

Balance Sheet Of the Bandung Conference

By Joseph Hansen

The results of the Bandung conference, which ended April 24, confirm the correctness of the critical attitude taken by the world Trotskyist movement toward this gathering of Stalinist and bourgeois nationalist leaders of the colonies.

It is, of course, an encouraging symptom that the heads of the five sponsoring governments — Nehru of India, U Nu of Burma, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon and Sastromidjojo of Indonesia — and their direct and indirect imperialist backers found it necessary to hold such a meeting. It testifies to the weakened position of the Western colonial powers and to the underlying strength and dynamism of the drive of the colonial peoples for independence and freedom. In place of direct political domination, the Western powers have found it necessary to retreat to second-line trenches, entrusting the advanced positions to colonial agents.

But an encouraging symptom of the revolutionary forces and pressures in the colonial world is not the same as those forces and pressures themselves. Particularly in a case like this where the symptom happens to be a device deliberately designed to contain those forces and to secure leader-

ship of them so as to take them up a blind alley. In this respect the conference must be put down as a success for Western imperialism. As that voice of Wall Street, the N. Y. Times, put it in a well-considered lead editorial the day after the conference: "It was an experiment, to begin with. In our judgment the experiment succeeded beyond what we had a right to hope."

FINDS IT PALATABLE

Even a major resolution of the conference condemning colonialism was accepted without any qualms by the Times: "Actually, it states a principle to which the free world can subscribe wholeheartedly."

And why shouldn't the Times accept a statement condemning colonialism so long as the statement implies no action whatsoever to end colonialism? Under that condition the verbal condemnation actually serves as a convenient mask for the deeper penetration of imperialism in the colonial world while providing the masses with the illusion that they can have confidence in Nehru and the others as leaders in the struggle against imperialism. Such verbal denunciations of colonialism have been made by the Times itself repeatedly as a calculated complement to its support of imperialist policies and imperialist agents in the colonial world.

If anything is striking about the Bandung conference it is the fear it displayed about going too far in its anti-imperialist demagoguery. This was no doubt helped along by the pressure of the delegates most responsive to suggestions from the State Department, but everyone there, including notably Chou En-lai, seemed animated by the desire to appear "responsible."

Besides that a charming note at the conference, that harmonized well with the disarmament

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"Conciliatory, Courteous And Correct"

The U.S. Stalinist Daily Worker, April 26, gleefully quoted Premier U Nu of Burma as follows:

"The Chinese played their part well at Bandung. They refrained from making disparaging remarks against the United States. They could have engaged in them if they wanted to, just as some pro-Western nations attacked Communism. But they were very conciliatory, courteous and correct. I believe they have won the sympathy of most of the people attending the conference."

Judge Orders Retrial In 2 Smith Act Cases

The government's informer system received another hard blow on April 22, when Federal Judge Dimmock ruled that Harvey Matusow lied in the 1953 trial of 13 Communist Party leaders. Dimmock ordered new trials for George Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, whose conviction, he held, was based solely on Matusow's testimony.

He refused to order new trials for the other 11 witch-hunt victims, claiming that Matusow's testimony had not played a decisive role in bringing their conviction about. The 13 were retried to prison under the Smith Act, charged with having "conspired to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

WITCH-HUNTERS' TRUTH

Ever since Matusow recanted testimony he gave in various trials and hearings the witch hunters have been seeking frantically to prove that he told the truth when he was a government witness and was lying now. Thus on March 16, Federal Judge Thomason in Texas sentenced Matusow to three years for "contempt of court," claiming that his recantation of testimony against Clinton Jencks constituted "obstruction of justice." Thomason thus "ruled" that Matusow is truthful only when he testifies for the witch hunters. This was also what the Justice Department contended about Matusow's recantation in the case of the 13. And they also claimed that Matusow changed his testimony only when he was paid to do so.

But Dimmock in his decision ruled otherwise. He pointed out that lawyers for the Stalinist leaders sought out Matusow after they learned that Matusow was already repudiating previous testimony he had given. Besides, Dimmock held, "the newly revealed history of the development of Matusow's testimony furnished internal evidence that perjury was committed." This, the judge declared, led him to the conclusion that "all of Matusow's testimony which attributed to the Communist Party or to any other defendants an intent that the Government be overthrown by force and violence was false."

IMPORT OF DECISION

Dimmock's decision is valuable because it is the first legal ruling establishing that Matusow lied

at the time he was a government informer. All the key measures of the government's witch-hunt program — Smith Act prosecutions, "subversive" listings, deportation proceedings, etc. — are propped up by perjured testimony of professional informers. Dimmock's ruling in effect strikes at this prop.

At the same time Dimmock in his ruling sought to preserve the informer system intact. He blamed only Matusow as an individual. He declared that Roy Cohn and other prosecuting attorneys did not cook up the perjured testimony, as Matusow had charged in his recantation. The government attorneys were merely "credulous," said Dimmock. This led them to accept Matusow's testimony at face value. Without this face-saving formula, Dimmock would have been forced to invalidate the conviction of the other 11 Smith Act victims, who were also found "guilty" on evidence manufactured by the Justice Department and presented by paid informers.

The union action followed after the company got tough during contract negotiations and made plain their union busting objective. The strike began with a battle that lifted it to the front pages of the metropolitan newspapers and brought a small army of newsmen, TV cameramen, special police and what have you rushing to Lake Success. The rank and file had taken matters in their own hands and that always makes important news and this time was no exception. The union leadership had de-

cidated that supervisory employees, office workers and engineers could go through the picket lines. This decision made little sense to the Sperry workers who are seriously concerned with winning the fight — and winning as quickly as possible.

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Southern Strikes Spearhead Defense of American Labor

At Bandung — No Revolutionary Voice Was Heard



Chinese premier Chou En-lai (left) is greeted at Asia-Africa conference held last week in Bandung, Indonesia, by Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastromidjojo (right). Stooges of Wall Street made propaganda pitches for Western imperialism. Chou did not voice answer of revolutionary people of China. He was "conciliatory, courteous and correct" toward U.S. Confined himself to diplomatic maneuvers. Washington has expressed satisfaction with conference results.

Political Tempest Greets Ceylon Prime Minister

The conduct of Ceylon's Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, at the Bandung Conference, where he directed most of his fire not at imperialism but at China, has earned him nothing but praise from the Big Business press of the United States, but it has stirred up a hornet's nest in his own country.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon, Trotskyist party with a mass following, has started a movement for a no-confidence vote against Kotelawala. In addition to a strong Trotskyist bloc in the Ceylonese parliament a number of Ceylonese cities, including Colombo, the capital, have Trotskyist mayors.

The Ceylon Stalinist Party, which from a right-wing position bitterly opposes the LSSP on the political and trade union field, finds itself forced to collaborate in parliament with the LSSP on the no-confidence move. As is usual with Stalinist parties, however, diplomatic and foreign policy considerations transcend everything else.

The no-confidence bloc in Ceylon's parliament will start off with 24 members. But Kotelawala's actions at Bandung not only infuriated all working class parties but are considered a sell-out of Asian interests even by many Asian capitalists. Ceylon newspapers have played up reports of the argument between Kotelawala and Nehru following the former's attack on "Soviet colonialism" which came as a surprise to all except, perhaps, the U.S. State Department.

DEFENSE AGAINST HELL BOMB ADDS UP TO ZERO

By John Thayer

The highways leading out of New York and many other U.S. cities still have big signs posted along them notifying drivers that in case of enemy attack these roads will be closed to civilian traffic.

Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson has been telling the country for some time now that upon the outbreak of World War III 70 million inhabitants of America's 92 largest cities would have to evacuate their cities immediately.

Indicative of the snafu in Civil Defense is the statement last week by New York officials. They say those signs are up on the highways and the regulations still stand — no civilian traffic would be allowed on the highways. To evacuate any big city, let alone sardine-packed New York, in a hurry over these highways if the officials permit it, would be the nearest trick of the century.

The fantastically hopeless situation that H-bomb war would bring to this — or any other country — is vividly delineated by a special interview with Peterson in the April 8 issue of the well-known Big Business magazine, U. S. News and World Report.

"OPTIMISTIC"

Peterson, a Babbitt with the Chamber of Commerce booster lingo, tries to be optimistic about everything including the H-bomb, but the cataclysmic perspectives of another war every now and then overwhelms even his cheeriness.

He sees no chance for survival in the cities if they are attacked and says his biggest job "is to

get these millions of Americans out of these areas of congestion where, if they remain, they are certain to be dead."

This necessitates mass evacuation in a few hours — presuming there is an early warning. When the interviewers asked him how he would go about, for instance, evacuating New York City, Peterson replied: "We have not tackled New York because New York would probably be the toughest place in the world to evacuate. I think it can be done, at least in considerable measure, and save hundreds of thousands or maybe millions of lives. You are not going to save everybody in an atomic or hydrogen war, but, of course, you should save as many as you can."

With that consoling thought for the eight million men, women and children of New York, the interview passed over to cities the size of Washington, D. C., which Peterson thinks are lesser death traps. First question is how large would be the area of total destruction? Peterson replies: "That varies with the size of the bomb. I don't think anybody knows what the maximum is, because, apparently, there is no limit to the size of the bomb that can be made — at least I know of no limit. Apparently, they can be made of tremendous sizes."

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'Assure Salk Shots for All' CIO Demands

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 22 — The Mahoning County CIO Council, at its meeting on April 19, unanimously and enthusiastically went on record to have the City of Youngstown make provisions to assure Salk vaccine shots to all under the age of 19.

The council took this action because they see a black market developing in the life-saving vaccine and they felt that many would be unable to have the shots if the price is too high. Furthermore, in Youngstown, the CIO has opposed the city payroll tax but was defeated by the city politicians, and mostly by CIO endorsed councilmen. Since the tax is being paid the CIO feels that some of the money at least should go for vaccinating the children of workers.

A few years ago, the city decided that all dogs had to be given shots for rabies. Provisions were made so that the price would not be prohibitive. The cost for having the dogs inoculated by the city was \$1.00. If a person took his dog to the vet, he would have to pay \$3.00. The CIO expressed the feeling that if the city could do this for treating dogs, they certainly could do as much for children.

