violence in downtown Birmingham as the steel-town cops smash into the picket lines with a convoy of scabs. Similarly, the struck railroads are trying to operate with scabs and armed guards.

Scab incompetence has resulted in derailments, ruining of equipment and a fatal accident at a grade crossing where a scab train approached without flagging and at an unsafe speed.

The Fight For Freedom Begins at Home



The pickets at Gate 7 of the Kohler plant at Kohler, Wis., make their own use of the State Department propaganda device of "freedom balloons." They have been on strike for one year and refuse to give up the fight for freedom against the open-shop "Baron" Kohler. The pickets are from left to right: Leroy Post, Chris Kunstman, John Greiner, Frank Bunzel, Ted Jonasen and Bill Zimmer.

KOHLER STRIKERS SOLID AFTER ONE YEAR; WIN CITY ELECTION VICTORY

By James E. Boulton

SHEBOYGAN, WISC., April 15 — A victory of major importance for American labor was scored by the 3,000 striking Kohler workers on the First Anniversary of their magnificent battle against labor-hating "Bathtub Baron," Herbert Kohler of Kohler, Wisconsin. On April 5, 1955, the Sheboygan County Farm and Labor Political League won an inspiring victory at the polls, electing a mayor and a majority of the city council.

An enthusiastic statement of the full executive board of CIO declared: "One year ago today the Kohler strike began. For 365 days the members of Local 833 have fought with courage and determination for economic justice. For 8,760 consecutive hours the men and women who work at Kohler Company have manned their posts on the picket lines. We commend them for their steadfastness.

"Discipline is good. Morale is high. The executive board of Local 833 extends its highest praise to each and every member of the union, their wives and families.

"We extend our thanks to the many union people throughout the country — AFL, CIO, and Independent — who continuously support our strike through cloth-

ing drives, financial assistance and moral support."

CAN'T BREAK UNION

Allan Graskamp, President of Local 833, returning from a thunderous ovation at the recent UAW Convention, stated: "This company cannot break our union, despite its tear gas and injunctions. We do not make bathtubs. Our ranks are as solid as the first day of the strike, and the support we have received from all over the country has provided us with the margin for victory. Eventually Kohler Co. must sit down and negotiate. We will stay on strike until we get a decent contract."

Graskamp and the executive board are conveying the feeling of determination of the Kohler workers, their families, and a greater part of the Sheboygan

Cable to Bandung

Puerto Rico's Independence party cabled the Bandung Asia-Africa Conference declaring that "Puerto Rico lives under a colonial rule imposed by the United States since 1898." Wall Street's stooges at the Conference have been extolling the virtues of U.S. imperialism. (See articles on the Bandung Conference, pages three and four.)

County population. Nothing so sharply manifested this spirit as the decisive outcome of the vigorous election campaign dominated by the strike.

ELECTION VICTORY

Striking workers were among the 12 of 16 elected candidates of the Farm and Labor Political League in the City of Sheboygan and eight of ten elected in the Town of Sheboygan (the area outside the city limits). Capitalist newspapers noted the clear-cut triumph of a FLPL Mayor, Rudolph Plotz.

The label — "Labor-endorsed candidate" — has lost much of its meaning throughout the country as a result of the AFL and CIO leaders pinning it on any Democratic candidate, no matter how luke-warm he is towards labor. But the Farmer Labor Political League candidates that were elected in the Sheboygan campaign are really committed to labor and the strike against "Baron" Kohler.

The credit for the April 5 victory belongs to the Kohler workers whose intervention in the political life of the community began shortly after the strike started. The newly-elected administration and council majority come into office under the strike banner and bound by the union's objectives — For Victory in the Strike! Down with the Baron!

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Danger Seen that High Court Will Deliver A Toothless Decision

By John Thayer

Argument before the U.S. Supreme Court April 11-14 was supposed to have been on the best and quickest ways and means of putting into effect the court's decision of

May 17, 1954 that school segregation of Negro children was a violation of the constitution.

The legal representatives of the Southern states, the border states and the federal government, however, seemed to be arguing how not to put the original decision into effect and why no date for its enforcement be set. Only the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People advocated actually enforcing the decision and the setting of a date, after which segregation of Negro school children would be a violation of the law. The date suggested by the NAACP attorneys was September 1955 or, at the latest, September 1956.

This would not mean that school segregation would end by those dates, but simply that after those dates Jim Crow schools would be in clear violation of the Supreme Court decision and Negro parents and school children could take court action on that basis.

TIME LIMIT CRUCIAL

Thurgood Marshall, director of the NAACP's legal staff pointed out that setting a time limit was the heart of the question of enforcement of the original decision. He reminded the court that throughout the South opponents of desegregation had been telling the people that the May 17, 1954 decision was meaningless unless a time limit was set.

Every one of the dozens of lawyers representing Southern states, border states, the District of Columbia and the Eisenhower administration pleaded with the justices not to set a definite date.

This was expected from the Deep South states. It was a bit surprising from the border states

and the District of Columbia, where some desegregation has already taken place. When the weight of the federal government was thrown behind the argument by U.S. Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff it became apparent that all the representatives of government in the courtroom were in a united front against the Negro people.

Moreover, most of the arguments urged that the Supreme Court leave the details of desegregation to federal district courts. They should determine, it was claimed, whether the local school boards were approaching the "problem" in good faith. These district courts are of course, in the Jim Crow areas and subject to pressure of those areas.

Also, most of the judges of these courts share the prejudices of the Southern master race. They could very "honestly" render an opinion that a plan for desegregation in 50 to 100 years, submitted by a local school board, was in "good faith" on the grounds that this was soonest that desegregation was feasible in that area.

MAYBE BY 2015

Attorney S. E. Rogers, representing the Clarendon, South Carolina, school board, told the Justices: "But we do wish to work within the framework of that [May 17, 1954] decision. This involves a change of attitudes and those attitudes will have to be changed slowly."

He then said that perhaps by the year 2015 the change might have come about. Undoubtedly there are some U.S. district judges in the South who would agree with Attorney Rogers and would

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TEXTILE WALKOUT HITS AT WAGE CUTTING PLAN

APRIL 19 — Twenty-five thousand striking CIO Textile workers shut down 23 mills in New England on April 16 rather than accept a 10¢ an hour cut in wages and/or fringe benefits.

The strike has been looming for some time as the textile companies displayed a "get-tough" attitude. In 1951 they had succeeded in getting the union to accept wage cuts averaging 6 1/2%. CIO Textile leaders prepared for the contract expiration this year by calling a conference which decided to ask for no wage increases but merely renewal of the existing contracts.

"In our opinion, the action of our conference was labor-saves-

manship of the highest order; indeed it was so heralded in the public press." TWU-A-CIO President Emil Rieve has since complained.

In any event, the pattern-setting companies in New England refused to renew the existing contracts. They demanded another cut of ten cents an hour one way or another. Their final proposals included reducing paid holidays from six to one, abolition of premium pay for holidays, drastic reduction of vacations, drastic reductions in an already meager welfare plan, scuttling of retirement severance pay, crippling of seniority and emasculating of all protection against excessive work-loads.

As the midnight April 15 deadline approached the united front of the employers was broken by the 37 mills renewing the old contract. These, however, employ only about one-third of the 40,000 cotton-rayon workers involved. Sixty companies, owning 23 mills and employing 25,000, stood tough.

Two days after the walkout the union drew up a set of demands including restoration of the 6 1/2% wage cut of 1952. Textile wages in New England average \$1.30 an hour, 14 to 55 cents an hour less than average wages in other local industries. A survey of 16 New England textile mills shows a wage range of \$1.25 to \$1.37 an hour. A survey of 16 Southern mills shows a range of \$1.29 to \$1.34, with the average also at \$1.30.

Ten-Cent "Friends of Labor" in Washington

By George Lavan

As Senate hearings on minimum wage laws opened, liberal Democrats, elected with the aid of union funds and campaign workers, showed great readiness to trim down the AFL and CIO demand for a \$1.25 an hour minimum.

The present scandalously low minimum wage of 75 cents an hour is due to be increased by this Congress. The vital question is how much. In his message to Congress on its opening day, Eisenhower called for a 90 cent minimum. The labor movement had unanimously been agitating for \$1.25. Before election liberal Northern Democrats appeared quite friendly to the \$1.25 proposal. After election their fervor cooled considerably and now only lip service is given to the \$1.25 demand.

True, a bill for \$1.25 was introduced by Senator Lehman (D-N.Y.) when Congress opened. But little has been heard about it since. Most talk from Northern Democrats is about how much that demand should be whittled down. It appears that the "friends of labor" in Congress have decided to go Eisenhower's 90 cents, ten cents better and will vote for a bill for a \$1.00 minimum.

Thus Senator Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), one of labor's ten-cent "friends," who is chairman of the Senate Labor subcommittee conducting the hearings, made it clear that \$1.25 is 25 cents more than he will recommend, because it would be "quite a shock to industry."

AFL President George Meany appeared before the committee and urged a \$1.25 minimum,

bringing millions of more workers under the law (only about one-half of U.S. wage-earners are covered by the law) and a 35-hour work week. As the New York Times reporter put it: "There was no specific interest shown in the AFL president's proposal of a 35-hour week."

