

Emmett Till's Lynchers Face Lily-White Jury

By Fred Hart

SEPT. 20 — As indignation throughout the country continues to rise over the lynching of Emmett Till, 14-year old Negro youth, the State of Mississippi is going through the pretense of a trial of two of the murderers.

In Sumner, Mississippi, Jim Crow justice was on exhibition. Out of an all-white jury panel an all-white jury has been selected. Lynchers J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant sit in the courtroom as if they owned it and are treated with deference and respect. Also in the court, as a spectator, is Mrs. Roy Bryant, whom the authorities have refused to indict.

She is the storekeeper's wife who waited on young Till and his teen-age friends, selling them bubble gum. After leaving the store the Negro boy emitted a "wolf whistle." Believing the whistle referred to her and thus was an insult to "white womanhood," she accompanied the lynchers in the middle of the night to the cabin of Moses Wright, Till's uncle, where the 14-year old Chicago lad was spending part of his summer vacation. Bryant and Milam went into the house and dragged Till out to the car where Mrs. Bryant identified him as "the one."

Then Till's head was beaten half in, his teeth knocked out, a bullet fired through his temple, a hundred pound weight tied to his body with barbed wire and thrown in the Tallahatchie River.

NO REAL TRIAL

In the courtroom people continually come up to Bryant and Milam to wish them luck. Every lawyer in the judicial district has joined the lynchers' legal defense.

For the benefit of outside opinion the "trial" is being held. The governor has spoken hypo-

critical words to Northern reporters about Mississippi's justice. But it is known to one and all that this is not really a murder trial.

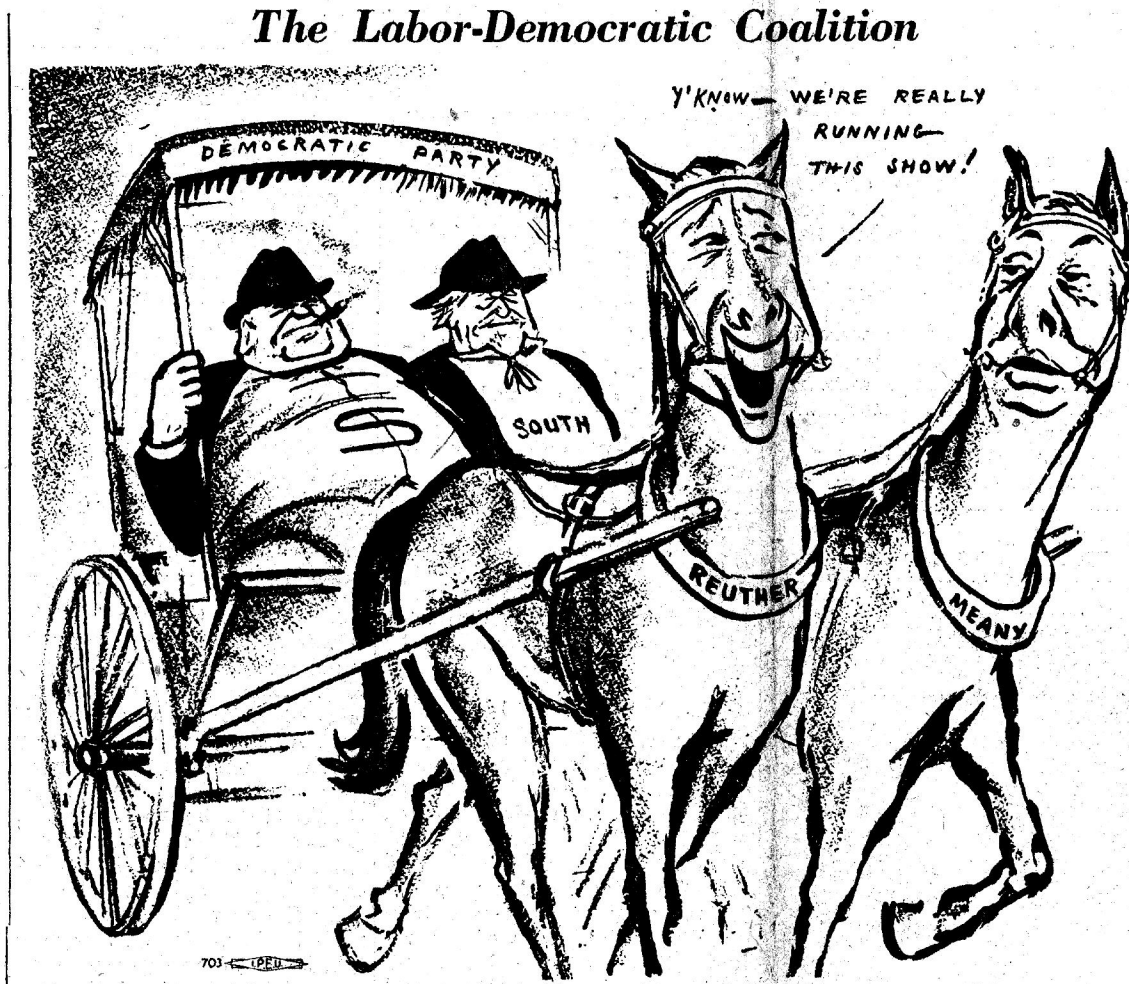
The only question is whether the child-lynchers will be left off scot free, since traditionally for a white man to murder a Negro is no criminal act in Mississippi, or whether as a sop to national indignation the state will aim for minor sentences.

District Attorney Chatham, the prosecutor, has already announced he is not asking for the death penalty. He proclaims that his case against the lynchers is "circumstantial." Nobody expects the police to do the kind of investigating that would make the case more than "circumstantial."

TILL'S MOTHER

Sitting in the Jim Crow section of the courtroom is Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of the murdered boy. She has come from Chicago to spike one of the plans being considered for freeing the lynchers. She will state that the body found in the river is definitely that of her child. Some Mississippi authorities are pretending the identification is mistaken.

In addition to the tremendous anger of the Negro people over Till's lynching — in Chicago over 250,000 filed past his coffin — the labor movement is aroused and has demanded punishment of the lynchers. President McDonald of the CIO Steelworkers Union, to which Till's grandfather belongs, wired the Mississippi Governor demanding justice. Other unions have made similar demands.



PROMINENT LIBERALS DEMAND CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By Harry Ring

Three hundred and sixty prominent educators, scientists, artists and political figures have demanded that the Supreme Court declare the Internal Security Act of 1950 unconstitutional.

The law, which penalizes members of what the government deems to be "Communist," "Communist-front" or "Communist-infiltrated" organizations, was branded by the petitioners as the worst threat yet to civil liberties.

This significant new defense of civil liberties took the form

of a "friend of the court" brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court Sept. 16 in support of the appeal of the Communist Party from the decision of the Subversive Activities Control Board that its members register as "subversives."