Charles Carney, a United Steelworkers Union staffman, and state Senator from this district, introduced a bill for action by the Ohio State Legislature to have the State raise money to sponsor the inoculation of all persons under the age of 12. This bill would certainly aid those in the lower-income groups to have their children protected against polio.

These two actions are very good as beginnings. But there is a need for organized effort to make sure that these proposals don't die on paper.

Since the announcement of Salk's success with the vaccine experiment the labor movement nationally has become concerned with preventing the profiteers from exploiting it for their own purposes. On the other hand, all the agencies of Big Business, including the government, are determined that the sacred principle of production for profit remain intact — even if this prevents children from getting the benefit of the contribution to their welfare made by Salk and his co-workers.

Arguing for raising the legal minimum wage to \$1.25, the March CIO Economic Outlook cites a recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics to show that to pay for necessary minimum living costs for a family of four, a worker needs a \$1.95 an hour. Even a working woman living with her family must get \$1.22 an hour.

The company had countered with a 4 cent increase in return for a three year contract and concessions by the union on sick leave, transfers and upgrading. Furthermore the company refuses to discuss the subcontracting issue or pensions.

Ten thousand Sperry strikers are determined to make this corporation back down. And if their spirit and determination is any sign, Sperry is going to have a hard time breaking their strike.

80,000 Phone, Rail Workers Wage Long, Bitter Battle for Rights

By George Lavan

APRIL 27 — As the strikes of some 80,000 Southern telephone and railroad workers pass their 45th day, there is a growing awareness of their great significance for all organized labor in the U.S.

Victory or defeat in these two strikes will not only play a vital role in determining the future of unionism below the Mason-Dixon line but can have a decisive bearing on the mounting number of strikes throughout the country and on the coming negotiations of the auto workers with Ford and General Motors.

There are over 100 strikes in the country involving probably 125,000 workers. While only a few are big ones, the significant point is the rate of increase. Equally important are two features common to many of these strikes: (1) they are of the company's choosing. (2) the workers, from the first day, display unusual militancy on the picket lines.

BASIC ISSUES

In the Southern strikes the corporations have chosen to challenge the very basis of unionism in a fashion that recalls the union-recognition strikes of the early CIO. For example, the Louisville & Nashville railroad and its seven affiliated lines has refused to accept a health-welfare plan awarded by a presidential fact-finding board a year ago and accepted by every other Class I railroad in the country. L&N declares it's not the money involved (one-half the cost of the fund) but the "principle."

The holy "principle" L&N has chosen to battle on is its moral objection to making compulsory deductions from its workers' pay

checks (the other half of the cost). The unions have offered L&N a solution for its moral dilemma by suggesting the company pay the whole cost.

Eight months of negotiation produced a deadlock between the CIO phone workers and Southern Bell. The latter demanded a no-strike clause, claiming it had suffered 105 wildcat strikes in the past four years. The union agreed on condition that in return a clause for arbitration of all disputes be put in the contract. The telephone monopoly rejected this as an invasion of the "rights of management." Without such a clause the union has no other way of settling grievances than by "quickness."

To both of these defensive strikes by the Southern workers must be added the defensive strike of the 25,000 New England textile workers, who asked for no wage increase but were met by management's demand for a 10c an hour wage cut.

MILITANCY OF WORKERS

The militancy displayed by the phone and rail strikers from the first hour on the picket line parallels the attitude of the 10,000 CIO Electrical strikers at the Sperry plants in New York. Apparently old-time strike-breaking is now being tested out by Big Business. Southern Bell and the L&N are hiring scabs and importing armed thugs for picket-line smashing. Since both corporations are controlled by Wall Street, this may well be the testing ground for a national labor strategy of Big Business.

So far the strategy has failed to break the spirit of the 80,000 strikers. Indeed, it seems to have won them a support among other Southern workers and middle-class folks hitherto unseen in the South.

John Tilford, the "tough boss" head of the L&N hoped that he could smash the strike of 25,000 non-operating railroad employees (railroad shop repairmen, etc.) by forcing the operating crafts

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Bills Take Holiday

A prosperous-looking citizen hesitated at the picket line of the CIO telephone workers in front of the Southern Bell building in Greensboro, N. C. "You mind if I go in to pay my bill?" he asked the nearest picket. "Never mind," answered the striker, "I'm the guy that takes out phones when bills aren't paid, and I won't bother you."

NEW ENGLAND STRIKERS RESIST BOSS OFFENSIVE

Twenty-five thousand New England textile workers kept 24 cotton and rayon mills shut down as employer arrogance showed no sign of diminishing after two weeks of strike. The CIO Textile Workers Union of America went on strike April 16 when employers demanded that its members take a 10 cent an hour cut in fringe benefits. At the same time 600 AFL textile workers struck a mill in Waterville, Maine.

The strike was preceded by lengthy negotiations. The CIO union asked for no increases but a mere extension of the old contracts. Employers replied with a demand for a 10 cent an hour wage cut. In 1952 they succeeded in forcing a 6 1/2 cent wage cut.

The only "concession" the moguls of the big mills made during the pre-strike negotiations was to change their demand from a 10 cent cut in wages to an equivalent cut in the meager insurance plan, vacation and severance pay, and elimination of all paid holidays but one.

When at midnight April 15 the old contracts expired the workers in two-thirds of the New England cotton-rayon industry walked out. Smaller plants, representing a third of the industry, renewed the old contracts at the last minute. In Massachusetts ten mills are

struck, in Maine nine, in Rhode Island four, and in Vermont one. Meetings arranged by a U.S. mediator, shortly after the strike began, between the union and Bates Mfg. Co., which employs 10,000 workers in five Maine mills, broke down on April 23.

EQUALIZE WITH SOUTH

Bates demanded a pledge from the TWUA-CIO that it help "equalize" Northern with Southern textile pay scales. That this was not just for one contract was made clear by the additional demand that the union issue a "policy statement" that it would "use contract reopenings at Bates and other plants to close any difference (with the South) rather than widen it." TWUA refused and negotiations collapsed. The union has now raised the demand that the struck mills restore the 6 1/2 cent an hour pay cut of 1952.

New England textile wages average 14 cents to 55 cents below other industries of the area. This shows the need for Northern labor to aid the unionizing of the South out of self-preservation alone.

Sperry Strikers Try for Complete Shutdown

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., April 26 — In an inspiring demonstration of fighting spirit and solidarity the 10,000 production workers of the Sperry Gyroscope Co. in this Long Island town shut down their huge plant serving notice to the company that they would keep it that way until the company sees the light.

The union action followed after the company got tough during contract negotiations and made plain their union busting objective. The strike began with a battle that lifted it to the front pages of the metropolitan newspapers and brought a small army of newsmen, TV cameramen, special police and what have you rushing to Lake Success. The rank and file had taken matters in their own hands and that always makes important news and this time was no exception. The union leadership had de-

cidated that supervisory employees, office workers and engineers could go through the picket lines. This decision made little sense to the Sperry workers who are seriously concerned with winning the fight — and winning as quickly as possible.

ENCOUNTERS OBSTACLE

The rank-and-file pickets decided that no one was to enter the plant and few did. Special squads of police were brought into action, and the resulting melee was viewed by millions on TV and in the newspaper photos. The company attorney while hastening to get through the picket line apparently ran into an obstacle during the excitement and had to appear in court the next day with a swollen, bandaged face to lend urgency to his plea for an injunction.

The plea by the company for an injunction was not contested

by the union's legal staff. The union's chief attorney, Irving Abrahamson, in asking for a delay told the judge that he had to leave the next day to be a government invited witness to an atomic explosion in the Nevada desert. The judge advised: "You'd better stick around here and watch this explosion."

The injunction was granted limiting the number of pickets to a handful, and it was announced that a battalion of military police were preparing to move in to augment the local cops. After six days of complete paralysis Sperry's plant showed a little life as thousands of engineers and office workers returned to work, behind the small picket lines outnumbered four to one by special police armed with riot guns, walkie-talkies and other military paraphernalia. The Sperry workers' militant reaction in the very first days

of the strike can be understood as reflecting their resentment against a corporation that has had the inside track to lush government contracts for nearly two decades. Yet they are so unconcerned about the high cost of living that they meet the union's request for wage increases with pitifully small token offers. This corporation has furthermore increasingly resorted to farming out its work to non-union shops and laying off its own workers.

One Sperry striker gave his opinion in this way: "This company had been on the national defense gravy train for a long time. Now they have cut out overtime and they're laying off. We're up to our ears in payments due on our mortgages, our cars and household expenses. The company is making more than ever and they're out to break the union."

The Sperry union, Local 450

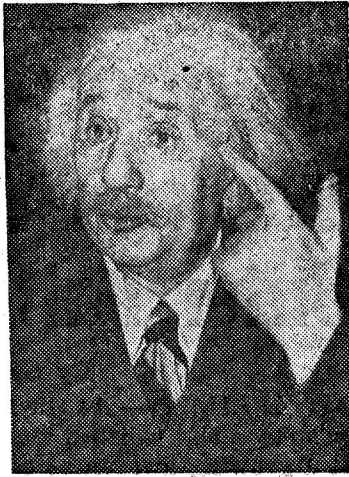
Human Nature And Einstein

By Myra Tanner

Albert Einstein, recognized as one of the greatest minds of this age, died without ever having accumulated the vast fortune that is the "mark of success" in the capitalist world. He donated most of his wealth to the further progress of science. For this selfless devotion to the welfare of humanity, Einstein has been eulogized by the capitalist press.

But when we socialists say that all people, like Einstein, will work for the common good in the socialist future, the capitalists denounce us as utopian dreamers. "It's contrary to human nature," they claim. Was Einstein then not human? Did he violate the laws of nature?

Einstein was not an exception in his way of life. Many rank-and-file scientists and technicians labor without demanding profit. The progress of man's knowledge of nature and therefore his control over nature is incentive enough. They scorn the feverish hustle for the almighty dollar, beyond the needs of a decent life and the means for fruitful work. They do not require the conspicuous show of "superiority" in idle hours, estates, minks and cadillacs. Life is rich enough in the big and little victories that mark man's progress.