The administration bill for a 90 cent minimum also includes provisions for extending minimum wage coverage to 2,200,000 retail and service workers. This seeming extension of the law, however, is a phoney. The minimum wage law is also a maximum hour law. At present workers covered get a minimum of 75 cents plus time-and-a-half overtime after 40 hours. The Eisenhower "extension" to retail and service workers, whose hours traditionally run 44, 48 and 54 hours a week, would exempt

their employers from the time and a half for overtime provision. That is, it would exempt 2,100,000 of the 2,200,000 to whom the scanty protection of the minimum wage law is to be "extended."

When the present 75 cent minimum was set in 1949, the House Labor Committee called it inadequate. Since 1949 the cost of living, especially for workers living on low standards, has greatly increased as have social security deductions and state and local taxes. Moreover, man-hour productivity has risen substantially. The cumulative effect of these rises in living costs and productivity would necessitate a rise in the minimum wage to \$1.06 just to maintain the proportions of the 75 cents set in 1949 (which the House Labor Committee said was inadequate).

Senator Douglas' argument that a \$1.25 minimum would be too great a shock to industry is disproven by the facts. In 1949 the minimum was raised from 40 cents to the present 75 cents — a total of 35 cents. The annual report of the Secretary of Labor at the end of 1950 stated that prices in the industries affected had not risen as a result and that "dislocations in industry . . . proved very temporary in nature."

U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics show that in New Orleans, the cheapest city to live in covered by the government cost-of-living survey, the breadwinner for a family of four must each year earn a "necessary minimum" of \$1.95 an hour for 50 full weeks of 40 hours to maintain his family in "health" and "self-respect." Yet "friend of

labor" Douglas will only recommend one-half that.

And all the other liberal Democrats have given the nod to the \$1.00 recommendation. This includes Sen. Lehman and those who went through the unenthusiastic motion of tossing a \$1.25 bill in the legislative hopper.

This doesn't mean that a \$1.00 minimum will be passed. The Southern wing of the Democrat Party will have the final say on this point. The South is the section of the country where the skinflint bosses would be most affected. A fixed fight may be in the offing in Congress. This would allow the Northern Democrats to go before the voters in 1956 as "gallant but defeated" fighters for labor. At the same time the Southern Democrats would keep their starvation minimum-wage level.

The American Way of Life

A Real Hero

Dr. Jonas E. Salk is the country's new hero — and a fitting one. Millions of parents are grateful to the scientist for developing a vaccine that will eliminate infantile paralysis to the extent of 80 to 90%.

This means a big load of fear removed from parents during the summer months, when polio, the killer and maimer of children, strikes with no previous warning.

What kind of a man is Dr. Salk? Newspapermen have devoted many pages to his portrayal. They write of him with a certain wonderment. They cant quite fit him in the usual pattern of a success story. For Salk is no glory seeker. Like all genuine men of science he lives for his work.

The N. Y. Times says of Dr. Salk, "In the development of his vaccine he frequently worked eighteen hours a day, sometimes twenty-four. But although he pressed the development, he refused, as a scientist, to sacrifice thoroughness for speed."

"If Dr. Salk had had his way, no word of discovery would have been published until the vaccine had been tested thoroughly. When the news came out in the spring of 1953, he rushed to New York to see that the press did not overstate the matter."

Perhaps the clue to his personality is that he is a cold, unfeeling, dehumanized man? This is the prejudiced view of scientists.

No. A psychiatrist friend does describe him as "one of the clearest most deliberate thinkers I've ever known. He has great emotional stability." But he is not unfeeling.

Telling of his first test inoculations including those of his three children, Dr. Salk said, "When you inoculate children with a polio vaccine, you don't sleep well for two or three months."

Now that his vaccine has proved a success, offers of wealth have showered on him. According to the Apr. 15 N. Y. Post, three major film studios want to film his life. Use of his name for all kinds of products have been proposed to Salk. But the young scientist wants no part of these offers.

He wants to get back to work to make the vaccine 100% successful. After that there are other diseases to conquer. He looks upon his moment of fame as an interruption. "I have no intention whatsoever of changing my way of life," he says. "When the storm passes over, the sun will shine again."

"How," he added, "can I possibly get back to continue a job that needs to be done in this or any other area by suddenly changing and becoming the person I never set out to be?"

And this personal attitude of service to the community is also expressed in his social views. "Who owns the patent to the polio vaccine?" asked Edward R. Murrow of Salk in a TV interview. "Why not one," said Salk in surprise, "except perhaps the people. Would you try to patent the sun?"

Carl Goodman

... Kohler Strike Solid

(Continued from page 1)

A new pattern of development for labor political action committees has unfolded in the crucial Kohler contest which shows the power potential of an independent Labor Party in America. The "unique" quality of the Sheboygan election is reluctantly admitted by the labor officialdom.

On the First Anniversary, Kohler workers have demonstrated their staying power and fighting tenacity, their ability to sustain spirited picketing in full force at all gates, and in the streets if necessary. This has been done in the face of arrests, wholesale discharges, illegal firing of ninety strike-leaders, armed company thugs, and the sinister threats of a blood-stained management.

Thousands of union militants from every industrial community in Wisconsin demonstrated their readiness to act on April 25, 1954, when a caravan of 700 cars, four and one-half miles long, surrounded the plant and jammed the County.

The Kohler management, which killed and injured scores of workers and evicted hundreds from their homes in the 1934 strike, still shows only contempt for any formula offered for collective bargaining.

KOHLER'S ALLIES

The Eisenhower administration, ignoring the pleas of the strikers and the findings of unfair labor practices on the part of the Kohler Co. by the administration's own National Labor Relations Board, has given Kohler a \$2,000,000 contract.

HELP NEEDED

As of April 5, 1954, 3,000 angry Kohler workers and their families have been fighting the good fight for a whole year on the front-line of labor's war of justice, dignity, greater security, and a better future. The growing severity of their sacrifice demands an enlarged sharing of responsibility by every able worker in America for the care and support of these splendid unionists. Mobilization of public support on a dramatic scale, of all union men and their families, of the students, and progressive citizens is in order.

A program of popular relief enterprises, public assemblies, and organization of mass concentrations of labor battalions in Wisconsin to do duty at Kohler is now on the order of the day.

We salute the Kohler labor fighters on the second May Day of their heroic struggle. We call upon every socialist and union-conscious worker to give the fullest support to Local 833, UAW-CIO in its war against the Kohler tyranny.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum
May Day Celebration
Sat., April 30, at 8:30 P. M.
Religion: Its Origins, Social Function and Future
Friday, May 6, at 8 P. M.
The American Labor Leaders
Friday, May 13, at 8 P. M.
At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

Battle For Montgomery Ward

By Sam Marcy

Nowhere throughout the length and breadth of this land is the exalted spirit of the so-called free enterprise system better exemplified than in the keen but friendly competition between such giant department stores as Gimble and Macys. Their well-known slogans such as, "Nobody, but nobody can undersell Gimble's," and, "It's smart to be thrifty at Macys" have become legendary. The competition between the two has inspired the well-known colloquialism, "Does Macys tell Gimble's?"

Yet the bald truth of the matter is that Gimble and Macys, along with other luminaries in the retail trade field, such as Allied Stores, May Department Stores, Sears-Roebuck & Co., and others, are mere satellites in the orbit of the Lehman Bros.-Goldman-Sachs & Co. financial dynasty. This is not to say that the competition between these stores is phony. On the contrary it is real. But it is the competition of vassals, within the estate of the financial overlord.

When the war between the House of Morgan and Sewell Avery broke out, it appeared that the golden opportunity had arrived for the Lehman Bros.-Goldman-Sachs banking group to intervene. For unquestionably, this banking group is the leader in the merchandising field. If it could draw Montgomery Ward, the second largest mail-order establishment in the U.S. into its financial orbit, it would make its empire solid and integrated. It is the dream of every oligarchy to carve out for itself a single, exclusive and fixed sphere of industry as a base for its operations.

LEHMAN EMPIRE

The Lehman man has been plotting this for several years, but was not in a position to openly intervene in the conflict between the Morgans and Sewell Avery by offering Avery the financial services which the Morgans had rendered in the previous years. The plan of the Lehman, however, collided sharply, not only with those of the Morgans, but more directly with those of the Rockefeller's.

For while the Lehman are still in the stages of attempting to build an integrated empire on the basis of fabulous profits made from New Deal politics, the Rockefeller are in the stage of having long ago passed the period of integrating their "oil" empire, and in their current bitter struggle with the House of Morgan, must expand into other fields, or "diversify their holdings," as they say in the jargon of Wall Street.

ROCKEFELLER STOOGES

The announcement of Mr. Endter's name, however meant that the Rockefeller interests

"Partners"



Pres. Dave Beck (left) of the AFL Teamsters signs contract covering Montgomery Ward employees as Company chief Sewell Avery looks on. Beck said the union would use its Montgomery Ward stock holdings to back Avery's fight to maintain control of the mail order empire.

Thus all during the past several months, when Wolfson was noisily campaigning among the small Montgomery Ward stockholders for support, Sewell Avery continually kept bombarding him with this question, "Who are your real financial backers?"

Wolfson's campaign reached a climax, when he arrived in Los Angeles March 3rd, and announced that E. W. Endter would be a candidate for the Board of Montgomery Ward on the slate of opposition directors, headed by Wolfson.

Now, the purpose of announcing a slate of directors, is to induce the stockholders to vote for the slate that presumably has the most "respectable" and "reputable" personalities. In the case of a proxy fight where the big oligarchies are involved, these are usually "front men" — mere stooges, with glittering reputations.