The petitioners contended that the Communist Party is being penalized, "and savagely so..." simply for being associated with Communists of other countries in an international movement, and for sharing the ideas of Communists of other countries, especially the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

The brief attacked the "Communist infiltrated" clauses of the law as aimed at the unions. It pointed out that unions so branded would "be subjected to virtual outlawry," and that they could not even determine how they were so "infiltrated."

The law is also attacked as an overhanging threat to the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of association. Its constitutionality is further challenged in that it permits Congress to evaluate political movements and pronounce them "safe" or "dangerous."

This otherwise effective action was seriously weakened by the inclusion of the completely false liberal concept that the Communist Party should be prosecuted, but on the grounds of "plotting revolution" rather than for its ideas.

In the first place, the Communist Party long ago abandoned its revolutionary opposition to capitalism in favor of pushing for "peaceful co-existence" with

the Kremlin. Secondly, assume that the Communist Party was "guilty" on this count. Did not the American people firmly establish the right to accomplish a revolutionary social change in 1776 against the British and again in 1865 against the Southern slavery?

And entirely apart from these facts, all of history demonstrates that a "fair" or "just" witch-hunt never existed. Concessions to the witch-hunters on any premise for political persecution serves only to strengthen the attack on democratic rights. Signers of the brief include the following: Prof. Harold Urey of the University of Chicago, Prof. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, former National Youth Administrator Aubrey Williams, Henry Seidel Canby of the Saturday Review of Literature, composer and critic Deems Taylor, and violinist Yehudi Menuhin.

Billions Raked In By Fast Write-offs

Fast write-offs, technically known as "rapid amortization," is another way companies deduct vast amounts from taxes. Normally industries are allowed to deduct 1/10 to 1/20 of the cost of plant and equipment to cover depreciation. Since the Korean war, in order to stimulate investment, companies were allowed to deduct 1/5 of the amount each year. It is estimated that industry will save \$888 millions this year, and that the total savings will be \$4.5 billions.

Argentina's New Military Rulers Are Confronted by Powerful Working Class

Knoxville, Tenn. Strikers Fight On After 27 Weeks

By George Lavan

Indicative of the new spirit of labor in the South is the doggedness of workers on the picket lines in long drawn-out strikes. Three outstanding examples of this fighting spirit in the long haul are currently being demonstrated below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Readers of the Militant are acquainted with the AFL Hotel Workers' strike in Miami and the CIO Sugar refinery workers' strike in Louisiana. But not well enough known outside of Tennessee is the strike of the AFL Electrical Workers against the Knox Porcelain Co., in Knoxville, Tennessee.

This strike began on March 25 and is now in its 27th week. When the Knox Porcelain workers went out the Southern telephone and rail strikes were just a few weeks old. There were 300 workers in the porcelain plant and there were 300 members of the union. The 300 still remain out. Not one has returned to work.

Most of the strikers — about 65% — are women. The union demands are a ten-cent an hour wage increase, five paid holidays and five days per year sick leave. The minimum wage at Knox Porcelain is 97 cents an hour.

(Continued on page 2)

Peron Resigns Rather Than Summon Armed Workers To Struggle

By Daniel Roberts

SEPT. 22 — The Peron dictatorship in Argentina ended on Sept. 19. His overthrow has been widely advertised as a "revolution" by the U.S. press. In reality, power was transferred behind a

screen of mere military maneuvering. One group of generals went, another took its place. But the basic crisis of Argentina remains unresolved.

Peron fell when the army officer caste, one of the pillars of his regime, went over to his opponents — a newly formed coalition of the possessing classes. These include the representatives of U.S. owned concerns, the Argentine industrial, banking, and merchant capitalists and the cattle barons and other large landowners (the oligarchs as Argentina has been designated in Argentina).

The U.S. State Department threw its weight behind the coalition, announcing in advance that the rebel regime would get recognition as soon as it showed that it was in control of the country.

WORKING CLASS

The Catholic Church, which supported Peron in the past went into opposition last year. After the army deserted him Peron had one solid prop left — the labor movement. Even by itself this could have been a sufficient force to defeat all his opponents combined. Indeed the labor movement is potentially the decisive force in the nation even now.

It numbers six million in a country which has a total population of slightly over 18 million. Despite corrupt leadership by Peronista henchmen, the working class has demonstrated its militancy time and again, including the occasions last year when it waged wildcat strikes against the commands of Peron, himself.

In 1945, when Peron was arrested by the Army brass, the workers staged a general strike, which restored him to power. Why didn't he call on them for aid this time? Two weeks ago, when the new coup was impending, the leaders of the unions asked that the workers be armed and organized as a militia. Why didn't Peron heed this request?

The answer contains no deep mystery. Peron dominated the labor movement but was himself the representative of the capitalist class. He maneuvered with the labor movement using it as

a battering ram against imperialism in order to promote the wealth of native capitalism.

To call upon the workers to save his personal dictatorship once all the owning classes had turned against him would have immeasurably increased the independent strength of the workers. It would have paved the way for a workers' seizure of power. Peron feared this prospect more than anything else including personal defeat. In refusing to call on the workers to save him, Peron remained true to the needs of his class.

DEFENSE OF UNIONS

The working class will now have to meet attempts by the new regime to undermine the strength of its organizations and ultimately to crush them. Its problem is one of creating in good time a leadership from its own ranks that will know how to defend the unions against attacks and steer an independent course aimed at workers' power. Peron's desertion at a critical moment demonstrates once again that the working class cannot place its trust in leaders from the enemy class.

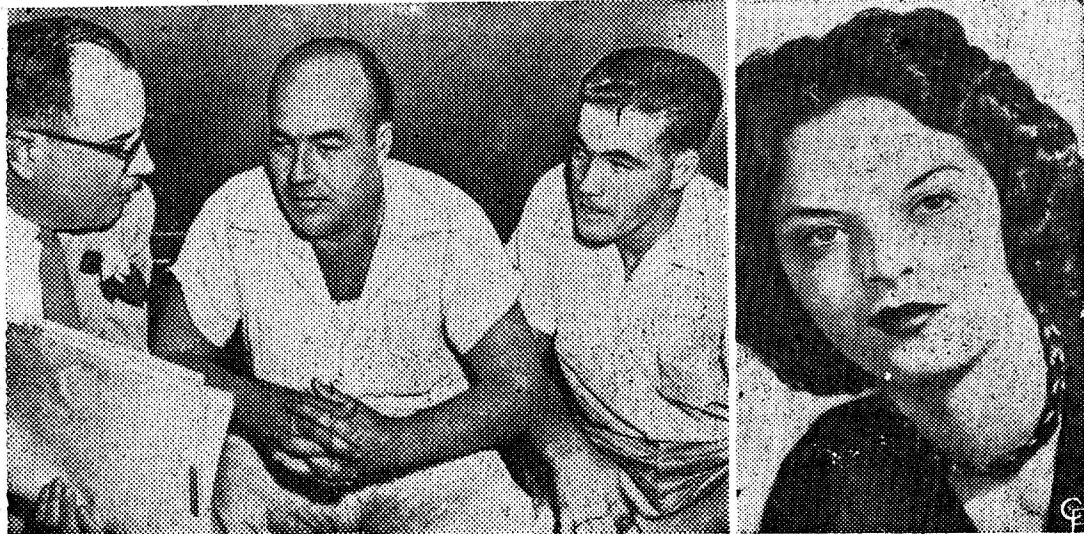
How explain the rise and fall of Peronism? Peron rose to power as a participant in the military seizure of power of 1943 that displaced the dictatorship of Pres. Castillo. Subsequent military plots in 1944 and 1945 brought to the fore the ultra-nationalist Group of United Officers (the so-called "clique of colonels") organized and controlled by Peron.