ALBERT EINSTEIN

The same incentive governs the life of revolutionists throughout the world who devote their lives to the struggle for a better life for all. The union movement of the working class was born and won its biggest victories inspired by the notion of the common good. What kind of a "law of nature" is it, that can be violated on such a mass scale?

Dr. Salk is properly regarded as a hero for his victorious struggle to develop the polio vaccine. He asks no profit for his efforts. Cure of the dread disease is enough reward for him. But this return will not satisfy Park, Davis and Company of Detroit and other vaccine producers. They obey the "laws" of human nature — and demand a cash-on-the-line "legitimate" profit for their efforts.

The capitalists claim they are entitled to their profit because they contribute organizing genius, efficiency and ingenuity to the productive work of society. (How much "organizing" did the duPont family do to merit the \$21 million in dividends it took out of General Motors in just one year?) But, if we grant for the sake of the argument, that they make this contribution, why don't they, like the scientists they extol, ask only a modest return? Why don't they "organize" for the benefit of humanity instead of scooping billions in profits and then condemning millions of people to unemployment when depressions hit?

For the capitalists there are two standards of life: one for the scientists and one for themselves. It's much more profitable that way. The fruit of the work of science comes to the capitalist a lot cheaper.

Of course, in part, the capitalist is right about the selfishness of human beings. Capitalism molds human nature in the image of the capitalist. People are taught to live for their own material accumulation and "the devil take the hindmost."

But the fact that human nature is also generous, selfless, social, is proven by men and women of the highest stature who reject the dog-eat-dog capitalist code and work for the benefit of all.

In truth when the capitalist describes human nature as selfish, greedy and mean, he is merely attributing to others the emotions that stir in his own breast.

L. A. NEGROES PREVENT WHITWASH OF KILLER

By Thelma Clyde

WILLOWBROOK, Calif., April 17 — Prompt and disciplined action by the Negro community of Southeast Los Angeles caused local court officials to retreat from an attempted whitewash of James R. Hall, distributor for the Los Angeles Examiner, who on March 13 shot and killed a 12-year-old newsboy employee, MacArthur Malone.

The indignation of the community over the unprovoked killing of the Negro youth, while en route to deliver his papers, was heightened when Judge Ralph C. Dills of Compton District Court accepted District Attorney S. Ernest Roll's charge of manslaughter against Hall and released him on the low bail of \$1,000.

Their testimony, which remained unshaken under grueling cross examination, revealed that they had been in Hall's station wagon on the fateful Sunday morning. When Hall called for MacArthur he was found to be still in bed. After being roused, he dressed and sleepily got into the station wagon. Hall bawled out to the latecomer and then called out to the others to watch as he drew a loaded revolver, pointed it at young Malone's head and fired. Before taking the wounded boy to the police station for medical treatment, Hall stopped at the distributing office for the newspaper to pick up a replacement for Malone. When the victim was finally brought to the police station he was dead.

The testimony of the two youth also brought out the provocation of their adult employer for gun-brandishing. Henry Malone told how on one occasion Hall had "shot into a bundle of papers" in his office to demonstrate that the gun could be effective when he chose to use it. In the face of the evidence and the courtroom packed with spectators avowedly "to see that justice is done," Judge Dill remanded Hall, till then free on \$1,000 bond, to jail and decided that "a more serious offense than charged may have been committed." Hall was arraigned April 8 on a murder charge.

DOUBLE STANDARD Interpreting the low bail and the failure of the officials to bring a murder charge against Hall as another example of American justice's double standard where Negroes are concerned, a Willowbrook Citizens Committee for Justice was organized. Through petitions and weekly mass meetings it mobilized community sentiment. When the court held its hearing on the case an impressive, silent demonstration by approximately 300 residents of the Watts-Willowbrook area took place. They filled the courtroom and overflowed into the corridors.

Atomic Energy in the Grip of Monopoly Capitalism

By Sam Marcy

Ancient Greek legends abound in stories of robbers who infested the highways and byways of old Athens. One such outstanding robber was Procrustes, the Stretcher. What distinguished him from his contemporaries was not the magnitude of his feats, but the novel cruelties he visited upon his victims.

When he waylaid an unsuspecting traveler, he brought him to his abode, deep in his mountain fortress, and offered him the hospitality of his bed. If the victim's limbs were too short for the bed, Procrustes would stretch them, so as to make them fit. If, however, the limbs were longer than the bed, he would lop off the excess portions.

We have today a 20th century capitalist version of ancient Procrustes in the person of none other than the redoubtable Mr. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. It is the unenviable task of Mr. Strauss to drag the super-giant of modern industry and science — atomic energy — and fit him into the wretched midget's bed of capitalist property relations. Since the super-giant's limbs are outrageously out of proportion to the diminutive bed, Mr. Strauss

is ready to employ the technique of old Procrustes — cut off the giant's precious limbs, and make it "fit" into the cramped framework of capitalist private property.

Atomic energy, though baptized in a capitalist war, was born a thoroughly socialized product. It required the collective effort of hundreds of scientists, the accumulated labor of millions of workers, and the assembly of such a diversity of skills and materials as could be obtained only by scouring the four corners of the earth.

The harnessing of the atom, is therefore a magnificent demonstration of the superiority and absolute indispensability of cooperative, socialized methods of production in the further development of modern science and technology. The great drawback, of course, is that the ruling factions of American capitalism, are intent on confining the atom within the suffocating confines of their private, exclusive monopolies.

Before we can show how Mr. Strauss goes about his business, it is necessary to properly introduce Mr. Strauss to the American public.

The kept press of finance capital, just held in Montgomery, has shown an all too noticeable modesty in revealing his true stature. For Mr. Strauss cuts a most remarkable figure,

not only in American politics, but in finance and industry alike.

Of the countless times that his name appears in the press, rarely is there more than an accompanying description of his status as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. On occasion, he is described as the "ex-shoe drummer," who rose to fame on the basis of the brilliant role he played as confidential secretary to Herbert Hoover when the latter acted as food administrator in Europe after the first World War.

But it takes an exceptional article about him to mention in passing, that he married the daughter of Jerome Hanauer — a senior partner in the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. — the firm in which Mr. Strauss became a senior partner himself.

It would be a surprise to most American workers to learn that the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. ranks only second to the House of Morgan in the amount of assets in its financial orbit. In 1936, a government survey estimated Kuhn, Loeb & Co.'s assets as amounting to about \$11 billion. (The Rockefeller interests then amounted to more than \$6 1/2 billions, and the Morgan's more than \$3 billion.)

What is the source of the gargantuan income of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.? The stock answer

usually given, is railroad financing, reorganizations, and the supply of capital funds. This is a lot of gibberish which goes under the general heading of milking the railroads, by indirectly controlling them through loans and other financial devices. Such giant railroads, like the Pennsylvania, Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, Wabash — just to name a few — are the milking cows.

A few weeks ago, a great proxy battle was raging between a railroad official named McGuinness, and another named DuMaine for control of the New Haven Railroad, and later also for the Boston and Maine. Kuhn-Loeb wasn't worried about the result. Both of the railroads would remain within its financial orbit, regardless of who the winner would be — in this case, McGuinness.

We merely cite this to show that Kuhn, Loeb & Co., contrary to popular conception, is not merely another banking firm, but, we repeat, the second largest financial dynasty whose special field of exploitation is the vast network of United States railroads.

Mr. Strauss is in every way a representative of that dynasty, and when he resigned his post as a partner in the firm to assume his role in the Atomic Energy Commission, his "resigna-

tion" had about the same significance as the resignation of General Motors' C. E. Wilson, when the latter relinquished the presidency of the General Motors Corp. to accept the post as Secretary of Defense — a mere smoke screen, calculated to deceive the public.

Mr. Strauss, however, did not resign all his posts from private business. A few "small ones" he kept, such as his post as director of the multi-million dollar Radio Corp. of America, National Broadcasting Co., General American Transportation, and Merchants Indemnity Co.

On June 23rd, 1950, an obscure little item tucked away in the financial pages of the papers, carried the news of Mr. Strauss' becoming the financial advisor to the five Rockefeller brothers.

Why should the Rockefeller family need a financial advisor from a rival banking firm when it had at its disposal a horde of financial experts, ranging from specialists in small finance companies, to top-notch experts in the International Monetary Fund? Couldn't the Rockefeller brothers trust anyone of the experts in their own Chase National bank — the second largest bank in the country?

In the special code of the dynastic financial cliques, which govern America, the assumption of Mr. Strauss of the post of financial advisor to the Rockefeller family, meant an alliance between the dynasty of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and the Rockefeller octopus. It signaled a realignment of forces.

When the Chase Bank, a couple of months ago absorbed the Bank of Manhattan, thereby becoming the largest bank in New York, it further cemented the alliance between Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and the Rockefellers, because the Bank of Manhattan

was in the orbit of Kuhn & Loeb.

When Mr. Strauss assumed his post as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he not only passed one loyalty test, but two; that of Kuhn Loeb & Co. — and the Rockefellers. The fact that he was a Taft Republican didn't stand in the way of his appointment by either Truman or Eisenhower. For he is a living representative of two of the most powerful financial oligarchies in America.

When David Lillenthal, the former AEC Chairman was rudely thrown out of his post in the first great wave of hysteria to reach the high echelons of the Federal Government, the voice was that of Truman, but the hand was that of Strauss.

When the noted atomic scientist, Oppenheimer was screened from his post, everyone heard the loud voices of McCarthy and Hickenlooper, but only few saw the hand of Strauss.

As is now universally acknowledged, atomic energy has the potential for being substituted for all the conventional fuels, such as coal, oil, gas, electricity, etc. But Congressman Cole, House Chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, declared on January 24th, 1955, that atomic energy could fit in "as a supplement" (!) "to the conventional fuels."

Here indeed is an example of how Procrustes-Strauss, speaking through the voice of Representative Cole, on behalf of the "conventional" (Rockefeller) fuel empire, wants to reduce the scientific potential of atomic energy to a strictly limited dimension of the monopolist's profit system.

[Seventh of a series. Watch for the next installment: "The Morgans, du Ponts and Lehmans in the Fight for Atomic Energy."]