Thus, when Wolfson had previously announced that he had named Frank Leahy, ex-Notre Dame coach as a nominee for his slate on the Board of Directors, it was the usual trick to garner the votes of small stockholders who are familiar with the football feats of the former Notre Dame coach.

The announcement of Mr. Endter's name, however meant that the Rockefeller interests

had come out into the open, and revealed that Wolfson was merely their stooge. For Endter is the president of the California Oil Co. This is not a company that is merely under the influence of the Rockefeller's. It is a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of California and directly owned by the Rockefeller family. Mr. Endter has not only been with California Standard for 30 years, but is a director of three of its subsidiaries, and a member and director of the National Petroleum Institute, to boot.

Endter's candidacy for Board of Directors on the Wolfson slate, must have caused consternation, not only in the House of Morgan, the House of Lehman, and Sewell Avery, but among a large coterie of big Montgomery Ward stockholders, who saw in Endter's candidacy on the Wolfson slate, an unmistakable sign of the triangular war between the Morgans, Rockefeller's, and Lehman's.

Within a matter of hours following the announcement, Mr. Endter's big boss, R. G. Folliis, Chairman of Standard Oil of California, was bombarded with phone-calls regarding the "candidacy, according to the N. Y. Times of March 8th. But all that Folliis permitted himself to say was that some calls "were approving," and "some were disapproving."

The next day, however, Endter announced that "he had been forced to resign" as president of California Oil Co. and had consequently lost a \$50,000 pension, which would have been due him soon. Endter explained that Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward's chief competitor had put so much pressure on Standard Oil of California, that he was obliged to leave his job with Standard, but would stick with Wolfson to the end.

DOUBLE MOTIVE

There was a double motive behind Standard's "ouster" of Endter from the oil concern. The Rockefeller's reckoned that they had over-reached themselves, and gone out too far into the open in their struggle with the Morgans and Lehman's.

By getting Endter to "resign," they were able to withdraw into the shadows again while their stooges, Endter and Wolfson continued the fight in the open. (It is preposterous to believe that Endter, a mere official of Standard Oil would risk 35 years of connections with the Rockefeller's and a \$50,000 a year pension to boot, because of his personal loyalty to Wolfson.)

The second motive has to do with throwing the onus of Endter's "ouster" onto the Lehman group and force them out into the open. When Endter "resigned" from his job he also charged that Sears had put pressure on Standard Oil to have him resign from the Wolfson slate, thereby showing Sears' open favor for Sewell Avery's slate.

But why would Sears, a competitor of Montgomery Ward, be interested in favoring Avery over Wolfson?

Because Sears is a satellite in the Lehman-Goldman-Sachs banking combine, and they hope to win over Avery, who is in a struggle with the Morgans (as we showed last week) and thus get Montgomery Ward into their orbit.

This was confirmed shortly after Endter's "resignation," when Sears' holding company, Allstate Insurance, announced it would vote its block of 8,000 shares for Avery.

Whoever wins the Montgomery Ward proxy fight scheduled for April 22, it will not be Avery or Wolfson — for they are mere pawns.

The capitalist newspapers, however, are sure to play up one of the stooges as the "great victor" while carefully hiding the identity of the real powers in the contest.

[Sixth of a series. Watch for next installment on "The Monopolies' Struggle Over Atomic Energy."]

... Desegregation Stall

(Continued from page 1)

accept a "desegregation" plan based upon such a perspective.

In any event a Supreme Court decree leaving the timing and the ways and means of desegregation up to district courts would mean rendering the May 17, 1954 decision completely toothless. The plans of the white supremacists to bog desegregation down in myriad lawsuits would be made a thousand times easier. Moreover the lawsuits against school boards by Negro children would not be judged on the clearest issue of whether they were being illegally kept in Jim Crow schools, but on the basis of whether the local authorities were approaching desegregation "in good faith" and as rapidly as could be "reasonably" expected.

"INDEFINITE DELAY"

Thurgood Marshall, chief of the NAACP legal staff told the court that if integration is left completely up to the district courts to decide then the Negroes in this country would be in a horrible state. He described the course advised by the Southern states' lawyers as one of "indefinite delay and local option."

U.S. Solicitor General Sobeloff's intervention in the case was most ominous. As the voice of the administration, his arguments undoubtedly carry more weight than those of the representatives of the five states involved or those present as friends-of-the-court.

His line was obviously prepared with care and was a masterpiece of double talk. It carefully avoided the crude racist formulations that studded the arguments of the other opponents of prompt enforcement.

While he was objecting to the setting of a date for enforcement, he intertwined it with generalities in praise of promptness and pious admonitions against local officials "dragging their feet." While he was urging that the district courts be put in charge of

enforcement, he declared that a "bona fide advance toward the goal of desegregation" was desired.

Just how prompt and bona fide the efforts of Southern school boards to desegregate will be was made very clear by the lawyers who preceded Solicitor Sobeloff.

For example, Texas Attorney General Ben Sheppard had told the courtroom: "Texas has its own Negro people, but Texans want to educate them as they please." Robert Figg of South Carolina warned there could be no integration "in the foreseeable future" in his district. The Florida Attorney General warned that any degree of speed in integration might result in violence.

Sobeloff urged a "flexible" decree, that would not "ride roughshod" over the people of the communities affected. By "people" he obviously means only white people.

COURT SHOWS INTEREST

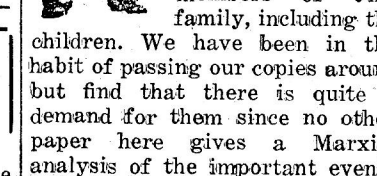
Disturbingly enough, the court displayed great interest in Sobeloff's line of argument. Chief Justice Earl Warren asked him to prepare for the court a sample decree embodying his suggestions.

The Supreme Court is very sensitive to public opinion on the school segregation issue. Asian hatred for American Jim Crow played a great role in the court's original decision. This factor still weighs heavily with the court. However, the propaganda barrage of the Southern Governors and racist legislators has grown increasingly effective. Moreover, the Eisenhower administration has thrown its weight into the scales against prompt and effective enforcement.

It is up to the Negro people and the labor movement to make it known in no uncertain terms that the Court has ruled school segregation unconstitutional and they expect and demand that the ruling be put into effect not in 2015 or in 1980 but now.

THE MILITANT ARMY

In this week's mail came a letter from one of Robin Hood's descendants — at least there's no reason to believe he isn't a descendant of the famous outlaw, or at least of one of his merry men. For he lives in Sherwood, Nottingham, England.



He writes, "The Militant is always welcomed by all the members of the family, including the children. We have been in the habit of passing our copies around but find that there is quite a demand for them since no other paper here gives a Marxist analysis of the important events of the day."

But it isn't only from abroad that we get enthusiastic messages from Militant readers. From all over the U.S.A. friends are still writing in to congratulate the Militant on its super-successful conclusion of the Press Fund campaign. V. R. Dunne writes from Minneapolis, "Inspiring in deed! That's how we feel about the wind-up of the campaign. It is, I believe, a record for fund campaigns during the last period." Even after the campaign was officially ended, Allentown, which had been in second place, with 119%, on the final scoreboard, sent in an additional \$6.00, lifting their final percentage to

127%! And Detroit, which had wound up in third place, sent an extra \$23.00, contributed by sympathizers of the Militant. This brought Detroit's total to \$885 — \$135.00 over and above their \$750 quota!

During the last week the New York Militant Army has been especially active. Ann Mann tells us that over 1,000 papers were taken to the same nearby plant we mentioned last week in this column. The workers there are now familiar with the Militant and what it stands for, and many favorable comments were heard.

"One man stopped his car right in the middle of a busy highway and came over to us to get two extra copies," Ann says.

"On the same day," says Johnnie Tabor, "I've had a successful sale of the Militant at a forum held by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, at Carnegie Hall. 23 copies of the paper were sold, but this was not all. Inside the hall we set up displays of Jimmie Kutcher's book, and with Jimmie's aid sold 12 copies. There was a lot of interest in his case."

There is always room in this column to relate the experiences of Militant readers and distributors. So no matter where you live — in Glasgow, Hyderabad or Kansas City, Missouri — drop us a line, and we assure you that your opinions and your experiences will get into print.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Takes Issue With Review of 'Barefoot Contessa'

Editor: In the Feb. 21 issue of the Militant there appears a review by Trent Hutter of "The Barefoot Contessa," which is highly recommended to the readers of the Militant "because of its social satire and frankly anti-capitalist dialogue."

With high hope I went to see the film and came out wondering whether I had read the review in the Nation or the New Republic, but sad to say it really appeared in my favorite periodical. The right of any individual to have his own opinion, needless to say, is indisputable. I am also aware of the policy of the Militant about signed articles not necessarily representing the position of the paper. Nevertheless, I believe that the editor has an obligation to the readers not to publish reviews that clearly represent the interests of a hostile class, unless the editors clearly set forth their position on the matter.

To get to the point of the matter. The scene in which the billionaire film mogul is being berated for his "hypocrisy, ruthlessness never having done a day's honest work-in-his-life," etc., etc., sequence, he is finally answered by this retort: "Why do you attack the American way of life?" To this query, the South American playboy answer: "I am not attacking the American way of life. I am attacking you."