The 1943 overturn ended the domination of Argentina by the class of cattle barons and other big landlords whose primary trade had been with England, which supplied them with industrial products. Under this rule, the dominant economic force was British imperialism. It sought to choke off a native capitalist development and hold Argentina as its own preserve for capital investments.

However, thanks to constant immigration into Argentina and migration from the land to the cities, an abundant supply of cheap labor power existed prior to the labor movement using it as

(Continued on page 3)

Await Trial in Lynching



J. W. Milam (center) and his half-brother Roy Bryant are conferring with their lawyer (left) as they await trial on kidnaping and murder charges in Mississippi. Bryant's wife, Carolyn, is on the right. (See story above.)

The Longshoremen's Political Strike

By Tom Kerry

The recent eight-day strike of the independent International Longshoremen's Association against the bi-state New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission was an event of great symptomatic significance. It was a political strike against government interference in the unions. As such it foreshadows the future course of the class struggle in this country and deserves the most careful study.

For years the ILA had been one of the most racket-ridden unions in the country. The dock workers on the New York-New Jersey waterfront had to wrest a meager livelihood from a hostile environment. Their union officials were venal and corrupt. The ship operators and stevedores were rapacious taskmasters. The humiliating shakedown and kickback were regular features of the longshoreman's existence. It was a hard school that required tough men to "buck the system."

"KING RYAN"

Joe Ryan, erstwhile president of the ILA was for years "King" of the waterfront. He not only had himself elected lifetime head of the union but was a power in Tammany Hall — the name under which the New York Democratic Party machine was designated. Ryan, for years, had the support of the Catholic hierarchy which

exercised great influence on the Irish and Italian dock workers. This interlocking political, economic and religious force was brought to bear on the New York-New Jersey dock workers with crushing power. They were taught to bow down to the authority of church and state and to accept their conditions of life with resignation.

But the very conditions of their existence hammered into their consciousness other lessons which molded and guided and determined their reaction to things affecting their material interests. The longshoremen learned, for example, to distrust the union bureaucrats who too often ganged up with the employers to sell them short. It became a regular feature of labor relations on the waterfront for the dock workers to engage in "spontaneous" walkouts against agreements signed by their union officials.

They learned to rely more and more upon their own solidarity in action on the picket line and less and less upon capitalist politicians, union bureaucrats and "impartial" priests and government arbitrators. This lesson was driven home over and over again. When the bi-state Waterfront Commission was established by law for the alleged purpose of abolishing "crime" on the waterfront, the longshoremen were suspicious. And with good reason.

From the beginning, crime and racketeering on the waterfront, were part of the "system." Corrupt capitalist politicians, union labor skates and the shipping bosses were its main props. The dockers were its main victims. When the "system" became too expensive for the bosses a great hue and cry arose about "crime" on the waterfront and the Waterfront Commission was set up to deal with the problem.

It was not long before the worst suspicions of the dock workers were confirmed. True, Ryan was eased out and was replaced by one of his henchmen, Captain Bradley. But the rackets flourished and the racketeers and parasites remained. The men on the docks worked as hard as ever, under speedup conditions and without job security. Instead of weeding out the parasites and bloodsuckers the Waterfront Commission began to "screen" the longshoremen!

An army general was named to head the new agency and a corps of ex-FBI agents and ex-cops were recruited to ride herd on the dockers. Stringent employment rules were established and dockers found they had less security than under the odious shapeup.

Thousands who did not measure up to Waterfront Commission standards were summarily barred from employment. What was

worse, many men who had worked for years on the waterfront and had a militant union record, were arbitrarily deprived of their livelihood for having a "police record."

BACKLIST

It was just such a gross act of victimization of one of their fellow union members that set off the eight-day strike. If it could happen to one, it could be used against all. Every dock worker who had had the misfortune in his youth to get caught crosswise with some cop was subject to being deprived of his livelihood. All the men on the front knew that the Waterfront Commission was compiling a blacklist, not only of those with "police records" but of militant union men who had participated in and led wildcat strike actions.

The Waterfront Commission became identified in the minds of the dockers with the hated fink halls against which the maritime workers of this country had fought so many bitter struggles. Their resistance took on the typical form of struggle which has become the hall-mark of the New York-New Jersey dockers — the spontaneous "wild cat" walkout. Only in this instance they compelled the union leadership to go along. And their strike this time was not only against the shipowners but against the

government itself. The government, which they had been taught was a "sacred cow," was the immediate and direct target of the strike action.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

This is a significant augury for the future. The political strike which was launched by the dockers was not undertaken by men conscious of the true role of the government as an agency functioning in the interest of the boss-class. It was launched by a politically conservative group of workers led inexorably onto the path of class struggle by their material interests.

The entire organized American working class will in time take the same path. Their material interests as workers will compel them to reclaim what the union officials have so often surrendered — the principle of union independence from all government control and interference.

Today the longshoremen fought for the right of a worker with a police record to hold a job under union conditions without interference from a government Gestapo. Tomorrow the basic right of union militants, radicals and socialists to function freely within the unions without interference from any police agency will be reasserted. Such is the logic of the class struggle in the U.S.

Billings to Speak At Carnegie Hall Rally for Sobell

Warren K. Billings will be among the list of prominent fighters for civil liberties to address a mass meeting in behalf of Morton Sobell at Carnegie Hall on Sept. 29, 8 P.M. in New York City.

Sobell was a co-defendant of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who were electrocuted by the witch hunters in 1953 after a hysterical "spy" trial which aroused world-wide mass protests. The Carnegie Hall meeting will demand a new trial for Sobell who is now serving his sixth year at Alcatraz.