... Phone and Railroad Strikes in South

(Continued from page 1)

to scab the picket lines. This sad act of mutual scabbing by craft unions has been all too common in U.S. labor history. However, the solidarity of the operating workers was such that they refused from the beginning to cross the lines.

Injunctions and company threats failed to move them. Finally when Tilford started firing them for refusing to scab these unions took strike votes. Four — the Firemen & Engine-men, Trainmen, Dispatchers and Yardmasters — went out on strike. Votes are being conducted among two other operating crafts — the Conductors and Brakemen.

When the struck lines started transferring freight to other roads such as the Seaboard Air Line pickets moved in and temporarily closed them down as a lesson.

The outstanding solidarity action occurred in Birmingham on April 14 and 15. Incensed by mounting police brutality against pickets at the telephone exchanges, the CIO, AFL and railroad union spokesmen set up a joint committee and began talking general strike.

On the evening of the 14th a walkout of around 30,000 workers at the U.S. Steel plant took place. These workers not only went out but started pulling workers out of other plants — the Jackson Industries iron foundry and Woodward Iron Co. in the neighboring town of Bessemer. Only an immediate back-to-work ultimatum by CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald stopped

what might have been the winning act of the phone and rail strikes.

Even so the situation in Birmingham remains tense. Southern Bell officials pull their guns as they pass through the picket lines under police protection. Railroad pickets are threatened by armed company guards and pelted with bottles and other missiles by scabs.

At the Alabama CIO Convention, just held in Montgomery, there was bitter talk against "strike-breaking public officials" and chief scab-herder Sheriff Holt McDowell of Birmingham in particular.

POLICE VIOLENCE

Police brutality has not been confined to Birmingham and the railroad lines. In Miami, Florida, police turned high pressure fire hoses on CIO pickets — most of them women — bowling them over and sending them sliding across the pavement. The pretext for this action was that some paint had been splashed on a cop. The firehoses, however, didn't drown the fighting spirit of the CIO phone workers and their sympathizers. As the police dislodged some, others replaced them — all told 500 fought the police — and the scabs who were due to change shifts were kept in the telephone exchange for hours.

The fighting spirit shown throughout the South makes it clear that a new generation of militant workers has come of age there. Moreover, they have the sympathy of wide sections of the

population. Even the terrible Jim Crow division between white and Negro workers has been to some degree lessened during the strikes. While most of the strikers are white, Southern newspaper reports of strike arrests show that the few Negroes involved are very active.

Moreover, a big segment of the steel workers who came out in sympathy with the telephone and rail workers are Negro. Unfortunately McDonald killed this as soon as he could — but even a one-day sympathy strike involving large numbers of white and Negro workers creates new and hopeful bonds between them.

An important fact about this present generation of Southern labor is that it will no longer accept the Southern wage differential. This long-established lesser rate of pay than anywhere else in the country is one of Southern labor's prime grievances.

A long-distance operator in New York who puts through a call to, say, Knoxville, Tenn., gets an average of \$20 more per week than the Knoxville operator who puts the same call through to New York. Moreover, there are seven wage differentials for the same work inside the South itself. Thus in big cities the size of Atlanta operators' pay ranges from \$39 to a maximum \$62 a week, while in the smallest towns the scale is \$36.50 to a maximum \$46.50.

The 750 Greyhound bus drivers who are out on strike in 10 Southeastern states are specifically demanding the same

wage scales as the rest of the country.

Many AFL craft unions of skilled workers have succeeded in narrowing or abolishing the wage differential with the North. This is also true of the CIO aluminum and steel workers. AFL teamsters have gained extra raises to narrow the gap with the mid-west drivers. Recently the CIO Packinghouse workers, which is doing the best job fighting Jim Crow, broke the age-old 10c. differential in the American Sugar Co. down to 7c.

While the South still remains the area of low-paid labor the workers' readiness to fight is very obvious.

For example the union fever is now in Miami. Nine hotels are already out on strike. There are 20,000 low-paid hotel workers there. A victory of the telephone and rail workers would give them and all other Southern workers terrific hope and enthusiasm for unionism. Conversely a defeat could cause the slumping back into the old moods of despair.

This shows the importance of the Southern strikes for the American labor movement. This is a critical moment for the future of unionism in the South. "There is a tide in the affairs," not only of men, but of labor, "which taken at the flood leads on to fortune." The present upsurge of Southern labor is precisely such a tide. If it is not taken, or if it is rejected, as McDonald of the Steelworkers has rejected it, the South may become, not a source of strength for labor, but once again its Achilles' heel.

Our Readers Take the Floor

TV Interview With Dr. Salk

Editor:

Last night I got a wonderful picture of what television could, and some day will be. I watched the interview of Edward R. Murrow with Dr. Salk and two of the men that worked on the controlled experiment with the anti-polio vaccine. It was one of the most exciting and inspiring things I have ever seen. Aside from the happy news of the success of the vaccine itself, it was an opportunity to see and hear three men of obviously enormous stature. They gave every appearance of being not only talented scientists, but also men with integrity, principle and dedication to truth.

Within the limits of what they were in a position to say, they stressed from every angle the social aspects of the problem and the need for a social approach to it. They presented their ideas clearly, forcefully and with genuine modesty. Dr. Salk sharply underscored the fact that no single individual or group of individuals could be given the credit for the success of the vaccine, explaining how every such scientific development was the result of accumulated research and experiments by countless others and that the one who finally succeeded was simply making the last step in a process.

The fact that they were men dedicated to truth hit home from every angle. They have worked closely together and have a great respect for one another. Yet in reply to questions they did not hesitate to freely delineate their views from one another where they disagreed on the answer.

Apparently Murrow was deeply impressed with them. He closed the interview by quoting Carl Sandburg, "Gentlemen, we are much beholden to you."

Aside from everything else, the program was a vivid demonstration of the fact that men don't need capitalist incentives to strive for human progress.

H. R. New Jersey

Some Reactions To GAW and 30-40

Editor:

It's only natural that one of the chief topics of conversation in restaurants here is the UAW negotiations with the auto companies, and especially the demand for a guaranteed annual wage. A waitress can't help overhearing parts of these conversations. I don't know if they're typical, but here are a few:

Some auto dealers were in town for a state convention and talking about the negotiations. They didn't seem upset by the guaranteed wage demand. But then one of them said, "You don't think he's really going to ask for a 30-hour week, do you?" ("He" was Reuther, and the 30-hour week reference was not to the UAW's present demand, but a possible demand in the future.)

This got the whole table excited. "He wouldn't dare do that." "He'd better not." The sentiment seemed to be that a demand for a shorter work week would be "going too far" while the guaranteed wage plan was less "unreasonable" and less likely to provoke a bitter struggle.

Another time there were some salesmen for either an auto parts plant or an auto company. They

were down in the mouth about a recent slump in sales. White collar people of this type usually repeat the arguments of management. I thought they'd be against the guaranteed wage demand just as strongly as the editors of the three daily papers in Detroit, but to my surprise they were favorably inclined.

One of them said he thought Reuther has the right idea: assure the people of steady income and the results would be good for business all the way around, encourage people not to be so worried, to loosen up, and buy more, etc. The others at the table agreed with him.

Not many auto workers eat in my place. But one of the waitresses has a boy friend working in one of the Chrysler plants and when we met him at a bar after work one night he got to talking about the negotiations too. (Chrysler's contract doesn't expire until the end of summer but everybody knows that Chrysler conditions will be affected by what happens in the GM and Ford negotiations.)

He's a young man who came here from the South after the war and has about five or six years' seniority. He said he can't work up any enthusiasm for the guaranteed wage plan, and neither can other young workers in his department. It might gain something, he said, but probably all it will mean is that no new men will be hired in auto, that workers with relatively low seniority like himself will get laid off after a while and, "after getting a dole from the company" will stay laid off, and that the ones to benefit will be the companies and the older workers with the highest seniority.

"What I'd like to see," he said, "is six-for-eight." When I asked what that meant, it turned out to be the 30-hour work week at 40 hours' pay, expressed in daily rather than weekly terms. "Six-for-eight" he said, "and getting the government and the companies to pay higher unemployment benefits — that would be something to fight for. In fact, for something like that I'd be willing to strike for six months if necessary."

Waitress Detroit, Mich.

Editor:

At the Ford Rouge plant workers have been taking a keen interest in the current negotiations since they are the ones who will "lead the way" in the fight for the Guaranteed Annual Wage.

Because the Local 600 leadership had shelved its program for 30-for-40 long before the convention, attention and discussion shifted for awhile to the issue of the \$25 million strike fund.

From listening to all the comments in the shop it is safe to say that there is almost no confidence, expressed in the International leadership to either distribute strike funds fairly or, even more important, to fight for a genuine GAW.

Because of their lack of confidence in the leadership there is a dangerous tendency among some of the rank-and-file to overlook the general offensive of the corporations against the unions. They dismiss the necessity of strike preparations with, "The International doesn't want a strike. They just want to make a deal with the company."

Another way in which this lack of confidence in the leadership is expressed is in the attitude of some of the workers towards the Guaranteed Annual Wage plan. "I'd go on strike for six months if I thought it would help get some guys their jobs back, but a guaranteed annual wage won't help anyone — except maybe a few real old-timers," was the way one worker put it. Most of the workers I talk to agree, "We won't get a real guaranteed annual wage, you can bet on that!" There is a very lukewarm feeling towards fighting for a GAW although there is no doubt as to willingness to go on strike and back up whatever the union asks for.

Among the several thousand skilled men in the Tool and Die Unit at the Rouge plant there is a growing alarm at the increasing lay-offs of skilled men in the middle of record-breaking production of automobiles. The most frequently heard comment about the layoffs is, "The company's cutting down the payroll in preparation for a GAW."

The program of Local 600, the 30-for-40 program, has again become an almost daily topic for conversation. An equally popular topic discussed is the demand for the lowering of the age requirement for pension eligibility. Some of the young men in the shop have been saying, "If only they'd get rid of the old timers, there'd be jobs for the youth." They are disregarding the inadequate amount of the pensions and the fact that many more young men are released into the labor market each year than could be absorbed by the forcing out of older workers.