And that is the sum and substance of the whole film. The entire scenario is as corny a plot as has been seen in one form or another a thousand times before. That "The Barefoot Contessa" is a run-of-the-mill picture, few Marxists would contest. My purpose in writing this letter is not motivated solely to take issue with Trent Hutter, but to call attention to his particular ideology, which I consider to be inimical to a paper with such high standards of criticism as yours.

As a further instance of his un-Marxist "critique" in evaluating a film, I should like to recall his high praise for "The Caine

Mutiny," and "From Here to Eternity," both of which were also highly praised by him some time ago in the Militant. Trent Hutter's position that a work of art need not be Marxist to be considered great, confuses the issues. Without going into a long dialectical dissertation on that point I might say: whatever is truthful and objective is Marxist. Whatever is untruthful, distorted, etc., serves capitalist ideology. If a film in its entirety is truthful, only for the purpose of drawing the conclusion that the Hydrogen Bomb is the best of all possible worlds, such a work of "art" we leave to the hired jackal of the capitalist underworld to sing its praises.

"The Caine Mutiny" is an instance I have in mind. The very title is a misnomer. The film was made with the cooperation of the U.S. Navy and is even dedicated to the Navy. There was never any intention in the film to convey the idea that a mutiny would ever be treated except in the most severe manner, namely death. The whole point in the film was to stress that in a very rare and most unusual circumstance where an officer had lost his mental faculties, which would lead to the loss of the ship and men, it would be legitimate for subordinate officers to relieve him of his duties (Article 184 Navy Regulations). In "From Here to Eternity," the point brought out is, not that the army is a hell-hole, but that the bestiality of one officer is just an aberration, and in the end, good old American justice will triumph. Is this truth? No. It is out and out capitalist propaganda.

As a final comment, allow me to cite the case of the Chaplin film, "Monsieur Verdoux." Here is an example of what I consider to be a supreme masterpiece. Here Chaplin does not attack a single individual, or even a section of the bourgeoisie, but the entire capitalist society, in that remarkable scene where he says: "Why I only killed a few people, you have killed millions." There is truth emblazoned for all to see, and not obscured in a few "honest" and "truthful" scenes, only to be vitiated later as the

usual routine in the Hollywood film. I should like to conclude on one further note. In the winter issue of the magazine Fourth International Trent Hutter says: "After all a surprisingly large number of quality pictures appeared in Germany under Hitler." Now I have read everything. It would not surprise me to hear from him soon that: "Despite Stalin's great disservice to the socialist movement, nevertheless, he did a lot of good."

S. M.
New York, N. Y.

Reviewer's Reply

Editor: I have read S. M.'s letter and shall attempt briefly to reply to the criticisms of my articles. (1) "The Barefoot Contessa" is a piece of social satire. What is social satire? A rather fantastic plot serves the author to depict certain aspects of social reality. I grant you that the plot is unrealistic (I didn't say the contrary in my review); the plot was hardly intended to be taken so seriously and unfortunately S. M. took it quite seriously.

The realism of the Contessa is in the individual characters, each of whom represents a social phenomenon. (That's what I said in my article, which obviously was misunderstood.) The American tycoon, the South American millionaire, the "international set," a dying aristocracy (symbolized by the gallant but crippled and abnormal count), the misery of the Spanish slum dwellers, the press agent, etc., etc. And in what Hollywood picture of the last five years do you find similar anti-capitalist remarks, such unconventional sketches of contemporary society?

Realism does not necessarily and always require a story that could easily happen in real life. The realism of the Contessa is provided by a satire rooted in the solid ground of social reality — that social reality which Hollywood generally ignores. Therefore, "The Barefoot Contessa" is definitely not a "run-of-the-mill picture."

(2) I don't believe I ever viewed "From Here to Eternity"

for the Militant. As for "The Caine Mutiny," S. M. doesn't seem to remember correctly what I wrote about it. I emphasized that Herman Work's ideology is not ours, but that the picture discusses the problem of military discipline and thereby makes us think, although our conclusions differ from the author's.

At present, there are not too many American movies that try to make us think. I recommended "The Caine Mutiny" mainly because it does. It fails to give the right answer, but at least it asks a serious question. A picture can be quite valuable without being a Marxist picture, as I explained in the magazine Fourth International.

(3) I share S. M.'s admiration for Chaplin's "Monsieur Verdoux," being a Chaplin fan myself. Chaplin is the greatest genius of the movies and a master of social satire. But "The Barefoot Contessa" contains a good deal of excellent social satire, too — even if it is not as outspoken in its conclusions, even if it is not as great a work of art as "Monsieur Verdoux."

(4) Yes, a surprisingly large number of quality pictures appeared in Germany even under Hitler — even if this comes as a shock. Remember that in my magazine article I mentioned how German producers under the Nazi regime avoided anything that concerned social questions and everyday reality, just as many Hollywood producers do today. But who can deny that some beautiful pictures were actually produced in Nazi Germany — not because of Nazism, but because several capable producers and artists kept their jobs and continued as best they could. Have you seen the "The Postmaster" for example, or "Friedemann Bach"? It is true that these pictures described the past, still they were genuine work of art.

I am glad S. M. wrote. Our readers' comments are always welcome, they help us to make our articles clearer and easier to understand. Also they show us that our readers are interested in our paper, knowing that it's their paper.

Trent Hutter

TWIN CITIES
May Day Celebration
Hear
Dorothy Schultz
SWP Organizer,
St. Paul Branch
"American Workers Move
Toward Unity"
Sat., April 30, 8:30 P. M.
10 S. 4th St.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Meeting to be Followed
by Social Hour
Militant Readers Invited

PHILADELPHIA
May Day Celebration
Talks On
"Jim Crow in New Clothing"
"American Labor — the Fight Ahead"
Sat., April 30, 8:30 P. M.
1803 W. Girard Ave., 2nd Floor
Labor songs, Dancing, Refreshments

CHICAGO
CELEBRATE MAY DAY
Int'l Smorgasbord Banquet!
Speaker: V. R. Dunne
"How to End War
And Layoffs"
Sun., May 1, Banquet 6 P. M.
Social - Dancing - Refreshments
Dramatic Skit
777 West Adams Street
Donation 75c.

Celebrate May Day With the Socialist Workers Party
Vincent Copeland
Veteran leader of Steelworkers struggles
Will Speak On:
"American Labor and War Threats Against China"
Sylvia West: "The Meaning of May Day"
Chairman: Harold Robins
SWP candidate in 1954 elections
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Sat., April 30, 8:30 P. M.

Subscription \$3 per year: \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single Copies: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

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Einstein on Socialism

There are many people in this country who secretly rejoice at the death of Albert Einstein. This is not because of his scientific contributions — although there exists a certain mistrust and fear of great scientists by certain religious elements who recognize that science deals devastating blows to religion's fairly-tale explanation of the world.

The people who hated Einstein, however, hated him for his political acts and statements. It goes without saying that the Nazis hated him not only because he was Jewish but because he was anti-war and anti-militarist. When he migrated to this country the reactionaries hated him and organizations, like the malevolent Daughters of the American Revolution, agitated for his deportation.

When Einstein publicly counseled resistance to the witch hunt, McCarthy and his ilk could only mutter that such statements were made only by "enemies of this country." They were afraid to bulldoze him before a Congressional Committee because of his world fame. Nor could they call for his deportation. What? Deport the greatest scientific mind of the century, when much lesser American scientists were refused passports to attend scientific conferences in Europe?

The Soviet-Austrian Treaty

What lies behind the Soviet-Austrian treaty signed on April 15? It is another pre-payment by the Soviet bureaucratic rulers on a diplomatic deal with the Eisenhower administration.

At Yalta, the Stalinists showed their readiness to engage in all kinds of horse-trades and cynical dealings at the expense of working people for the sake of a balance of power deal with imperialism. This kind of dealing is what the Stalinists call pursuing a "peace" policy.

In line with the Yalta agreement, Stalin ordered the Communist Parties to contain the European working class movement and betray its aspirations to build socialism. The Stalinists in Western Europe and in Asia worked to restore capitalist regimes.

Stalin hoped thereby to buy peace for the Soviet Union. But as soon as capitalism was reestablished to some degree in Europe, the Truman Administration began a war drive against the Soviet Union.

In the past year, Wall Street has decreed a slowing down of the cold war in order better to prepare for World War III. The Eisenhower administration has indicated that in the meantime it would be amenable to another world balance of power agreement designed to contain the colonial revolution in Asia — more particularly to discipline it in China.

"For a Rebirth of Freedom"

On April 16, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a national organization dedicated to the support of the Bill of Rights, held an all-day conference on the theme "An Appeal to Congress for a Rebirth of Freedom."

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is the sole action group struggling for democratic rights in the U.S. that (1) defends all victims of the witch-hunt; (2) enlists all who fight the government's police-state measures regardless of political affiliation; (3) rejects the premise of the witch-hunt that the United States is menaced by a "Communist conspiracy."

These three principles are vital to the success of any united front group fighting to uphold free speech.

The ECLC orients toward the labor movement and seeks to win it for the battle against the witch-hunt. As Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, a leading liberal associated with the committee stated at the April 18 conference, freedom will be regained only when the main body of the labor movement gets into the fight.

The ECLC group includes such prominent liberals as I. F. Stone, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School, Leonard Boudin, Clark Foreman, Corliss Lamont and others.