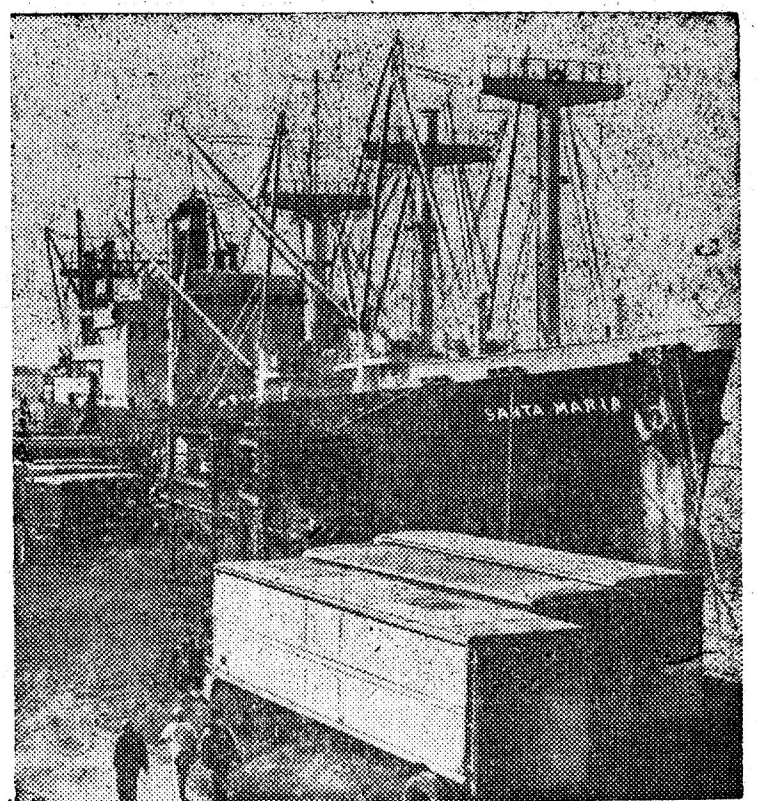
Among the other speakers are: John F. Finerty, who has participated in historic civil liberties fights such as the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Mooney-Billings case and the Rosenberg case. In 1938 Finerty acted as counsel for the Dewey Commission which gave Leon Trotsky a hearing on the Moscow Trial charges against him. The commission found Trotsky "not guilty" and declared the Moscow trials a frame-up.

Billings served 23 years in San Quentin together with Tom Mooney as a result of the 1915 San Francisco "Preparedness Day" bomb frame-up. Since his release and pardon Billings has fought energetically in behalf of all victims of the witch hunt.

The 'Dog Tag' Won't Melt

New York residents no longer have to worry about an H-Bomb attack. Civilian Defense Director Condon has solved the problem with a remarkable new "dog tag" which is available to all for practically nothing. Mr. Condon announced Sept. 18: "At the low cost of twenty-five cents per person you will receive the finest quality stainless steel tag on a most durable stainless steel chain. This tag will not melt under 2,500 degrees, will not tarnish, discolor the skin, get out of shape or wear out." He explained that in the event of a bomb attack with the imperishable tag, "you can be identified as the person you are."

Effects of Dock Strike



The Grace Line steamer Santa Maria docks in Baltimore after being diverted from New York in the early phase of the waterfront struggle which later developed into a general strike along the entire East Coast against the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission. (See story on this page.)

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

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

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

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XIX — No. 39 Monday, September 26, 1955

American Legion and Ford Fund

The fact of the continuing decline and isolation of the McCarthyite movement was demonstrated this week by the split on the Ford for the Republic issue in the American Legion. The Legion has been considered one of McCarthy's last major strongholds.

Two weeks ago the Legion's national commander, Seaborn Collins, launched a straight McCarthyite smear attack on the Ford for the Republic which was set up and endowed in 1952 by the Ford Foundation.

Collins charged that the Ford, which has financed a series of studies on the state of civil liberties, was attempting "to persuade Americans that Communism is not, and never has been, a serious threat to the U.S." Collins ordered the Legionnaires "to have no truck" with the Ford.

This week Collins was publicly attacked on the issue by Irving Breakstone, past commander of the Illinois Department of the Legion and chairman of the Committee on American Citizenship of the Illinois Bar Association. In a letter to the Secretary-treasurer of the Ford for the Republic Breakstone said: "I sincerely deplore the attitude of the national commander of the American Legion... I would certainly like to see the evidence, if there is any, to justify his findings."

Breakstone revealed that the Ford had

contributed \$50,000 to finance the work of the Illinois Legion's "Education for Freedom" program. He warmly praised the work accomplished with the Ford's money.

Breakstone's stand is in marked contrast to the reaction that would have occurred if Seaborn had launched the same attack a couple of years ago when McCarthyism was riding high. At that time such a blast would have been sufficient for the Chicago Legionnaires to hastily clear their skirts of the Ford, weasel their way around their association with it, and join the attack on it.

Although the event is a gratifying one for defenders of civil rights it would be an illusion to draw the conclusion from this and similar developments that the defense of the Bill of Rights is now in good hands.

In answering the attack on it, the Ford pointed out that like the Legion it considers Communism "the main danger." Its difference with the Legion flows primarily from its conception of how to fight Communism "effectively." The Ford for the Republic is not trying to smash the witch-hunt but rather to curb its "excesses." In the course of their efforts they have made contributions to the fight against the subverters of the Bill of Rights. But the witch-hunt will never be eliminated by those who concede its basic premise, the hoax of the "communist menace."

The Gagging of Dr. Muller

There was a time — not so very long ago — when the suppression of the views of scientists would have been impossible. The liberty of labor organizers and radicals was often enough trampled upon in the hope of safeguarding capitalist profits. But physicists, chemists, biologists — were all given full freedom to dissent.

An attempt to silence the scientist in his effort to protect human life would have caused a great scandal. But not today. Not in the witch-hunt-ridden United States.

Dr. Hermann J. Muller, who won the Nobel prize in 1946 for his work on the effect of radiation on heredity, was pushed out of the U.S. delegation to the Atoms for Peace Conference at Geneva last month. His views were suppressed.

What "terrible" ideas did Dr. Muller hold that made the Atomic Energy Commission revoke his assignment to serve as part of the U.S. delegation in Geneva? What "horrible crime" did he commit that made the AEC withdraw the paper prepared by Dr. Muller for the Geneva conference?

Dr. Muller thinks that atomic radiation has an adverse effect on human genes. In addition he thinks that this danger should be discussed. When he was prevented from speaking he protested that "at a conference of this kind, there should have been a full airing of the problem of genetic damage produced by radiation."

Dr. Muller, a Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Indiana, left the United States for Europe early this summer under the impression that he

was to serve in Geneva as part of the U.S. delegation. Late in July he was informed that his services would not be needed.

As a result of the AEC's maneuvers, the scientist charged, the papers presented at Geneva did not include the point of view of the great majority of radiation geneticists.

The struggle between Dr. Muller and the AEC did not begin with the Geneva conference. Last April, Dr. Muller, in a speech to the National Academy of Sciences, said that radiation from H-bomb tests could cause "tens of thousands" of harmful mutations in the next generation of Americans.

AEC Chairman, Lewis L. Strauss, replied that it was "an act of irresponsibility" for anyone to claim that radiation from atomic tests is poisoning the air and guaranteeing future generations of monsters.

The question of which view gets expressed is not determined by the weight of scientific evidence but by political power. Strauss has the political power of the U.S. billionaire rulers behind him. Muller has only the convictions of his scientific research.

But nature operates with its own laws. It cannot be forced to comply with the nuclear weapons program of the State Department and the AEC. Muller's opinion can be suppressed. The majority of radiation geneticists can be silenced. But if the scientists are right, genes will react to atomic radiation, nonetheless, and "monsters" will result.