Ford Worker Detroit

and personalities successfully conveyed to the reader. Although biographies of Garrison were written earlier in the past 50 years, the consensus of opinion was that the 19th Century biographies were far superior. This was not merely because the latter were more detailed but because the militant spirit of abolitionism was so foreign to 20th Century scholars that they couldn't understand a man like Garrison. This is no longer true. Korgold's biography of Garrison and Phillips is in some ways superior to the 19th Century ones which are, moreover, long out of print. His sympathy for the labor movement enables him to recapture the spirit of abolitionism.

Moreover many of the organizational and political problems of abolitionism are best explained by an understanding of similar problems in modern working-class organizations. This works two ways. Modern problems are considerably illuminated by knowledge of the abolitionists' problems, their successful solutions and their mistakes.

To read about Garrison and Phillips is to read about much more than the anti-slavery movement. It is to read about the origin of the women's rights movements, the early outcroppings of pacifism, anarchism and reforms of all sorts in America. The personalities that cross the pages are remarkable and unforgettable.

Korgold, of course, carefully traces the political development of the United States in this period. He renders a signal service to students of American history by very clearly illustrating the relationship and effect of the "non-political" abolitionism of Garrison and Phillips on the growth of anti-slavery as a political movement. This culminates in his careful study of the role of militant abolitionism in forcing Lincoln into his very reluctant Emancipation Proclamation. While showing Lincoln's resistance every inch of the way to all and any measures on behalf of the Negro people, Korgold nonetheless keeps his balance and shows why and how Lincoln was a successful and capable agent of the capitalist revolution of 1861-1865 against the slave power. This section will be a revelation to many readers.

Finally, of course, is the story of how after abolition Phillips, without breaking his stride in (Continued on page 3)

MAY SELECTION FOR BOOK-A-MONTH

TWO FRIENDS OF MAN. The Story of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and their Relationship with Abraham Lincoln. By Ralph Korgold. Boston: Little Brown, 1950. 425 pp. \$5.00 — May Book-A-Month price \$1.00 plus 15c. mailing charge).

The idea of writing the biographies of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips together is a happy one. Their lives were so intertwined that the story of one

can't be told without innumerable references to the other. But why have merely references and explanations when the two biographies can be best written in volume as Mr. Korgold has?

There has been much biographical work done on both leaders of the great Abolitionist crusade. The author of this work has thoroughly studied all this material and the source material of the anti-slavery movement itself and has written a first rate book. Not only are the political roles of these two men carefully examined but their backgrounds

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Balance Sheet of Bandung Conference

(Continued from page 1)

theme, was unanimous approval of a clause interpreted by the N. Y. Times to mean justification of membership by Asian-African nations in such alliances as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty Organization.

(In a speech, Chou En-lai said that he was against these alliances but in the voting he went along with the clause giving ambiguous approval to the Western imperialist military alliances that Wall Street has been building since the end of World War II in accordance with its plans for attack on the Soviet bloc.)

DULLES COULDN'T DO IT

To put over such a feat in person was clearly beyond the capacities of a Dulles. Had direct representatives of Washington on London been present and pressed for such a resolution it would have struck the whole colonial world as a provocation aimed at blowing up the conference. But the Nehru's put it over easily as part of their "neutralist" program of promoting "world peace and cooperation."

That would seem sufficient for one conference but the delegates went even further. Clauses were included approving foreign capital investments in colonial countries; that is, approving the economic base of imperialism in these lands.

Naturally in the week of the word-fest such topics as freedom, and independence, and "general disarmament" and mutual aid, and international control of atomic energy, and racial segregation and discrimination got quite a talking over. And many things were said that pleased oppressed peoples everywhere. But that was one of the main purposes of the conference — to act as a safety valve for the letting off of steam.

So far as carrying out the nice-sounding phrases was concerned, this remained in the world of pious good wishes or appeals at the charter of the United Nations. In fact the repeated references to the UN made the gathering appear more like an



NEHRU

extra-curricula session of that body than a meeting of genuine representatives of the freedom-seeking colonial peoples.

The United Nations — the organization set up mainly by Roosevelt to further the imperialist ambitions of American capitalism — was glorified and made out to be the hope of humanity. No report that I have read mentioned a word of criticism of the UN's sponsorship of Truman's "police action" in Korea. The line was to put a high shine on this trap for people searching for a short cut to enduring peace.

It was no doubt this aspect that led the N. Y. Times, in praising the "helpful and stimulating things to come out of the just-concluded Bandung conference" to suggest editorially April 26 that at the next conference the agenda place "stronger emphasis" on "cultural exchange" involving "medicine and public health." The aim of this is to strengthen the "practical" side of the "next Bandung."

This sounds laudable enough;

but, as in the case of the UN, "cultural exchange" amounts to sugar-coating for politics in the interests of imperialism and is designed as a substitute for the revolutionary socialist struggles that offer the only real hope for peace and cooperation on a global scale.

ROLE OF CHOU EN-LAI

The aim of the Chinese delegation headed by Chou En-lai was clear enough. In view of the resemblance of the Bandung conference to a UN confab, they sought to demonstrate how they could be expected to act as members of the UN itself. As the Stalinist organ in New York, the Daily Worker, expressed it editorially April 26, "The Bandung conference proved that countries with differing economic systems and political ideas can achieve peaceful coexistence."

To "achieve" this, Chou En-lai acted like anything but a genuine representative of the revolutionary Chinese people. He proved as adroit as Nehru in making the conference palatable to the imperialist powers, in making the experiment succeed beyond what even the N. Y. Times felt it "had a right to hope."

Colvin R. DeSilva, a leading Trotskyist of Korea, proved to be dead right when he pointed out before the conference that the objective of the Chinese Stalinists "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."

Chou En-lai is under tremendous compulsion from the Chinese people to maintain the maximum appearance of independence. But just how firmly Chou's stance is based on the substance of independence can be gathered from the observation of Sir John Kotelawala, Premier of Ceylon, who made an attack on "communism" at the conference. When



Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem acted as "unofficial representative" of the U.S. at the Bandung conference. He told Asians and Africans that discrimination was disappearing so fast in the U.S. that "to be a Negro is no longer a stigma" but rather "a mark of distinction."

The State Department responded cautiously to Chou's offer to "negotiate" over Formosa, Kotelawala said. "It is a pity that the U.S. should reply to the offer without thinking."

By "thinking," this bourgeois head of a colonial country means "without bearing in mind the need to appear anti-imperialist in the eyes of the masses." The political maxim of such figures is "If you can't be independent you must at least appear independent."

The policy of Peking like that of Moscow flows from the desire to maintain the status quo; that is, stem further revolutionary upsurges. This has been the policy

of Moscow since Stalin seized power and it is based on the fear of the parasitic bureaucratic caste that revolutions will dislodge them. In the case of the Chinese Stalinists the fear is that the revolution in that country, taking fresh inspiration from upsurges elsewhere, will continue to unfold, displacing the current government by genuine representatives of the working class.

The policy is utopian, for even if the Stalinists could maintain the status quo indefinitely at home (which they can't), imperialism by its very nature is incapable of doing so. It must expand — as two world wars have eloquently demonstrated. Thus the utopian policy of the Stalinists becomes reactionary for it plays into the hands of imperialism. In place of revolutionary socialist struggle, the only road open to the oppressed peoples of the earth in their drive for economic well being and world peace, the Stalinists offer the delusory panacea of "coexistence."

They meet here on common ground with the Nehrus, who also fear above all the growing potential of the colonial revolution. The Nehrus prepared the Bandung stage on which Chou En-lai made his bow as a new upholder of the status quo. All of them deserve the medals handed out by the N. Y. Times.

CLARITY NEEDED

Revolutionary socialists throughout the world can take heart in the symptomatic significance of the Bandung conference. In this dark, distorted, reducing mirror, the image of the giant colonial revolution can be made out. It is a revolution that can never be contained for long by the imperialists and their agents, no matter how cunning and practised in deception.

But one of the prerequisites for the successful outcome of that revolution is complete clarity on the political meaning of the Bandung conference and the role of its sponsors.

It is part of the effort to stem the revolution, to divert it, to supply it with "leaders" who, like Judas goats will take it into the slaughterhouse of imperialism.

A New Climate in the South

Not only the Militant is watching the Southern strikes with an eagle eye. The Big Business press is doing the same. The difference is that we see great promise and they see only a terrible threat.

Some of the points raised for the corporation-executive audience are, however, quite pertinent. They fall into three categories. (1) If the rail and phone workers win, will other Southern workers be encouraged to join unions? (2) Will the AFL-CIO launch a "serious" organizing drive in the South? (3) Is the Southern public friendlier to labor than it used to be?

There's no two ways about point one. Victories in the present strikes will give a tremendous shot in the arm to unionism down South. That brings up point two. Will the AFL-CIO leadership take advantage of heightened union-receptivity on the part of the Southern workers? Will the AFL-CIO launch an organizing drive ready to fight it out with the company-owned sheriffs and Ku Klux politicians? Will it have the guts to batter away at Jim Crow? Will it be afraid of embarrassing its political "friends" in Congress by sailing into the reactionary Southern Democratic machine — which runs the state houses and the county court houses?

The answers to these questions will largely determine whether an AFL-CIO Southern drive will prove serious and successful or prove another fiasco like Operation Dixie. CIO Steelworker President McDonald's shameful breaking of the Birmingham sympathy strike was a terrible blow to the phone and rail workers. While no sins of commission are charged so far against the other top labor bureaucrats, they are guilty of plenty of sins of omission. They haven't done much of anything up till now for the Southern strikes. They even seem to be tongue-tied on the subject.

Nor is there any doubt about the increased friendliness of "public opinion" to the unions. A new climate of opinion exists among Southern workers, farmers and middle class. Workers — organized and unorganized — have demonstrated this by their observance of picket lines and their solidarity actions. As for the middle class segments of society, here are a few examples.