In July, 1949 at a Conference for Human and Civil Rights many of them battled Communist Party spokesmen on the issue of defense for Trotskyists, Stalinists and all other witch-hunt victims.

capitalist press felt Einstein had gone too far.

Einstein was not only against war and for civil liberties, he believed in socialism. Shortly after his 70th birthday he wrote out his ideas on the subject. Taking as his point of departure the individual's insecurity in the modern world despite technical progress, he declared: "The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion the real source of the evil." Then outlining Marx's theory of how surplus value, created by the worker, is kept by the boss and turned into capital, Einstein explained:

"The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information — press, radio, education. . . .

"I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals."

The world has lost not only one of the greatest scientific minds of all time but an active fighter for the cause of humanity.

Eisenhower and other big business spokesmen in the U.S. have insisted that the Soviet bureaucrats "show good faith." A settlement in Austria was one of the demands.

Eager for the deal, the Kremlin overlords complied. On its side the Eisenhower administration has expressed pleasure over the Soviet-Austrian treaty. This will not prevent the U.S. government from hurling the cry "aggressor" at the Soviet rulers again, when Wall Street decides again to step up the war drive.

The Soviet pledge to remove occupation troops from Austria upon ratification of the treaty will be welcomed by the Austrian working people. Camping of Russian, U.S., English and French troops in their country was a violation of the Austrian people's right to self-determination in the first place. All occupying troops should have been withdrawn long ago.

But provision in the treaty forbidding Austrian merger with Germany still violates the Austrian and German peoples' national rights. Austria is historically, culturally and economically linked to Germany. Up to 1918 only rival dynastic battles of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg royal families prevented unification. Afterwards, it was the unjust Versailles treaty.

Should the Austrian and German peoples decide to merge what right have Soviet bureaucrats or any other foreign power to say no?

The ECLC backs Harvey O'Connor and Corliss Lamont, who invoked the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution — the free speech clause of the Bill of Rights — in refusing to answer questions about political affiliation before Congressional "investigating" committees. Both are appealing contempt of Congress convictions.

The ECLC is also helping George Ullman to test the constitutionality of the so-called "immunity" law. This law, in effect, deprives witnesses of the right under the Fifth Amendment not to testify against themselves.

Another prominent free speech fight waged by the ECLC is that of Carl and Ann Braden, recently sentenced to 15 years in prison on a frame-up charge in Louisville, Kentucky. The Bradens' "crime" was that they sold a home in an all-white neighborhood to Negro friends and owned socialist and communist literature.

Present at the April 16 conference were victims O'Connor, Lamont and Ann Braden. James Kutcher, legless veteran, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who is contesting the "loyalty" program for government employes in the courts, also attended. The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee had a table in each of the five morning panels to take orders for Kutcher's book, The Case of the Legless Veteran.

We urge all militant fighters for free speech in the U.S. to join the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and give maximum aid to its battles.

Meaning of the Chinese Stalinist Purge

By M. Stein & J. G. Wright

Two top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih were recently purged by the Mao regime. Kao Kang reportedly committed suicide; the fate of his expelled colleague remains unknown. This is the first split within the top leadership of the Chinese CP since its assumption of power.

The official explanations reduce everything to a personal struggle for power. The main charge is that Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih engaged in a "conspiracy to seize power in the party and the state." The mechanics of the purge, the charges as well as the official explanations, are typical of the purges under Stalin and his successors in the Soviet Union.

The real reasons for the purge, which is still in progress, will not be found in the resolution of the National Conference, held toward the end of March, 1955, which formally sanctioned this purge. The real reasons are rooted in the economic and political difficulties now facing the Peking rulers at home and abroad.

LOGIC OF REVOLUTION

So long as the tasks facing the Chinese revolution were the tasks of the belated democratic revolution — the overthrow of Kuomintang rule, the unification of the country, the carrying through of the agrarian reforms etc. — the Peking leadership showed remarkable unity and cohesion. But the revolution has a logic of its own. It could not be contained within the capitalist framework.

STALIN'S 1929 POLICY

Mao's shift in policy bears a striking resemblance to Stalin's sharp turn in 1929 when he turned sharply from the policy of relying on capitalist elements in Russia — primarily the well-to-do peasants — and embarked on the course of building up a self-sufficient Soviet industry that would "catch up and surpass"

capitalists have been exploded. The split in the leadership comes precisely at the moment when the Chinese revolution faces a turning point in its development. China must industrialize.

The Chinese capitalists can contribute little, if anything, to China's industrialization. After six years in power, the Mao leadership has staked everything on the policy of building a self-sufficient industry in China, with China's own resources. The 1955 economic policy of Peking thus reproduces in its basic essentials the economic policy originally promulgated by Stalin for Russia, after Lenin died.

The March 1955 Conference adopted a resolution which sets the following objective:

"In the course of three Five-Year plans we can build a socialist society. However, in order to build a state with a high level of socialist industry, it will require several decades of stubborn and intense work. We can say that it will take fifty years, that is, the second half of the 20th century. Such is the great historic task — the great and glorious task — which we must solve." (Leading editorial in April 5 Peking People's Daily as reported by the Moscow Pravda on April 6, 1955.)

Similar consequences are indicated in China. As a matter of fact, there are signs that a collision with the mass of the Chinese peasantry already faces the Peking regime. The resolution of the March Conference states: "We must exert all our efforts to develop our agriculture, be-



MAO TSE TUNG

the advanced capitalist countries in the course of two or three Five-Year plans.

The domestic consequences of this Stalinist policy are well known. It brought the regime into a head-on collision with the peasantry, resulting in a prolonged civil war in the countryside. It entrenched the method of bureaucratic rule, the purge system, coercion and terror against the masses; it secured the power and privileges of a bureaucratic caste.

Similar consequences are indicated in China. As a matter of fact, there are signs that a collision with the mass of the Chinese peasantry already faces the Peking regime. The resolution of the March Conference states: "We must exert all our efforts to develop our agriculture, be-

cause it is still very backward, and the production of foodstuffs and raw materials for industry still fails to correspond to the current needs of the state."

At the same time Peking's Chief Prosecutor Chang Ting-chan has announced that a nationwide "struggle" against "kulaks" (well-to-do peasants) is already in progress. "Taking as its starting point our country's concrete conditions," said the Chief Prosecutor, "our party has adopted the line of limiting and gradually liquidating the kulak households. A certain section of the reactionary kulak elements has established a criminal connection with the class of landlords, already overthrown in the villages, and begun to carry out subversive activity, attempting to check and blow up mutual help and cooperation [read: collectivization, Maoist style]. With the support of the peasant masses we are organizing an active struggle with the hostile activities of the kulak-landlord elements. The struggle occurs on a large scale and assumes sharp forms." (Pravda March 31, 1955.)

EXTOL KREMLIN PURGES

In the same programmatic article, written specially for the Moscow Pravda on the eve of the public announcement of the purge of Kao Kung, Jao Shu-shih and their "accomplices," the Chief Prosecutor hailed the "rich experience" of the Kremlin bureaucracy in purging its opponents and critics, and assured that this experience would be a "valuable aid" to the Mao regime in its own struggle.

The March Conference ordered the immediate setting up of the machinery of the purge — via the creation of special "control commissions" — on central, regional, district and local levels. Thus the purge of the two top leaders is simply a prelude to a much bigger purge of the entire party and government apparatus.

The growing similarity between Peking's internal regime and that set up by Moscow is further underscored by the recent in-

duction of ranks and insignia in the Chinese armed forces. This rise of a privileged officer caste from among China's revolutionary armies epitomizes the process of social stratification that is taking place under the Mao leadership. Unable to satisfy the needs of Chinese workers and peasants, from whom fifty years of toil and sacrifice are now demanded, the regime deliberately seeks to create for itself special points of support, above all in the armed forces.

For the Stalinist line to triumph in the Soviet Union, a counter-revolution was required. This Stalinist counter-revolution had to destroy physically the entire generation that led the Russian revolution to victory under Lenin and Trotsky. Before he could impose his bureaucratic regime, Stalin had to destroy Lenin's party and International.

As against this, the same basic cadre of leaders, under Mao, who rode the revolutionary wave to power are now following in Stalin's footsteps in China. For this reason the implications and consequences, at home and internationally, of Peking's shift in line are far more difficult to understand, especially for the Chinese masses and the rank and file of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the Soviet Union, the programmatic issues were debated over a period of years, and the struggle of the Russian Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, illuminated the nature and meaning of Soviet developments, despite all of Stalin's falsifications, repressions and frame-ups.

The differences over policy in China have been confined to narrow top circles. Over them has been cast a shroud of secrecy, camouflage and misinformation. We do not know what was the actual role and policy of the two purged leaders. But there can be no doubt about the role and policy of the Mao leadership. There can be no doubt that the recent purge signals a turn in the Chinese revolution.

The Bandung Conference

[Reprinted from the Ceylonese Samasamajist, English weekly of the Trotskyist Lanka Samasamaja Party.]

By Colvin R. DeSilva

COLUMBO, Ceylon, April 7 — The propaganda of both imperialism and Stalinism serve only to hide the true significance of the Afro-Asian Conference which is to be held this month at Bandung in Indonesia.

Stalinism hails it both as a peace move and an anti-imperialist move. Imperialism for its part looks on the conference with suspicion out of fear that it will come under the domination of Red China which is sending Chou En Lai himself as the head of its delegation.