The Tenth Session of the UN

A cartoon appeared in one of the daily newspapers recently depicting the new Soviet peace offensive. A very weary-looking Khrushchev was hanging up his hat in his office. To one of his aides he complained, "I'm beat. Smile, smile, smile — all day long."

Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, can make the same complaint after participating in the first few days of the Tenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations which convened in New York City, Sept. 20.

The first controversial question that arose was the representation of China in the UN. Molotov made the usual Soviet motion for seating the representatives of the real government in China instead of the Kuomintang clique that was thrown out of China.

This time, however, Molotov couched his arguments in terms designed to soothe, not ruffle, the feelings of the U.S. delegation. John Cabot Lodge, Jr. for the U.S., in turn, made the usual motion to postpone consideration of Chinese representation to next year. Lodge also pleasantly avoided harsh words and merely asked the General Assembly to vote on the U.S. motion first.

But aside from the changed contours of diplomatic mouths, nothing is very different in the UN. The U.S., standing pat with its majority of votes, yields nothing and the act moves on.

And so it will be with the tenth session as it was with the ninth and those that came before. All the amicable language in the world won't change the fact that U.S. imperialism intends ultimately to destroy

the Soviet Union and to destroy the colonial revolution with China as its major target.

Of course, the U.S. delegation at the UN covers all its moves with phrases of humanitarian concern for the oppressed people of the world. All basic freedoms including the right of self-determination of nations are defended. Terms like independence and democracy are bandied about frequently — for the benefit of newspaper copy.

When a real issue of "freedom and self-determination" arises, as in the case of Morocco and Algeria, different terms come into vogue. Phrases like non-intervention in internal affairs suddenly become substituted for the words of liberty.

Three years ago 15 small nations banded together in an attempt to put the question of Morocco and Algeria on the agenda of the United Nations. France succeeded, with the help of the U.S. delegation, in preventing even a debate on the question of the oppressed people in the French North African colonies.

There are 57 items on the regular agenda of the Tenth Session of the UN. But Morocco and Algeria are on a supplementary list. It isn't difficult to anticipate that once more a debate will be barred. The United Nations will wait to record the defeat of the independence movement or be compelled to recognize its victory.

So while the Moroccan people get mowed down by U.S.-donated machine guns, the United Nations will go on talking in generalities about freedom. And the U.S. will go on building its world network of military bases and nuclear stock-piles in preparation for World War III.

SWP Speaker Scores U.S. Role In Moroccan Independence Fight

OAKLAND, CALIF., Sept. 15 — In a 20-minute talk over Radio Station KPFA-FM in Berkeley last night, William Farrell, representing the Socialist Workers Party, denounced the pro-French imperialist bias of the American press in reporting on the Moroccan revolution and warned that U. S. troops now stationed in North Africa may be drawn into the fighting there in what may become another Korea or Indo-China type war.

Urging support to the people of Morocco in their struggle for independence from French colonial rule, Farrell reminded his radio audience that in 1776 the American people fought against a reactionary foreign rule and welcomed support from all who believed in independence.

Reviewing the recent history of Morocco and drawing a graphic picture of current conditions under which millions of Moroccan peasants and workers are exploited by French imperialism, Farrell pointed out that the United States, alleged defender of the "free world," is now supplying arms and equipment to French troops and is

U.S. SUPPLIES ARMS

Urging support to the people of Morocco in their struggle for independence from French colonial rule, Farrell reminded his radio audience that in 1776 the American people fought against a reactionary foreign rule and welcomed support from all who believed in independence.

actively engaged on the propaganda front in aiding French capitalism in Morocco.

"Here are some of the results of over forty years of French 'protection.' The Moroccan peasants' land has been steadily expropriated. . . . Forced labor is imposed upon thousands of native peasants. . . . The minimum wage in industry is eleven cents an hour — in agriculture there is no minimum. Poverty stricken Moroccans are burdened with taxes while there are hardly any on the wealthy French settlers. For instance there is a 15% tax on sugar while jewelry, furs and other luxuries bought by French residents are untaxed."

Farrell quoted from the article written by globe-trotting William O. Douglas, U. S. Supreme Court Justice, in the Oct. 19, 1954, issue of Look magazine. "Child labor appears in a vicious form. There are many palmetto trees in Morocco, and out of them a French syndicate has built a considerable industry. The plant is ground and then spun into ropes and the ropes baled for export. They are ultimately used to stuff furniture. I visited one of these plants near Rabat. Most of the workers were Moorish children from six to twelve. They worked by

the piece, making twenty to fifty cents a day. A French overseer stood over them with a long leather lash, using it with fervor on the laggards. The lash is, indeed, the symbol of French rule in Morocco."

Tracing the history of Moroccan struggle Farrell reported the organization of the illegal trade unions — illegal because they are banned by the French — and the now emerging working class which is struggling together with the peasant for Moroccan independence. He told how Farhat Hatched, leader of the Tunisian unions, was murdered and how the workers staged a protest demonstration in December, 1952, which touched off the widespread demand for removal of the French from Morocco.

These talks over station KPFA were initiated by Frank Barbaria, now candidate for Mayor of San Francisco on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Once each two weeks an SWP speaker presents the Marxist view of some current topic of interest. William Farrell, of the Oakland Branch of the SWP will continue the talks until after the election at which time Frank Barbaria will resume the schedule.

... Argentine Military Rulers

(Continued from page 1)

viding the opportunity for industrial growth. U.S. capital moved into Argentina rivaling British investments, and during the Thirties and the Second World War the native Argentine capitalist class experienced a phenomenal growth, though remaining in a subordinate position.

It was for this capitalist class — incapable of ruling in its own name because it was rent by internal rivalries and fearful of a working class more powerful than itself — that the national army officers developed great ambitions. They dreamt of eventually liberating the country from economic dependence on either England or the U.S. and establishing Argentina as a rival power in South America to the Yankee colossus.

Argentina had many factors seemingly favoring such a development as compared with prospects of other economically backward areas. The population is 90% literate. By 1943, industry accounted for almost half the national income. The trend of population was toward urbanization. (Over 40% of the population lived in cities with more than 100,000 people according to the 1947 census.)

However, there also were enormous handicaps to overcome. Argentina's industrial development was limited to a few fields — mainly processing of agricultural raw materials and mineral products. It was dependent on foreign trade for such products as coal, steel and machinery. The Argentine capitalist class lacked capital for expansion and had to secure it abroad.

The principal export products were agricultural, grown on the ranches (estancias) of the oligarchy, traditional ally of British imperialism and foe of the Argentine capitalists. To expropriate them on a large scale, however, would have been an invasion of private property which would have frightened the capitalists and repelled them from the regime.

The dictatorship resorted instead to forced deliveries of agricultural products to the state at prices fixed by the government — which sold them on the world market. This not only discriminated against the encendistas but bore down on the tenant farmers as well. However, it provided the government with surpluses to invest in industry (especially a heavy arms industry — pet project of the military) and benefited the capitalist class. The regime also nationalized a number of foreign-owned enterprises.