In one Alabama town no restaurant will serve railroad scabs or guards. The sheriff informed the guards that if they were their guns off company property he would immediately deputize 50 strikers. In a Tennessee town local ministers open and close the strike meetings with prayers. Merchants all over are reported friendlier to strikers than ever before. The mayor of one town offered his front lawn to phone pickets as a resting place. A CIO telephone organizer, after completing a tour of North Carolina, reports only two communities openly hostile. In areas where, in 1948, he couldn't hire a meeting hall he is now given free radio time to present the strikers' side of the story.

This doesn't imply that generally officials and sheriffs are friendly to the strikers. The cases of scab-herding and police brutality prove the contrary. But the existence of exceptions to what used to be an iron-clad rule in the South reflects a change. This changed climate of opinion, on top of the solidarity of the strikers, is one of the reasons the Southern governors are hesitating over breaking the strikes with their national guards. The various governors' conferences during the strike were build-ups for such a move. In each case the governors decided the time wasn't quite ripe. It is up to labor in the rest of the country to throw its weight behind these crucial Southern strikes before the time gets "ripe."

Not in Business for Their Health

The case for socialized medicine — indeed for socialism — never looked stronger than in the light of the sordid profiteering connected with the distribution of the new polio vaccine.

Here is a new miracle drug capable of preventing death, suffering and anguish. It is developed by a whole community of scientists working selflessly with only the welfare of society in mind.

Wouldn't it have been fitting for the vaccine's distribution to have been handled in the same spirit? Manufactured by the government at cost, strictly rationed according to age group priority, and administered to children free of charge?

But the capitalist government refuses to make the vaccine freely available to every child in the land. The Eisenhower Administration brushed aside pleas of AFL President George Meany that the vaccine be distributed through public health instead of commercial and private medical channels.

With equal brusqueness the plea of CIO President Reuther that the government insure the vaccination of every child regardless of income level was dismissed.

Instead, the Administration licensed six pharmaceutical companies to make the vaccine and sell it like any other commodity.

Now, the pharmaceutical houses aren't in business for their health — or yours. They demand profits just like any other capitalist enterprise — as much as the traffic will bear.

Canadian Left Wingers Expelled from CCF

"Parke-Davis and Allied Laboratories both said they expected sales of the vaccine to have a marked effect on their earnings," says the April 13 Wall Street Journal. A spokesman for Lilly said the company had a large investment in the vaccine and "expects a sizable return."

They will be aided in their profit making by the Polio Foundation, which financed Dr. Salk's researches out of the March of Dimes contributed by the public. The Polio Foundation will vaccinate all first and second grade children in the country gratis. But its directors refused to extend this limited coverage after Dr. Salk announced that only two instead of three shots would be required to give immunity. The Foundation directors released the extra vaccine to the companies for commercial sale.

Manufacturing cost of the vaccine is estimated at somewhat under \$1 for the series of shots. The price to the parents will be \$6.

Doctoring, too, under capitalism observes the rule of private enterprise, commodity production and profit making. Doctors will charge \$3 to \$5 per visit. Total cost of immunizing a child can thus cost the parents as high as \$20.

At that price, many children will be kept from immunity and this in turn endangers the whole immunization program.

Isn't this a prize example of how capitalism can foul up one of science's greatest gifts to mankind?

Canadian Left Wingers Expelled from CCF

[In the April 18 issue of the Militant we published a report of the expulsion of the revolutionary socialists at the convention of the Ontario Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. The report was based on the accounts of Canadian newspapers which gave the story front page prominence. We publish below a first hand report and analysis of the convention and the struggle of the left wing in the CCF. — Editor.]

By Peter Farnsworth

TORONTO, Canada, April 14 —The right wing of the Ontario section of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation turned the party's 21st annual convention, held in this city last week, into a hysterical witch hunt against the socialist Left. Under the banner of ridding the party of Trotskyism, 14 activists were expelled.

Immediately following the Ontario action, the British Columbia right-wing leadership, which has been preparing its next week's convention as a show-down with a broad left opposition, announced its intention of opening up with a similar drive to root Trotskyism out of the movement in the west.

This year's Ontario convention, taking place on what is certain to be an election year, was preceded by a representative trade union conference. In a statement to the unionists, Ontario CCF leader Donald MacDonald spelled out the line of the Right in the following words: "Nationalization isn't in our program any more—the administrative problems are so big it would make it impossible."

The first day's session of the convention itself unwound in a lackadaisical manner until a resolution from the University of Toronto club restating the party's position of opposition to German Rearmament came up for debate.

A few months ago when the issue arose in the House of Commons the CCF parliamentary caucus split on the question. National CCF leader, M. J. Coldwell, and 4 other members of parliament cast their vote with the government and the Tories for German Rearmament, in defiance of official party policy.

Immediately following the reading of the University club's resolution a prominent trade union bureaucrat, Herbert Gargrave, rushed forward with a motion to table. Chairman and provincial president Parks accepted the motion and amidst considerable disturbance called the question which carried 64 to 48. Another provincial council

member, sensing the uneasiness of the delegates, protested, leaving the chairman room to withdraw. The chairman called the question again. This time the vote was 6 to 61 in favor of tabling.

Friday morning's session (April 8) was a closed one. Sandwiched between membership and financial reports the right wing intended to dispose of the appeals of 8 out of 14 who last fall had been expelled by the provincial council. But their steam-roller plans were frustrated. Following the circulation of a 2,000 word document and a witch-hunting speech by provincial secretary Ken Bryden, one of the accused, Paddy Stanton, made a general presentation of the case for the accused.

He effectively turned the charge of Trotskyist party within the party into a counter charge that the right wing under this guise was attempting to rid the party of its socialist opponents. To the uneasy delegates he presented a statement from the accused backed up with a powerful appeal from CCF member of parliament Colin Cameron.

Cameron, a leading left winger in the BC section, warned the delegates "to consider very carefully before you deprive the CCF of his (Stanton's) talents." "You need him and his kind," he warned, "and if you do not know it, that is the frightening measure of your dire need of ideas and those who can voice them." Cameron's slashing attack on the Ontario leadership over their "great deal of success in curbing and repressing unpopular and uncomfortable ideas" which he contrasted with their lack of success at the polls, roused attempts to suppress the document but the delegates would have none of it.

After the general presentation, the individual cases were dealt with. Four of the accused who were allowed to appear did an effective job in defense of democracy in the movement. Early in the hearings the machine was arrogant, cynical, and confident — generating the atmosphere of a Roman circus where the fate of the gladiator was determined by a gesture of the thumb. But as the trial proceeded the Right turned vicious, and desperately attempted to rekindle an atmosphere of hysteria.

The hearing not only took over the entire morning session but also most of the afternoon. Several delegates hit the floor to express grave doubts and defend the accused despite the hostile pressures. The vote on the

individual cases varied widely from six or seven to 25 or 30. Dozens of delegates followed a policy of abstaining. Later in the sessions several delegates approached the expelled to voice regrets about the expulsion. Some apologized for their failure to fight against the expulsions.

The following and last days' sessions were pervaded by an atmosphere of intimidation, doubt and uneasiness. Several delegates felt called upon to withdraw mildly critical amendments coming from their clubs. The machine moved into action again to force the tabling without debate of another resolution endorsing the five M.P.'s who defied party policy on German Rearmament.

Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) PAC director Henry Weisbach cynically characterized the expulsions as a cleaning of the party's skirts to enter the election campaign. "We don't want to be tarred with the brush that we are harboring people who believe in a totalitarian philosophy," he told the press.

Provincial secretary Bryden, whistling in the dark, claimed that "this can have nothing but a good result on the CCF party" but many delegates will be returning to their clubs full of doubts! Rank and file activists, with a developing uneasiness about the leadership's turning away from a socialist policy to a liberal reform policy, will be asking questions about socialism, about Trotskyism and about what is to be done in the party to make it an instrument for a socialist Canada.

May Selection For Book - A - Month

(Continued from page 2)

the Reconstruction battles, refused to "sheathe his sword" but started wielding it on behalf of the labor movement.

Rejecting the adulation that a capitalist class, finally converted to abolitionism, was ready to heap upon him, Phillips took up the least "respectable" cause of his day. Did he become a socialist as many claim? Korngold shows pretty well that this was not the case. Phillips was not really acquainted with Marxism. Yet his social instincts were sharp and he aligned himself solidly in all class battles on the side of the workers. Surely he is one of the most inspiring figures in American history.

World Events

NEWSPAPER CENSORSHIP was publicly imposed upon all Algerian papers April 22 by the French Governor General. A campaign of brutal Gestapo-like repression is being carried on against the Algerian MTLD which demands independence for Algeria.

A YELLOW DOG OATH, demanded of some 2,500 civilian employees of the U.S. in West Germany, is being bitterly protested by the Social Democratic Party. The "loyalty oath" reads: "I am not a member of an organization of government servants which claims the right to strike against the United States..." It is being demanded of the employees of the U.S. High Commission in Germany, which will formally go out of existence when West German sovereignty is completely ratified. Its duties and employees are to be taken over by the U.S. embassy.

U. S. REFUGEES. "A thing to remember about the University of Cambridge in England is that it is the recognized haven of refugee scientists. In the 1930s scientists escaping from Hitler's Germany sheltered there. In the 1950s the refugees came from McCarthy's America. Cambridge hospitality is unaffected by the exiles' country of origin. University employment is found now for escaped American scientists with the same disinterested attitude as that which insured the means to work and live to self-exiled German scientists 20 years ago." — Columnist Judith Robinson in the Toronto (Canada) Telegram.

JAPAN'S LEFT SOCIALISTS continue to rise in popular favor. In last February's elections they increased their delegation in parliament by 15 members. In the 46 prefectural elections (comparable to the elections for state legislatures in the U.S.) held April 23 they increased their vote by over 64%. The

election results were a severe blow to Premier Hatoyama's party.

BOMBAY POLICE fired into a demonstration of striking city transport workers. Many strikers were injured and 60 were arrested. The strike, which began on April 18, involves 8,000 workers.

1800 IRON ORE MINERS in Luxembourg went on strike on April 18 for the 40-hour week, instead of their present 48-hour week with retention of the existing wage scales.

DANISH DAIRY WORKERS ON 20,000 FARMS held a three-day strike demonstration in the middle of April. They demanded an eight-hour day instead of the nine hours scheduled for the summer. The dispute is now before an arbitration court set up by the Danish parliament.