American imperialism, more outspoken and more direct in its views, actually regards the conference as a pro-Red move, with Pandit Nehru and Indonesian Premier Sastroamidjojo as the arch-movers.

Both Stalinism and imperialism are wrong. The policy out of which the Bandung conference flows is really Nehru's. What then is Nehru's policy?

NEHRU'S POLICY

The first point to remember is that Nehru is a capitalist politician. He is the representative of Indian capitalism both at home and abroad. Secondly, Nehru is at best only a reformist politician. He certainly has nothing in common either with revolutionary politics or with revolutionary socialism. His nearest political kin are perhaps to be found in the Right Wing of the British Labor Party.

Nehru certainly stands passionately for peace in the sense that he categorically opposes the war policy of imperialism and the attempt to divide the world into hostile military power blocs. But Nehru also stands passionately against all revolutionary activity and against every revolutionary movement of the masses, especially in India. He is for reform. He is against revolution.

In the international arena this outlook of his has resulted in his adherence to two doctrines. These doctrines are now known respectively as anti-colonialism and peaceful coexistence. It may be added that of these two, the doctrine of anti-colonialism is very much his own product.

"ANTI-COLONIALISM"

What is this doctrine or concept of anti-colonialism which is now very much in the mouths of all reformist politicians throughout the world? Basically, it constitutes opposition to direct rule of any country by the imperialist powers.

It is essential to understand that anti-colonialism does not connote the uprooting of all imperialism's interests in a subject country. For instance, it does not mean the driving out of imperialist capital already invested in a country which rises out of its colonial status. On the contrary, Nehru's own India is the proof that his anti-colonialism is completely consistent with the continuance of imperialism's investments in a formerly subject country.

Again, Nehru's anti-colonial-

ism does not contemplate the revolutionary uprising of a subject people against the imperialist rulers. The essence of his concept in this aspect is one of a so-called orderly transfer of power voluntarily by the imperialist rulers.

It is not hard to see that Nehru's anti-colonialism is only a concentrated expression for the process by which India is claimed to have won her independence. It is also not hard to see that this is essentially a reformist concept although it is usually put forward as an expression of Gandhian doctrine of ahimsa in the field of the struggle for the national independence of subject peoples.

NATIVE EXPLOITERS

There is also the important point that the transfer of power is really intended to be a transfer within the existing social set-up or system. This means, as it has so far meant in every case where there has been such a transfer of power, a transfer to the native exploiting classes. In other words it connotes and contemplates a transfer of power from the foreign exploiter to the native exploiter.

The above will make clear two facts about this concept of anti-colonialism. The first is that it contemplates a voluntary transfer of power by the imperialist rulers in contrast to the seizure of power from the rulers by a revolutionary people. The second fact is that therefore anti-colonialism is a concept which is counterposed to the classic and revolutionary concept of anti-imperialism.

Regarded in this way, an effort to bring together an Afro-Asian conference on the basis of anti-colonialism is also nothing less than an effort to stem the revolutionary wave among the subject people in colonial and semi-colonial countries. It is a move at the least to prevent the flow of colonial revolution reaching other lands than those it has already engulfed. In other words, it is basically an effort to contain the colonial revolution within the boundaries of its already achieved success.

What else does such a policy serve than imperialism itself? World imperialism today is desperately engaged in an effort to contain the world revolution within the boundaries it has already reached. The effort to contain the colonial revolution can only feed the effort to contain the world revolution.

HOW ABOUT CHINA?

It can be asked how the above interpretation of the policy which underlies the Afro-Asian Conference squares with the presence of revolutionary China at the deliberations. Such a question however, misconceives Red China's objective at this conference. This objective is not the spread of the world revolution nor even the stimulation of the colonial revolution in the countries of Southeast Asia which border upon revolutionary China. On the contrary it is clear that Mao Tse Tung has given India, Burma and Indonesia in particular every assurance that he will not support,

still less stimulate, any revolutionary movements in these countries.

Red China comes to the Bandung Conference at a stage in her struggle to be admitted into the United Nations Organization. It is part of her struggle to be admitted legally and fully, as is indeed her right, into the international comity of nations.

Red China too thus follows the policy of peaceful coexistence which is the other pillar of Nehru's foreign policy. Peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism of course connotes the stabilization of the existing relations between especially the great powers. It too is a reformist concept based on the idea that revolution can be stopped in its flow to satisfy the requirements of an overall international deal between world Stalinism and world imperialism. It is the concept of "social peace" extended from the domestic field to the international field. It is a concept which leads to the abandonment of the revolutionary class struggle.

DOOMED TO FAILURE

The Afro-Asian Conference is thus an effort to provide for Nehru's foreign policy, which is endorsed by the other inviting states, namely Indonesia and Burma, a wider framework than was provided by the Colombo Conference of the five newly independent states of Southeast Asia.

But this effort is doomed to failure even though the idea of creating an expanding "peace area" in the Indian Ocean region has proven very attractive to a multitude of often very influential politicians. The effort stands doomed precisely because the Colombo Conference powers themselves are already falling apart.

Pakistan has already broken away openly. Ceylon is waiting on the brink of an open breach. Further, although India, Burma and Indonesia today stand together on what is apparently a common foreign policy, there can be no doubt that they accent this policy each differently from the other.

There are further the still unfree countries which are coming to the Bandung conference. Where will they fall in? Will they accept the concept of awaiting a voluntary transfer of power and so agree to bog down the freedom movements of their own countries in the mire of reform? Or will they, like Algeria, come to some more positive activity than the mere passage of pious resolutions of sympathy?

Indeed everything is set for a bedlam of tongues out of which little more can emerge than a common expression that pious resolutions of anti-colonialism and peaceful coexistence. It seems a lot of bother and a long distance to go to achieve so meager a result.

How can the weakling states of Southeast Asia succeed in containing the colonial revolution which world imperialism itself in full panoply is unable to control? Nehru's foreign policy is reaching its pre-destined dead end.

World Events

THE WORKERS OF PORTUGAL are so poor, they can't afford to get married. Over 11% of the yearly births are "illegitimate." In order for a childless couple to get by, the government estimates that an income of about \$360 a year is needed. The average income in Portugal is \$182 a year. The population of Lisbon has increased 30% since 1940 while the consumption of meat has declined 20%. But Portugal has stabilized its monetary system and has a favorable balance of trade. It is listed as one of the countries of the "free world" although the working people suffer under the clerical-fascist dictatorship of Salazar.

"NO ONE CAN EXPLAIN"

Why there is a wholesale turnover in the labor force of the richest bituminous coal mines in the middle-east, in Zonguldak, Turkey according to the April 17 N. Y. Times. The fact that there is inadequate housing, a seven-day work week for \$1.60 to \$1.70 a day and a total disregard for safe working conditions doesn't seem to explain much to puzzled officials in Turkey. An explosion killed 61 miners on Jan. 23 of this year. When John L. Lewis demanded an investigation of safety regulations in the mines and suggested that American economic aid to Turkey be withheld until safe working conditions were assured, Turkish officials were outraged.

THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

suffered a drop in its vote in the cantonal elections held on April 17. The CP polled 21% of the total vote cast as against 23.5% in the 1951 cantonal elections. Slight gains from the CP were scored by the Socialist Party, which polled 18.5% of the total vote. However, abstentions rather than shifts to other parties accounted for most of the decrease in the CP vote. The Communist Party continues to be the largest single party, although in this election a loose coalition of capitalist candidates, called the Independents, put up a single ticket and polled 27% of the vote.

ENGLAND will hold general elections for Parliament on May 26. The British Labor party is expected to center its campaign on the high cost of living.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

has now reached the figure of 1,700,000 or about 20% of the working force, according to the N. Y. Times, April 17.

Book - A - Month Plan

April Selection Interview With India By John F. Muehl (originally published at \$3.50) Special April Price \$1.00 (plus 15¢ mailing charge) Payments must accompany order

LOS ANGELES May Day Celebration

Speaker: Tom Kerry Chairman, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party Sun., May 1st, 8 P. M. 1702 E. 4th Street

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, New York PLEASE NOTE: The March Book-a-Month selection, Re-union and Reaction, is completely sold out. We can supply no more copies.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

'Watch Bandung!'

This week the most important event in the Negro struggle for equality in America is taking place not in Mississippi or in Washington, but thousands of miles away — in Indonesia. That's where the first Asian-African Conference of representatives from nations comprising three-fifths of the world's population is being held.

The world's outstanding Uncle Tom, General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, who will attend as a head of the delegation from his country, will be the chief spokesman for Western imperialism.

Last Sunday in the nationally syndicated *This Week Magazine* article "Warning to Americans: Watch Bandung!" he said:

"This Monday my country, the Philippines, will take its seat at a high-level diplomatic conference which some of our closest friends in the West initially urged us to boycott. . . Our Filipino delegation . . . is likely to be a minority pro-Western voice at Bandung.

"We have been working hard in recent weeks readying ourselves to answer the Communists, and the neutralists, point by point; to counter their resolutions with constructive resolutions of our own. We fully appreciate the intensity of Asian-African suspicions of the West. But we are working on the assumption that the West intends to follow through on its promises, that it will share its knowledge and wealth with the world's less fortunate people, that it will hasten the day when all people will be truly independent."

Fortunately General Romulo, who never led any struggles for independence, will be dealing with men who have, and will probably win nothing but the contempt he deserves from them.