To challenge U.S. imperialism Peron needed a base of support among the masses. As Minister of Labor under Pres. Farrell, Peron began to introduce social welfare measures and to create a labor movement in rivalry with the Socialist and Stalinist-led unions. The workers made undeniable gains in the first years of the regime for which they credited Peron.

Explaining this policy of wooing the workers from their traditional organizations of struggle in support of the regime, Peron told the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange in a September 1944 speech: "If you want social peace you have to know how to handle workers. . . . They say I am an enemy of capitalism. It's not true. There is no better supporter of capitalism than I. But . . . it's better to give thirty per cent now, then to be forced

to give it all afterwards"

Just the same, the cost of Peron's labor program represented a sizeable overhead for the capitalist class. In addition there was the expense of maintaining a pampered state bureaucracy — especially the corps of young army officers loyal to Peron — and the Catholic Church, which was also a beneficiary of Peron's regime.

FAVORABLE WORLD MARKET

During World War II and the years thereafter all the way through the Korean war, there was a ready world market for agricultural products at relatively high prices. The Peronist program of advancing the positions of the Argentine capitalist class against imperialism seemed realistic despite the high overhead cost of the dictatorship. The landlords, too, despite forced sales to the state, raked in hefty profits.

But the end of the Korean War brought a sharp downswing of agricultural prices stemming from a rapidly mounting glut on the world market. As this crisis became prolonged and deepened it marked the beginning of the end for the Peron dictatorship.

The squeeze the government applied on the landlords became intolerable. So was the squeeze on the capitalists for retaining concessions to the workers. The regime bore down on the workers demanding more production at the same pay despite inflation and proceeded to break strikes. More and more the dictatorship turned to suppression of remaining civil liberties and drove sections of the middle classes into opposition.

Seeing Peron in difficulties, Wall Street applied its own squeeze two years ago and pressed in with demands for greater concessions and guarantees to U.S. capital. Peron capitulated. Finally, this year, Peron concluded a deal with Standard Oil Co. granting nearly 20,000 square miles (about the size of West Virginia) of oil land for a period of 45 years.

The terms were so unblushingly favorable to the U.S. corporation that Peron's party was split on the question two weeks before his downfall. The Peronista union heads, fearing the reaction of the workers, were opposed to the deal, and it was considered doubtful whether the Peronista-controlled Congress would ratify the agreement des-

pite all the pressure Peron was mustering to put it across.

To the Argentine capitalist class, Peron's capitulation to imperialism meant that the program of creating an independent economic development on capitalist foundations was bankrupt. And if so, why pay any longer the overhead of maintaining the regime? Why retain, too, a dictator whose following took his anti-imperialist demagoguery seriously and demanded that he live up to it? Better to come to terms right away with U.S. imperialism and put an end to Peronist trappings.

Emboldened by Peron's failure to call out the workers during the June 16 rising, the army followed the capitalist class and it was all-up for Peron's dictatorship.

"There are indications," says the Sept. 21 Christian Science Monitor, "that the new government may not be quite as cordial [to the U.S.] as General Peron during the last two years of his tenure. Many officers are traditionally nationalist to the core and oppose the influx of foreign entrepreneurs. Yet at the same time they government must face realities. . . . Where can the Argentines get money to keep their economic wheels turning except from the United States?"

Quite right. Argentine capitalist defiance of imperialism is at an end, no matter how much the army officers might still posture. It is impossible for the Argentine capitalist class or that of any other colonial or semi-colonial nation to win the country's independence from imperialism. For that class is completely bound to the world economy and the world market. Astride this sits U.S. imperialism, the world's exploiter.

The means at the disposal of a semi-colonial capitalist government are insufficient to break through this domination. Only the socialist revolution can tear a country like Argentina out of the imperialist orbit.

SOVIET AND U. S. BASES

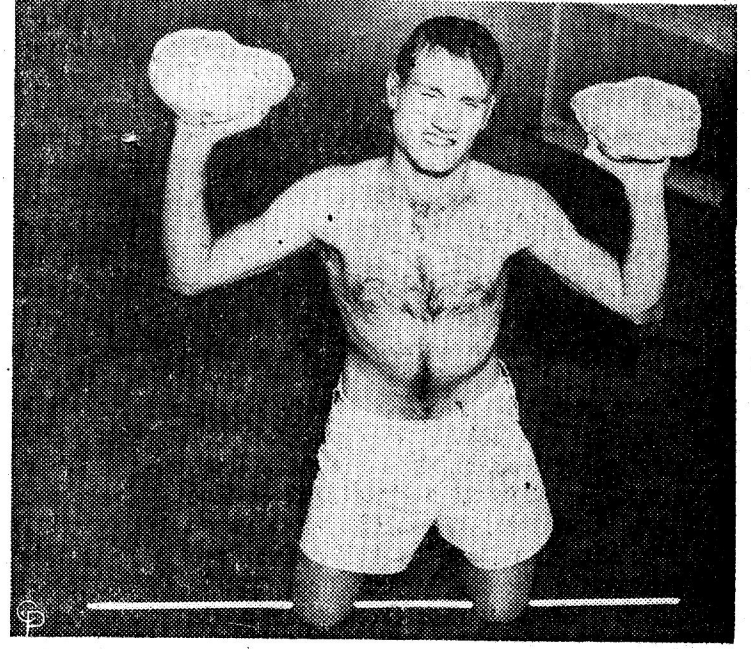
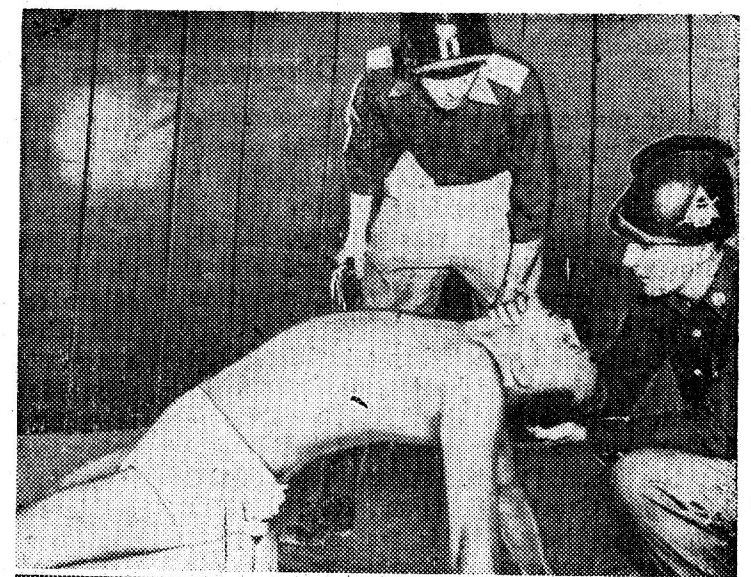
Hard on the heels of its Sept. 17 announcement that it was giving up its naval base in Finland, the Soviet government has opened a campaign to have the Western

powers, particularly the United States, follow suit by withdrawing their troops from foreign soil.