FRIENDSHIP TREATY was signed by India and Cambodia. At a banquet celebrating the treaty which Nehru gave for Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the ambassador from Red China was present.

HUNGARIAN PREMIER IMRE NAGY and Defense Minister Mihaly Farkas were ousted from their government and Communist Party posts on April 17. Both were taxed with following a "soft" line that favored production of consumer goods as against development of heavy industry. Hints of a "treason" trial in prospect for the two were contained in the editorial in Szabad Nep, leading Hungarian Stalinist newspaper, which declared that "especially serious was (Nagy's) neglect to build up war industry because this endangered the shielding of Hungary's peaceful development under the protection of a strong army."

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Some Thoughts on Automation and 'Negro Jobs'

How will automation affect the Negro worker?

Businessmen and industrialists are excited about automation. The reason for their enthusiasm is not hard to see. Automation is the tendency to develop the automatic factory to the point where raw materials are fashioned into finished products without being touched by human hands. Machines are guided not by men but by electronic circuits, tape recordings or by the shape of the objects themselves.

In describing one of these modern miracles, Ira Wolfert says in the current Readers' Digest:

"In California I saw a machine that makes 13 boxes a minute from a pile of boards and a barrel of nails. It also makes crates and frames for a bed's box springs. It can do everything except join the carpenter's union." (My emphasis, J. B.)

It is this last point of course, that explains the enthusiasm of the capitalists who own the factories and the machines: they can produce more commodities with less workers and, they hope, with less "labor trouble."

What does this mean to the workers? In a nutshell, it means they must think in terms of taking over control of the machines their labor, mental, and physical, have developed, and reorganizing production on a planned basis of production for use. If they don't, and if the factories continue to operate only so long as the capitalists who own them can realize a profit, what will the present labor force do for jobs, and income? Who will buy the abundance of commodities?

The Militant has discussed these implications of automation elsewhere in the paper, but in this column we are concerned with one special aspect of automation: its

particular effect on Negro workers. The ultimate effect will depend on who owns and controls the machines — a small minority of private profiteers, or society as a whole. But it seems to this writer that there are some very important questions Negro workers must consider immediately:

If the first results of introducing automation in a plant are (1) to lay off those last hired, and (2) to keep or hire only a few men with the particular skills required to set the automatic machines in motion, what will happen to Negro workers who (1) continue to be the last hired, and (2) continue to be deprived of equal opportunities for education and training?

If the hardest and dirtiest and least skilled jobs, which still constitute the bulk of "Negro jobs" in industry, are eliminated by automatic machines, what happens to the colored workers now on those jobs?

Actually, automation does not change the nature of the problems of the Negro struggle; it just poses those problems more sharply, makes them more urgent. That is the "menace" of automation.

But automation also holds forth a promise for the elimination of the evils of Negro discrimination. In a socialist society in which production is democratically controlled and planned for the benefit of all mankind, every improvement that cuts down the amount of labor necessary to produce the useful objects man wants or needs will provide more free time for everyone. With economic security assured for all, fear of unemployment and hunger will no longer drive men to the jungle type of struggle for existence. There will be useful work for all, and irrational divisions like "Negro jobs" will exist only in history books.

Equal Pay for Women

By Joyce Cowley

"The principle of equal pay is basic to the American free enterprise system. Both employers and union leaders find its application important to the morale and efficiency of workers in their every-day jobs. It benefits the community by upholding the general level of wages and maintaining purchasing power."

I got this from an EQUAL PAY PRIMER recently published by the U.S. Department of Labor — Women's Bureau. You'd certainly get the impression that equal pay, since it is "basic" and both unions and employers are for it, must be pretty general these days. But I discovered after a careful reading of the pamphlet that there is no national legislation for equal pay, 35 states do not have this kind of legislation and only one-fourth of all union contracts have an equal-pay clause. How this affects women in their "every-day jobs" (is there some other kind of job?) is indicated by examples noted in one public employment office during the past year.

The jobs offered were patent researcher, department store cashier, sales (dept. stores), investigation shopper, and clerk-typist. The weekly pay offered to men and women for these occupations in the same order as listed above differed as follows:

Men	Women
\$70	\$60
\$50 to \$60	\$40 to \$45
\$50	\$37.50
\$55	\$40

For the clerk-typist job, men were offered 85c. per hour and women 75c.

It's gratifying to learn, however, that everyone is in favor of equal pay. For instance, the government. For the last ten years bills for equal pay have been introduced at each session of Congress and

according to this PRIMER, they have consistently received administration support. It seems a little curious that the bills have never been passed, but I suppose some dull-witted Congressmen just didn't realize that it was administration policy.

The National Association of Manufacturers is for equal pay, too. Here's what they say: "The principle of equal pay for equal work performance within the wage structure of a local business establishment is sound and should be observed. Rates of pay should be based on the nature and requirements of each job, irrespective of age, sex or other personal factors of the workers."

An appendix to the PRIMER gives a list of organizations represented at Congressional hearings on equal pay bills. The National Association of Manufacturers was there in 1949 and 1950, along with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and General Electric. They appeared in opposition to the bill.

The opposition of employer groups to national equal pay legislation is readily explained by the PRIMER. It's because of their concern about "inspection and enforcement." In other words, they are for the principle of equal pay as long as they don't have to raise wages.

The average earnings of a woman worker are a little less than half the average for a man. If you understand the fundamental relationships between wages and profits — i.e., the more the worker gets, the less the boss gets and vice versa — you can see why the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are not eager to raise the pay of 20,000,000 women workers. To divide workers on the basis of race or sex and roll in extra profits by an intensified exploitation of minority groups — that's really basic to the American free enterprise system.

Notes from the News

ANOTHER GIVEAWAY has been okayed by both Houses of Congress. The government will "sell" 24 synthetic rubber factories, built during the war at a cost of \$618 million and now worth probably twice that amount, for \$310 million. The deal will help increase monopoly since the four big companies slated to get the plants already control 80% of U.S. tire production.

INTEGRATION WORKS BOTH WAYS. Voluntary enrollment of 399 white students at West Virginia State College, formerly the Negro college for the state, proves it. There are 671 colored students at the college.

REFORMED BIG BUSINESS EXECUTIVE. Theodore K. Quinn, former vice-president of General Electric Co., who resigned and now devotes himself to exposing monopoly testified before a Congressional committee recently. He said the small, independent businessman in the U.S. was "going the way of the American Indian" in a losing battle against the big corporations. "There are 68 private billionaire corporations in the country — most of them with greater annual incomes than the 48 political states in the union," Quinn said. "As few as 200 industrial giants own outright the most important half of all American industry," and "are transforming the organization of our society into a kind of American feudalism." He stated that the U.S. industry was currently in the midst of the "third major merger movement

in its history." The first wave starting in 1890 and running till 1903 resulted in the anti-trust laws. The second wave of mergers began in 1920 and ended in the 1929 stock market crash, Quinn reminded the Congressmen.

MUCH MORE. The Wall Street Journal in fulminating against the CIO Auto Workers' demand for a guaranteed annual wage asked the question: What is more spiritually degrading than being paid while unemployed? The Lorain Labor Leader replies: Not being paid while unemployed.

LABOR POLITICAL ACTION has been showing increased strength and in some cases greater independence in local elections. In addition to the labor victory in Sheboygan, Wis., which grew out of the year-old Kohler strike, a labor-endorsed slate of independents won a majority of the city council in Peoria, Ill. Labor-backed Democrats won in Chicago, St. Louis and registered gains in formerly Republican areas of Michigan.

ANOTHER ANTI-NEGRO ORGANIZATION has become active in Virginia. Calling itself the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and claiming a membership of 3,000 in 20 chapters, the Jim Crow organization is working for changes in the state constitution that will turn the public school system over to private owners thus preventing any desegregation.

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This Century or Next?



Thurgood Marshall, chief attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is shown above asking the Supreme Court to put teeth in its ruling against school segregation. He argued against "local option" and asked the court to set a 1955 or 1956 compliance date. Otherwise Dixiecrat "plans" may set the year 2015 as a target date.

From Detroit

UAW-Ford Negotiations

When Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, became a member of the national Ford negotiating committee, he promised his local: "We shall make weekly reports to the membership — if necessary, daily reports — so that our membership will be informed at all times and aware of what is happening during negotiations." At least part of this promise is beginning to be kept. The April 23 issue of Ford Facts reports that meetings, open to all Local 600 members, will be held every Tuesday and Thursday in the local hall, where negotiators from the local will make reports on developments.

In the same issue Stellato says that so far there has been no real negotiation, only "an exchange of proposals." Over a page of the paper is filled with highlights of the Ford and UAW proposals, which may be added to as time goes on.

Following are some of the company proposals: "The company proposes to make continuation of union shop and check-off provisions contingent upon agreement being reached providing corresponding safeguards and protections in the area of Management security."

It wants contract changes to provide "more effective protection to the Company against work stoppages."

It wants to exclude from the union's jurisdiction several classifications of work now included, such as timekeepers, drivers, service stock, etc.

It wants to nullify the union's rights to be recognized in newly built or acquired Ford plants and to organize presently excluded employees.

It wants to eliminate all full-

time union representation and to reduce the number of union representatives in all Ford plants.

It wants to eliminate plant-wide seniority in the Tool and Die and Maintenance skilled classification. . . .

GM reports profits of \$309 million for the first quarter of this year; in the same period of 1954 it was \$189 million. The work week averaged 44.2 hours, a new peacetime high at GM. Average weekly earnings of GM workers also rose to an all-time high of \$103.79. In the same quarter Ford hourly employees worked an average of 45.3 hours and earned an average of \$106.67.

On June 22, 1954 a federal judge ruled that the Detroit Housing Commission was violating the 14th Amendment by continuing racial segregation in public housing. He ordered the commission to begin integration "forthwith" and abolish separate lists of Negro and white applicants for the housing projects. That was almost a whole year ago. On April 21, 1955, the Detroit Housing Commission went to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati to appeal the judge's decision and to request "more time." Meanwhile all but one or two of Detroit's projects remain Jim Crow.