And, also fortunately, colored Americans will have their own reporters and observers present so they will not have to depend on him and his kind for information on what actually transpires.

The American Negro press is interested and sympathetic to the aims of the conference. Its attitude is pretty well summed up in the comment of W. O. Walker, editor of the *Cleveland Call and Post*, in the issue of April 9:

"The common interest shared by all the nations attending the conference is that they are all considered colored; all have millions of poor, largely ignorant people; the resources they have, natural or otherwise, are limited or largely undeveloped, and mostly, are foreign owned and controlled. . .

"This conference could easily mark the beginning of the resurgence of the colored people of the world. One thing is sure, their cooperation is highly necessary to world peace. For, until the exploitation of the so-called backward people is stopped there can be no real peace. Therefore, I certainly hope the Bandung conference succeeds."

But even Mr. Walker's sympathy with the Bandung conference aims is a pale reflection of the interest and enthusiasm of the Negro masses in this country. They know to what a great extent they owe the gains of the past fifteen years in the struggle against Jim Crow to the pressure of the colonial revolutions on the American ruling class. They know that the power and solidarity and independence from Wall Street and the Kremlin generated by the Bandung Conference will directly affect the progress of the Negro struggle in America.

A "Man of Distinction"

By Bob Dixon

The world echoed with laughter when Secretary of State Dulles spoke up a few weeks back against the "discrimination" practiced by the Asian-African nations at Bandung — discrimination against the white imperialists, that is.

The remarks made at Bandung on April 17 by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem however, while equally laughable, are also tragic and shameful.

For one claiming to represent the Negro people, Bandung offers an excellent occasion to express heartfelt thanks to the most powerful allies of American Negroes, the peoples of Asia and Africa. Nothing lit bigger firecrackers to the tails of the Jim-Crow rulers of the United States than the colonial revolutions. The insurgent peoples of Asia and Africa refused to swallow U.S. cold-war propaganda because, among other facts, they knew and resented the situation of U.S. Negroes.

Congressman Powell seems to have traveled all the way to Java just to tell a billion and a half people that they shouldn't bother to put pressure on Washington. "A few years ago Washington was an open cesspool of United States democracy. Today it is a place of complete equality," Mr. Powell informs the Conference. This is truly astounding news for Bandung, as well as for readers of the *Militant* and . . . for Washington, D. C. Negroes.

But that's not all. "It is a mark of distinction in the United States to be a Negro . . . to be a Negro is no longer a stigma." This obviously could not be in reference to personnel and employment offices in any plant I've seen or heard of. It can't mean real-estate offices, or YMCA's, or Calvert's whiskey ads. Powell apparently means that for his role as a front-man for the State Department, being a Negro is "a mark of distinction." No

white spokesman for American imperialism would be taken seriously at Bandung. However, the peoples of Asia and Africa all have their own Uncle Toms. They recognize the marks of distinction of this type. So Powell's pro-imperialist party line may well become his "stigma" in their eyes.

Unofficial observers at Bandung include freedom fighters from Algeria, Morocco and the African National Congress of South Africa. Can you imagine any of these representatives misusing his time to praise French imperialism or to sugarcoat the apartheid racist policies of the Strijd regime? Would they show such bad strategy as to discourage the very people who are applying the most effective pressure on their behalf?

But Powell has a strategy of his own. It is strategy not in the service of the Negro people, but in the service of Rep. Powell who, in return for doing Washington a valuable political job at Bandung, may look forward to increased prestige and perhaps a well-paid government post which will enhance his "distinction."

"Racism is on the way out. Second-class citizenship is on the way out. A peaceful revolution has occurred overnight," rings Powell's fighting message.

These rotten products of American capitalism are "on the way out" to the degree that a genuine colonial revolution against international imperialism and a militant struggle at home by the Negro population and the labor movement force them out. Real gains do not, and never could, occur "overnight" from a change of heart in Wall Street's political agents. And Jim-Crow will be really "on the way out" the sooner the Negro people show the door to "leaders" who muffle the ball when it counts, and knock themselves out scoring points for the other side.

Notes from the News

NO. STILL ANOTHER CHANCE. Basketball Coach Ken Loeffler of LaSalle College told his team just before its game against Princeton: "Next door are a bunch of apple-cheeked youngsters. Their fathers own the factories you'll work in the rest of your lives. This is your last chance. So go out there and whip 'em." They did 73 — 46.

HE'S RIGHT! In a speech in Washington, D. C., ex-President Harry S. Truman said: "There has been no parallel in history to the cloak of protection thrown about the administration by so much of the press. . . Never in the peacetime history of this nation has there been such a vast volume of persistent publicity to praise and extol an administration."

HE'S RIGHT, TOO! In a bitter editorial-page reply to Truman's attack on the press, James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote: "Seldom in contemporary history has an opposition party been so slow or so ineffective in its criticism of major policies as the Democrats in the last two years. They have been very much to the fore in criticizing the Dixon-Yates power contract, the President's association with Bobby Jones, the administration's farm program, the trapping of squirrels on the White House lawn and Mr. Eisenhower's church-going, but on the big issues involving civil liberties and peace and war their tardiness and timidity have been remarkable."

"MAJESTY" OF THE LAW doesn't count for much with feudal coal barons. In Colorado a non-union coal company tore down a mine closure order posted by a federal mine inspector and ran the inspector off the property. When a state inspector issued a similar order to shut down the mine and clean it up, the company obtained a restraining order to prohibit enforcement from a judge without a hearing on the dangerous working conditions at the mine. Among other things the inspectors found explosive coal dust — six to twelve inches deep — all along the 7,000 foot main haulage way.

"SOME PEOPLE seem to think that immigration ceased to be respectable the day their ancestor stepped off the boat." — *Boston Globe*.

RR BROTHERHOOD ATTACKS PAPER. The weekly paper, *Labor*, is published by 15 railroad labor unions, of which the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is one. The BLE has called *Labor* a "scandal sheet" and accused it of biased reporting. *Labor* has told the BLE to retract or get out of the publishing partnership. Core of the trouble is believed to be *Labor's* attacks on the Eisenhower appointee J. A. Hall, ICC Director of Locomotive inspection. Hall, a former engineer, was named when the previous nomination of Charles H. Grossman, favored by most of the rail brotherhoods, was withdrawn because he was too pro-labor.

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Witch Hunt Bill Attacked In Wisconsin

MADISON, Wis., April 13 — The Prange bill, prohibiting "alteration of the constitutional form of government" and requiring loyalty oaths from public employees, as well as setting up an apparatus of inquisition, was met by considerable opposition before a Judiciary committee hearing of the Wisconsin State Legislature.

Albert Stergar, representing the Socialist Workers Party, described the bill as "another attempt by the Big Money Boys to destroy the Bill of Rights."

"They have been able to buy elections up to now," said Stergar, "but they fear labor's power, they know a Labor Party would represent the needs and aspirations of the majority and to prevent the inevitable, they propose to destroy free elections. All this in the name of protecting the Constitution."

"I charge this is nothing less than an attempt to alter the Constitution by deceit. I accuse the author of Bill 496 S with attempting to subvert the freedoms of speech, press, and petition," Stergar told the Committee.

Senator Prange, Republican from Sheboygan County, where the union-busting Kohler Corporation is located, was asked by a member of the Judiciary committee, Senator Trinke, whether he trusted the majority of citizenry.

Prange, who wasn't sure of the contents of his own bill, finally answered, "By and large you are correct. . . we ought to try and nip this thing in the bud."

The AFL was represented by J. F. Friedrick who read a statement from Mayor Zeidler of Milwaukee saying the bill is "a stab in the heart of our constitutional freedoms." Friedrick stated the AFL was opposed to shotgun legislation of this kind.

Professor Brown of the University of Wisconsin Law School spoke for the American Association of University Professors. He attacked the loyalty oath provisions of the bill. Prof. Rice of the University of Wisconsin, president of the American Civil Liberties Union, the United World Federalists and the Wisconsin branch of the Star Legion registered their opposition. The Socialist Labor Party, Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party also opposed the bill. Only the Madison Woman's Club was on hand to support the bill.

The Pennsylvania Senate adopted by a vote of 42-7 a bill raising maximum unemployment benefits from \$30 to \$35 weekly and provides for uniform duration of 30 weeks of benefits instead of the previous sliding scale of 13-30 weeks. The March 31 CIO News expects the lower house and governor to concur.

Burn Boss' Ears



Strikers picketing the Landers Frary & Clark plant in New Britain, Conn., discovered tape recorder microphones secreted at several spots along the fence. Here they tell eavesdropping boss what they think of him. Strike of 2,000 members of the United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers (independent) is supported by all unions in city.

From Detroit

Is a Strike in Prospect?

The UAW is now negotiating its guaranteed annual wage plan and other contract demands with General Motors (325,000 workers), Ford (135,000) and American Motors (30,000). The talk around Detroit is that the negotiations will continue for quite a while — maybe into the late summer. GM's contract expires May 29, Ford's June 1, while American Motors' contracts expire at different times during the next several months. But Walter Reuther has stressed that he is prepared to continue negotiations beyond the contract expiration dates, and to keep the plants open as long as negotiations go on. The UAW leadership doesn't want a strike if it can be avoided; the UAW members have no eagerness for a strike on the basis of the union's 1955 demands, although they will unquestionably support one if it is called; this means that the real decision on strike or no strike this year is in the hands of the auto barons.