The initial replies of the U.S. propaganda machine will not prove very weighty outside State Department circles. It argues that the Soviet Union is pulling its troops back only 30 miles in withdrawing from Finland. The U.S. would have to pull back 3,000 miles. But this raises again the question of just why Americans are stationed so far from home.

Hanson W. Baldwin, the military expert of the N. Y. Times, doesn't answer the Soviet move with any more logic. He says the Finnish base, Porkkala, had no strategic value for the Soviet Union for it wasn't close enough

Air Force Torture School



Shocked criticism from many quarters followed revelation of torture techniques practiced on Trainees at the Stead Air Force Base in Reno, Nev. Air Force officials say the sadistic sessions are demonstration of enemy brainwashing techniques. These two Air Force photos show a student being bent backward and then forced to kneel on a stick while holding heavy rocks.

World Events

ONG AH TOO, 25, A CHINESE TRUCK DRIVER in the British colony of Singapore, was sentenced to death, Sept. 19, according to an Associated Press dispatch, for "having been a member of a mob that murdered Gene Symonds," U.S. correspondent. Symonds was killed May 12 when he defied police orders and entered an area where Singapore strikers were fighting police. The sentence was passed despite the fact that Ong Ah Too was cleared of the charge of personal responsibility for the death of Symonds.

REPRISALS IN SINGAPORE against participants in last May's strike struggle are continuing. Last week Gan Peck Choo, 29, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment with leading a group of 200 men in a fight against a police contingent.

THE BRITISH CABINET is proposing a reduction in the armed forces, according to Drew Middleton in the Sept. 19 N. Y. Times. This would be done either by cutting the length of compulsory military service from two years to 18 months or by a gradual postponement of the age of enlistment from 18 to 20 or 21 years. The purpose of the plan is not pacifistic, however, but to meet the problem of "overemployment" about which the British capitalist class is complaining. There are so few unemployed in England at the present time because of the economic boom that labor's strength has been increased in its dealings with the employers. Currently, the British unions are asking for a substantial wage increase to meet inflation. What the demilitarization plan of the British Cabinet amounts to is a program for diverting workers from the military army to an army of unemployed.

POLAND is using the return of ex-Premier Hugo Hanke as a means of attracting emigres back to the country. Hanke headed the government before the Stalinists decided to integrate Poland and other East European countries within the Soviet economic structure. He then headed the Polish government-in-exile in London. The Polish and other East European Governments are currently conducting a drive among emigres to return with the promise that "all will be forgiven."

BRITISH EFFORTS to stave off the demand of the Greek majority in Cyprus for unification with Greece by pitting the island's Turkish minority against them is creating strong repercussions in the Greek government. C. L. Sulzberger reports from Athens on Sept. 18 to the N. Y. Times that "Greek anger may result in neutralism." He says that anti-British and anti-U. S. feeling is becoming so strong that the Greek government, which was put in power by the U. S. and Britain over

the opposition of the Greek people, is now considering the possibility of quitting NATO. A number of different variants are being put forward there, he reports. All of them are pegged around an alliance in the first case with Yugoslavia.

JAPAN'S biggest trade-union body, the three-million-strong General Council of Trade Unions, has asked the CIO and AFL to support the Japanese people's struggle against U. S. military bases. Farmers, supported by unionists, have fought enlargement of air bases in Japan, because this has encroached on their land and undermined their livelihood.

JAPANESE INDUSTRIALISTS may lose a ready source of iron ore if India liberates Goa from Portuguese control, Goa is the last foreign colony on Indian territory. It is so abundant a source of ore that towering mountains are said to be of "solid iron." And low fences, used to separate farms are said to be made of reddish stone blocks of the purest iron ore. Japan has been importing about 900,000 tons of ore a year. Japanese shipping companies are already considering a shutdown of trade with Goa since longshoremen in Bombay and other ports refuse to handle any ship calling at the Portuguese colony. This threatens these companies with a complete loss of trade with India.

KREMLIN LABOR CAMP prisoners have forced the Stalinist regime to ease conditions in some Arctic Circle camps, according to recently released Japanese ex-prisoners. They told Dr. Herbert Passin of Ohio State University that prisoners had struck against working conditions and that the Stalinists "made concessions which were pretty amazing."

CAMBODIA — a part of Indochina — will soon break all remaining ties with France, Prince Norodin Sihanouk revealed. He recently relinquished his throne to lead his People's Socialist Community party to victory in the nation's first elections. He stated that the new Congress will redraft the constitution to eliminate any reference to French Union, post-war name for the French empire overseas. This means that Cambodia, like South Vietnam, whose government also cut ties with the French Union, was an outpost for U.S. imperialism.

THE MARK MONUMENT FUND has opened a drive in London to raise a \$28,000 fund to commission a bust of the founder of scientific socialism, reports the Sept. 20 N. Y. World-Telegram. Part of the fund will also be used to pay for a new grave to which his body was recently moved. Marx did the bulk of the research for his celebrated work Capital at the British Museum in London.

By George Lavan

Public Disgrace of an Uncle Tom

A dramatic and terrible punishment was inflicted upon an Uncle Tom at the recent convention of Negro Baptist ministers in Memphis, Tennessee. The victim of the merited humiliation was a Rev. H. H. Humes, of Greenville, Mississippi and a Vice President of the National Convention of the U.S.A.

Rev. Humes has acted as a traitor in the struggle against school segregation. In Mississippi where militant Negroes are suffering economic terrorism, and risk lynching for demanding the enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision, Rev. Humes denounces them. He is for segregation. "Separate but equal" is good enough for the Negro people, he says.

This is no abstract Uncle Tomism. This is cowardice in the face of the enemy. The corpses of Rev. G. W. Lee, Lamar Smith and Emmett Till testify to the war that is being waged against the Negro people in Mississippi. Yet in the midst of the battle, Rev. Humes gives moral justification and propaganda material to the white supremacists. No wonder he is one Negro with whom the members of the White Citizens Councils are willing to shake hands.

Humes is chairman of a committee of the National Baptist Convention. It is not a policy committee, but has charge of bath houses the organization maintains at Hot Springs, Arkansas. When the time came for his annual report to the convention pandemonium broke loose. The 15,000 delegates attending rose from their seats booing and hissing.

At the front of the hall the stage was

surrounded by angry ministers shouting their opinions of him. Even a new chairman was unable to persuade the audience to permit Humes to report. When the floor microphones were shut off so that only the platform voice would be amplified, the delegates stopped the convention.

To the declaration that President Jackson wanted Humes to report, the delegates shouted: "We are the ones who decide who is going to speak to us and we are not going to listen to Humes. Finally a spokesman for the angry ministers — Rev. Borders of Atlanta, Georgia — was given the floor and declared the ministers were not going to listen to a man whom they felt shared responsibility for colored people being killed in Mississippi.

Never has a humiliation been so complete and so public. Men walked right up to Humes and called him an Uncle Tom. Others implored the chairman to "put him off the platform up there because we know what to do with him down here."