American Motors Co., makers of Hudson and Nash cars, in opening negotiations with the UAW-CIO want an end to "pattern settlements" in the industry, the April 13 Wall Street Journal reports. The company doesn't want a UAW-General Motors to be a model for it, but wants a contract suited to its own alleged economic needs.

SWP Gets Large Vote In Oakland City Election

By Bill Morgan

OAKLAND, Calif., April 24— Nearly 16% of last Tuesday's voters in Oakland cast their ballots for the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Lillian Kiezel, SWP candidate for Councilman-at-large received 9,273 votes while the Republican, Lester Grant, running for the same office, sponsored by the Knowland-owned Oakland Tribune, was elected with slightly more than 49,000 votes.

This municipal campaign was marked by general public apathy and bitter personal antagonisms between the various pro-capitalist candidates. The only genuine issues of concern to the public were those raised by the Socialist Workers Party. The Stalinists, as is their policy, endorsed three pro-capitalist candidates and ignored the only working-class candidates in an effort to promote their support of the Democratic Party.

LITTLE RED BAITING

The atmosphere of the campaign was comparatively free of red-baiting. Workers at the factory gates greeted the literature of the SWP in a most friendly manner. Many already knew of our campaign and program and urged their fellow workers to read the SWP platform. Generous applause usually followed the speech of the SWP candidate and in none of the unions spoken to was there any red-baiting. The Stalinists, supporting pro-capitalist candidates, attempted to ignore the SWP program and candidate but undoubtedly many members of the CP controlled unions ignored the Stalinists' advice and cast their ballots for Mrs. Kiezel.

The members of the Negro churches in Oakland have always been friendly to the program of the SWP and in one particular church the pastor told Mrs. Kiezel that her invitation to speak before the congregation was tantamount to endorsement.

In addition to speaking before organized groups and distribution of literature, the SWP campaign committee organized several poster pastes-ups. A beautiful blue and white poster was pasted up on poles in various areas of the working class districts. A "flying squad" in after-work hours toured the city housing projects, factory gate areas and other key points pasting up "Vote Socialist" posters.

The SWP program covered the following points:

- (1) Halt the War Drive of Big Business toward Atomic War.
- (2) Stop the Police-State Assault on Civil Liberties.
- (3) Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for All Minorities.
- (4) Full Economic Equality for Working Women.
- (5) Today's Youth Deserves a Future.
- (6) No Taxation on Incomes Under \$7500.
- (7) Jobs for All.
- (8) For

an Independent Labor Party Organized by the Unions. (9) For Workers Control of Industry. (10) For a Workers and Farmers Government.

EXPOSE EACH OTHER

The pro-capitalist candidates, Democrats and Republicans alike, in their personal smears of each other revealed the depths to which city government in Oakland has sunk. The fact, known to everyone around city hall, that City Council meetings are cut-and-dried, rubber-stamp proceedings, was brought out by one candidate who said that all important decisions of the Council were made at a noon-time meeting in City Hall and then voted upon without discussion at the regular meeting that same night.

Police brutality and slum housing, old issues in Oakland, were suddenly "discovered" by the boss-controlled politicians a few months prior to the election and will be forgotten now that the votes are counted.

A proposal to elect the city councilmen from districts rather than from the city-wide electoral system was dubbed "ward" politics by the Oakland Tribune, the only daily newspaper in Oakland. The Tribune, sometimes referred to as the "Formosa Daily Bugle," is the voice of the Knowland Republican machine. It ruthlessly distorts some issues and ignores others in an effort to control City Hall.

The labor movement, dominated by either old line labor-fakers of the AFL or by pro-Stalinists in the CIO, hustled voters to the two capitalist parties. That this deprives the working class of Oakland of representation in government was made painfully clear when workers at factory gates bitterly complained to SWP campaign workers: "We have nobody in the City Hall responsible to us — the workers. All the fakers come around waving an old but unused union book full of dues stamps claiming to be our friends, but after they are elected they say they have a duty to ALL the people. That means they are going to forget the working people and do favors for the bosses."

TIE-UP WITH BOSSES

One of the pro-capitalist candidates who lost his seat on the City Council in the election charged that members of the City government and School Board regularly accepted gifts from bosses who did business with the various officials. He claimed it was usual for members of the School Board to get free garbage service, free tax rides, gifts from wealthy people and corporations. This public disclosure incurred the wrath of the Oakland Tribune. They answered with a red-baiting smear: Public meetings organized by

civic groups were poorly attended. The registration figure of voters was small due to lack of interest in the campaign. The only daily newspaper gave little notice to the election and either distorted the issues or ignored them.

The general opinion expressed wherever SWP campaigners approached workers was, "City Hall is full of crooks. All the old line politicians are fakers and crooks. Why shouldn't we vote?" When the SWP program was explained and the need for a genuine labor party presented, the workers showed interest. This mood was indicated by the excellent vote given the SWP candidate.



LILLIAN KIEZEL

Warships To Get Another Big Slice Of Nation's Wealth

Knowing that Eisenhower's appointment of Stassen as Secretary of Peace and all the subsequent talk about disarmament was just window dressing, the House of Representatives on April 22 jammed through a \$1.3 billion appropriation for warships.

The bill provides for the building of a fifth supercarrier, three more atomic-powered submarines and the construction and conversion of a fleet of 38 smaller vessels for the launching of guided missiles.

This Congress is known to be very cool to labor's proposal for a \$1.25 an hour minimum wage, yet the House was almost as enthusiastic for the huge warship appropriation as it was recently for boosting its own pay by \$7,500 a year. The vote was 372 - 3.

The debate was mainly a series of charges and countercharges that the bills and committee report (in favor, of course) contained information that would make it easy for "Russian spies" (presumably in the visitor's gallery). The implication being that Congress doesn't need any information to vote on armament bills. These should merely be marked "for war" and everyone will say "Aye."

... Hell Bomb Defense Adds Up to Zero

(Continued from page 1)

For the sake of continuing the discussion, Peterson assumes that a 10 megaton (equal to 10 million tons of TNT) bomb is dropped on the U. S. Capitol.

The radius of total destruction would be four miles. Next comes a four-mile radius of very severe damage, then another four miles of moderate damage and finally four miles of light damage. Thus there is a radius of 16 miles or a circle around the Capitol 32 miles in diameter. "Now it's just futile to talk about people remaining in these downtown target areas. It's just futile. It means death," says the Civil Defense head.

Everybody would have to get out before. How could this be done? Peterson suggests car pools to take care of those who don't own autos. Being late for the pickup, or if the car were broken down or deep in some parking lot or garage would be tragic. Children and parents should have rendezvous street corners all picked out in advance so that the mother could drive to the spot the child, having been dismissed from school, was heading for. And then they could pick up the father coming from his job to the pre-arranged meeting spot on the way out of town. It's obvious that Peterson expects split-second timing by parents and children.

Where would the city people go? Twenty-five to 50 miles outside of the urban areas, is recommended. There, it is hoped, they could double up with families, or live in churches, schoolhouses, etc. They could cook in empty gas and oil drums. "Be-

cause, after this bomb goes off, you aren't going to cook with gas or electricity. Those things will be gone — maybe gone for a long time in the United States."

However, this is a very optimistic picture based on a lot of big ifs.

(1) If there is a warning.

(2) If the warning is long enough in advance — about four to six hours.

(3) If the evacuation — with its car pools, streetcorner rendezvous of families, etc., goes smoothly and there is no major panic or pile-up of cars in wrecks blocking roads.

(4) If the bomb isn't much bigger than the 10 megaton one assumed by Peterson — a bigger one might destroy the rear half of the evacuating columns.

(5) If the evacuees don't run into the area of radioactive fall-out which follows the bombing — this means the flight has to be upward.

(6) If in escaping upward from the bombing of their own city the evacuees don't run into the downwind fall-out from another city bombed at the same time. This would be a danger if Washington and Baltimore were bombed in the same raid. East of the Mississippi the bombing of a number of cities could mean that many evacuees would be completely at the mercy of the winds unable to flee into any area where they wouldn't be exposed to deadly contamination of radioactive fall-out.

A Washingtonian fleeing the bombing and fall-out of his own city and Baltimore might run into the fall-out from Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh,

Richmond, etc. The area of the fall-out depends on the size of the bomb. The fall-out from the Eniwetok bomb (that killed the Japanese fisherman 80 miles away) covered almost 7,000 square miles in a cigar shaped area 220 miles long by 40 wide.

(7) If flight of city dwellers didn't become blocked by the flight of rural dwellers evacuating their areas because they were contaminated by fall-out from other cities.

(8) If the "human" element didn't play a grim trick on the evacuees and cause the bomber (or rocket) to miss its intended target and fall in the midst of the evacuating horde.

BOMB SHELTERS?

What about bomb shelters? Peterson is all for them, but warns that they can't protect the dwellers in large cities who must get out. "Now I've been saying for some little time that if I lived 15 miles or more from the Capitol in Washington, I would build myself a back-yard shelter. If I had the money I would build a place in my back yard that was constructed of concrete reinforced with steel. I'd cover it with three feet of dirt. I'd have filters in my air intakes. I'd put water and food-stuffs and some kind of sanitary facilities down there, and a battery-type radio."

But this isn't sure. If the center of the blast isn't 15 miles away, but less than five, or if the bomb isn't ten megatons but 20, Peterson doesn't think you'll survive even in the shelter. Anyhow you'd have to be inside the shelter before the bombing.

But with all its defects, Peter-

son is strong for the shelters 15-miles from the center of big cities. He thinks it fits in with the spirit of free enterprise: "Now I want to say this: Some people in this country want the government to do everything for them. Here's one area where a man can go ahead and do something for himself without waiting for the government, without respect to the government. . . . So the thing I'd like to suggest is that, instead of folding their hands, people get busy and build shelters." Of course, the shelter may be in the area of fall-out, but "we don't know accurately enough at this moment just how the wind is going to blow," so one place is as lucky or unlucky as another.

As if this glimpse of the future under capitalism weren't enough, Peterson blandly told his interviewers that the next war would also see widespread use of bacteriological warfare not only against humans but introducing plant and animal diseases.

Book - A - Month Plan

May Selection
Two Friends of Man
By Ralph Korngold
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