A fair Employment Practices bill was finally adopted, 80 to 27, by the Michigan House of Representatives, after a number of crippling amendments had been voted down. This is the first time the House has ever adopted an FEPC bill. The measure now goes to the State Senate, which passed a similar bill last year only to have it killed in the House. This time it may be the Senate that will try to prevent enactment of the bill. According to the *Detroit News* on April 14, "Senate leaders said the measure may never

get out of committee in the chamber."

The main feature of the Detroit May Day celebration (Saturday night, April 30, 8:30 P.M. at 3000 Grand River) will be a talk by George Brieman, former editor of the *Militant*, combined with a recording of statements by James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. The talk is entitled "The Changes in the World Since We Were Born and the Prospects for Socialism in the U.S."

Jittery Detroit Council adopted a resolution on April 6 forbidding anyone wearing dark glasses from entering the Council chamber. Councilman Eugene I. Van Antwerp, who introduced the measure, said more and more spectators were wearing dark glasses. "Supposing one of them shot a Councilman — or some other citizen — how could he be identified?" — said the nervous senator.

A letter in April 8 *Labor's* Daily attacks the Attorney General's listing since 1949 of the Industrial Workers of the World as "subversive." "The Wobblies are against capitalism," says the writer, "There's nothing I know of in the United States Constitution that says we have to have capitalism here. But when the government makes it look like the profit system and democratic government are one and the same thing, then the government is just playing the bosses' game."

Youngstown Area Steel Unions Adopt 30-40; Say GAW Not Enough

The 30-hour week at 40-hours pay has become an issue in the fight for the Vice-presidency of the CIO United Steelworkers of America. The annual two-day convention (March 25 and 26) of all steel union local officers of District 26, which covers the important Youngstown area, unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of the 30-hour work week. I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer of the international, caught the spirit of the occasion and came out for 30-for-40.

Another significant aspect of the conference was the presence of Joseph P. Moloney, District 4 (Buffalo-Lackawanna area) Director, as the main speaker at the banquet which climaxed the conference. Earlier a resolution had been passed commending Moloney for his candidacy for International Vice-president against the hand-picked choice of Steelworkers' President David J. McDonald.

The fight for the Vice-presidency is the first direct challenge to McDonald, who took over the leadership of the union upon Philip Murray's death. McDonald set out to convert the union into a personal kingdom and disgraced the labor movement with his company-minded statements and with his arm-in-arm touring of the steel plants with Benjamin Fairless and other top executives of the steel corporations.

McDONALD CHALLENGED

Soon after the death in January of Vice-president James G. Timmes, an opponent of McDonald, the latter announced his choice of Howard Hague for the vacant post. Hague, like McDonald himself, had "risen from the ranks" of the union's office staff. The choice of Hague met the resistance of a sizeable minority of the union's executive board.

Soon thereafter Moloney, the Buffalo District Director, challenged McDonald's choice by announcing his own candidacy. Moloney's defiance of McDonald is couched in the politest words possible, reaffirming his great love and admiration for McDonald, etc. This honeyed talk, however conceals a desperate fight in the top echelons of the Steelworkers' bureaucracy.

CHANCE FOR RANKS

This fight at the top gives the rank and file a chance — which otherwise is all too rare in this union — to make itself felt. The District 26 conference signifies that Moloney's backers realize they must mobilize rank-and-file support to beat McDonald. To do this they cannot afford to let the fight seem to be simply over who gets the important and well-paid job of Vice-President (even though the issue of a man from the mills



David J. McDonald, President of the CIO United Steelworkers has rolled up a record of chumminess with steel bosses and treachery to steel workers on strike. His latest move was to order the Birmingham steel strikers back to work after they launched a sympathy strike in behalf of the embattled railroad and telephone workers in the South.

versus a McDonald appointee who never saw the inside of a steel mill except as a tourist has a certain popularity.)

The steel workers are plagued with immediate and pressing economic problems. As I. W. Abel pointed out, the steel industry will produce 100 million tons of steel this year with 64,000 less workers than in 1953. Over 200,000 steelworkers were laid off during 1954 and many others are on part-time work weeks. These are the problems confronting the ranks of the union. Connecting the fight against the McDonald machine with the 30-for-40 answer to these problems can mobilize powerful support.

I. W. Abel said: "It is my opinion that the guaranteed annual wage is not necessarily the answer to our problems. True it would have benefits for our members, but we have developed beyond the point where the guaranteed annual wage alone would solve the problem. We must couple it with a reduction in the work hours."

The steel union is the union which first and foremost has been committed to the GAW as a cure-all. It was Philip Murray's pet point for many years. Now face to face with layoffs, part-time work and automation, it is being admitted that, while GAW would secure certain gains, it would not solve the most pressing problems.

Democratic Victory in Chicago's Election

CHICAGO, April 13 — The fact that Richard J. Daley was elected Mayor here on April 5 and the Democratic Party won an overwhelming victory in the aldermanic election, would ordinarily merit little attention. What is significant, however, is the decisive role played by the organized labor movement and the city's huge Negro population in making the Democratic victory possible.

The labor movement, AFL and CIO, made its weight felt both in the selection of the candidate and in last Tuesday's sweeping victory. Months before the Feb. 22 primary elections CIO and AFL committees demanded that "do nothing" Mayor Kennelly be dumped. The man of the hour was Richard J. Daley. Labor leaders issued statements, attacking Mayor Kennelly for his failure to prevent racial violence over the Trumbull Park housing issue. They buttonholed Democratic committeemen and urged Daley's nomination.

KENNELLY DUMPED

The Negro press and prominent Negro spokesmen backed the Daley campaign. Under this pressure, the well-oiled Democratic machine turned its back on the incumbent Mayor Kennelly.

In the primary campaign Kennelly received the backing of the press, the Chamber of Commerce plus the clean-up-the-city university elements. Everything in the book was thrown at Daley and the regular Democratic organization.

Chicagoans were reminded of

the corrupt practices of the Kelly-Nash machine. Bossism in politics was lashed. Chicago was painted as a city of "sin and evil." Charges of fraudulent voters' lists and "ghost voters" were cited. Congressman Dawson, prominent Negro Democratic politician was pointed to as the symbol of corrupt practices.

But it was all to no avail — spearheaded by the solid backing of the labor movement and the enthusiastic support of Chicago's Negro wards, Kennelly was defeated and Daley nominated. The anti-Kennelly feeling in the Negro wards ran so high that such a dignitary as Archibald Carey, appointed by Eisenhower to a United Nations post, was defeated — along with Kennelly — in the Democratic primaries.

The city elections last Tuesday saw the Republican candidate Robert Merriam pitted against Daley. Merriam was backed by the same crowd that had endorsed Kennelly. The same charges were repeated — sin, corruption, bossism, connection with the underworld, etc. The Chicago Daily News even produced what it called proof of "ghost voters" lists, phony registrations and fake voters used by Congressman Dawson's political machine. The "reform" movement was in full swing, under the banner of the Republican candidate.

RACIST SUPPORT

But the story of the primary was repeated in the elections. Labor came out solid for Daley. The Negro wards piled up huge majorities for the Democratic

candidate. The Negro press reflected the resentment of the community against the attacks on Congressman Dawson.

As the newspaper Crusader commented: A strange combination backs Merriam. He has the university "good government" crowd and the Chamber of Commerce. He also has the White Circle League, the Daily Calumet and the Southeast Economist — all promoters of race hatred and the instigators of violence around the Trumbull Park housing issue.

Trumbull Park was very much an issue in the elections. Daley's answer to all charges of corruption, connection with crime and vice, was to charge "smear" and emphasize the part of his program which described Chicago as the melting pot of all races, religions, creeds and colors. It was this emphasis that proved decisive in Daley's victory.

WHAT NOW?

Now that the victory is won and the "right Democrat" is mayor of Chicago and now that the Democrats have tight control of the city council and the city offices, the question arises: what changes are on the way for Chicago?

Will the rat-infested slum buildings, unfit for human residence, be cleared away? Will the constant threat of fire, in the spreading slums end? Is a new era of racial equality and desegregation on the way? Is there a better day ahead for Chicago's workers?

Chicago's workers — white and black — rallied to the Democratic

banner because they believed that the election of Richard Daley and the whole Democratic Party slate would do something for the interests of the workers and Negro people.

At the moment the workers feel they have dealt the reactionaries and racists a severe blow. They feel that they will have more of a say in this new city administration. Above all they have the feeling that the labor and Negro movement acted as an organized and powerful force politically.

But all experience demonstrates that Daley will turn out to be no different than Kennelly. Nor will the Democratic machine, owned and operated by Big Business, change its spots. This is bound to bring disillusionment to the workers of Chicago.

But the very extent of conscious and organized political action by the union and Negro movements in this election will suggest a new course — once

the disillusionment with Daley sets in. The question will be posed by more and more workers: "Why not use our political power, not to elect 'friends of labor' but direct representatives from the ranks of labor and the Negro people?"

And when the Chicago experience is multiplied by enough local and national experiences, the workers will come to recognize and count on their independent political power.

When that realization hits home workers will turn their backs on the boss controlled political machine and strike out on their own. It will be a great day for American labor and the Negro minority when an independent Labor Party is launched and workers will no longer have to vote for a greater or lesser evil.

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