The moral of the story is that even ministers — traditionally far from the most militant section of the Negro people — can no longer stomach open Uncle Tomism. This does not mean Uncle Toms will no longer appear. There will be the same development that has taken place in the labor bureaucracy. Open selling out to the enemy will disappear as it ceases to pay off. But a new form will take its place. It will talk against "separate but equal" but it will do everything it can to hamper and hold back the militant struggle to the end against Jim Crow — the only kind of struggle that can do the job.

Nixon's Dog Story

By Henry Gitano

Vice President Nixon told 600 TV and radio executives how to manipulate broadcasts for political campaigns. He said that what seems to be a spontaneous appearance requires more careful preparation than a written speech. He advocated creating the illusion of intimacy, which can be achieved through audience participation or "fireside chats."

Nixon illustrated, by recalling his famous TV "Checkers" soap opera of Sept. 23, 1952. The broadcast was a reply to the disclosure that he secretly received an \$18,000 fund from California business men. "What really happened," said the VP, is that the broadcast was put off from Sunday to Tuesday to build up the audience, "we wanted to create suspense" and allow time for preparation. Informality was achieved by familiar reference to the family dog "Checkers," while his wife in cloth coat sat beside him.

"Many people," Nixon said, "vote only for a name." Thus he suggested frequent five-minute talks and one-minute "spots" to make the candidate's name and face familiar. He added that his advice would be equally beneficial to Republicans and Democrats. Nixon's cynical remarks about organized, prefabricated spontaneity and the voter's stupidity as the reason for high pressure saturation campaigning is merely a publicizing of what is accepted by capitalist politicians.

Clem Whitaker of "Campaigns Inc." has said that managing campaigns, now becoming "a mature, well managed business, founded on sound public relations principles, and using every technique of modern-day advertising," is "no longer a hit-or-miss business directed by broken down politicians." His credo is, that "if you can't fight, put on a show!" After manufacturing a personality, Whitaker's problems arise in the candidate's "inability to

measure up to the character you give him by your carefully-prepared buildup."

In the last campaign, Tide, an advertising organ, reported that Republican huckstering strategy revolved on merchandising Eisenhower's frankness, honesty and integrity, his sincere and wholesome approach. "Voice: Mr. Eisenhower, what about the high cost of living? Eisenhower: My wife, Mamie, worries about the same thing. I tell her it's our job to change that Nov. 4th."

After the last election, the Wall Street Journal reported that the Eisenhower-Nixon Research Service proposed a "carefully-calculated, government-wide effort to cultivate the public" with methods "reminiscent of those employed by a private company." A later story in the same paper reported that "Eisenhower & Co. have opened a new sales department right in the White House." Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams and his publicity staff attempt in their new job "to 'sell' the President's policies to the public — and tout his achievements."

As a cartoon of a Hollywood producer, meeting with his brain-trust, put it: What with personal spectacles, fireworks, newspaper, radio and TV buildup, our picture should be a smash. Our one problem, as I see it, is to stop the word-of-mouth reaction.

Last year a shipyard worker, James Heavy, heckled Nixon at a Republican rally: "Tell us another dog story Dick," he called out. He was hurriedly ejected at Nixon's orders, and is currently unable to get Navy security clearance because of this incident. But the Heavy's will increase, they will see through the elaborate facade which is forced to manipulate showmanship because it has nothing to offer except broken-down capitalist politicians reflecting a rotting system.

Notes from the News

OFFICER CANDIDATES TAKE NOTE! "It has been found that Gaston's relationship to his mother has not been close, especially during his scholastic and more mature years. In fact, the mother-son relationship was less close than in the ordinary case and no improper influence exists." With this statement the Coast Guard cleared Norton P. J. Gaston and granted him a reserve ensign's commission, even though they claimed his mother had once been active in "subversive" organizations. Their action was taken, they claimed, in accordance with the basic American principles of fair play and justice."

AIRCRAFT COMPANIES super profits stem directly from war drives and tension. Aircraft firms that were in the red after World War II hit a bonanza with the Korean War. The Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee released a report, Sept. 13, showing that gross profits for major aircraft firms equaled more than half their net worth for the years 1952-1954. Top earner was Glen Martin which grossed a 1,039.8% profit in 1952, but dropped to only 76.6 percent in 1955. Boeing's profits ran from 86.1 to 93.3% and Consolidated Vultee 45.4 to 139%. The figures are based on the companies' own reports to the Securities and Exchange Committee.

THE MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY, one of the indicators of industrial boom, reports rising sales. Warner and Swasey Co., one of the leading tool-making firms, reports a backlog of unfilled orders double that of a year ago. "We're having our best peacetime year," reports the sales man-

ager. The greatest rise is in the field of automatic, labor-reducing, equipment.

HARVESTER WORKERS ended their 26-day old strike when the company signed an agreement with the United Auto Workers, CIO. The settlement provided for an eleven-cent an hour wage increase, eleven-cents on pensions, three cents in additional insurance coverage, five cents in supplemental layoff pay (Reuther's guaranteed wage plan), 2.3 cents in skilled trade increase and 1.7 cents in area pay differentials. This is the first strike since the merger of the Farm Equipment Workers into the UAW.

THE AFL HOTEL WORKERS UNION, United Press reports, warned its members, "There are certain real risks involved in seeking jobs in Miami and Miami Beach. When the NLRB refused to hold elections at 165 Miami Beach hotels, Local 225 completed plans for widening the strike and carrying it into the winter season." The union has been on strike since April 13 against 22 hotels in the area.

THE TWENTIETH CONVENTION of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, Independent, opens in Cleveland, Sept. 19. The session will take up its negotiations with General Electric and Westinghouse for new contracts and its campaign for a shorter work week. The UE was expelled from the CIO in 1949 for "Communist views" by the right wing witch hunters. It has been under investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee and is under threat of government prosecution.

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1955

NUMBER 39

Diary of a Striker

By A Westinghouse Striker

Buffalo Monday, Sept. 12

It's a big surprise to most of us. At the union meeting last night we all had the idea that the union and Westinghouse had settled. We got here too early for the news broadcasts about the strike. We were going to the meeting that was to be held in the lot across the street from the plant... instead we saw a handful of pickets with their signs in the half darkness at the plant gates.

Bit by bit we fill up the gates, marching closely in a big circle. Some of us dressed heavily — just in case. Still we shiver with the rest of them. When the sun comes up it brings a pale light but little heat. Somebody says, "I wish it would warm up. When I shiver like this, it looks like I'm scared." We all laugh.

Later the sun comes up in good earnest. As we circle in the picket line and face east we have to squint. The sun climbs higher. It's a beautiful day, clear and cool. Someone points out a company cop on the plant roof. We turn and see him aiming a camera at us. Westinghouse always does that. When there's a strike they take more movies than Selznick.

For a while some of the fellows clown around and mug at the camera. We know what they want. They hope some foreman or "heroic" clerk will cause a scuffle. Then a carefully edited film will prove what devils and wild beasts the pickets are.

Then a striker shows up with a mirror. Later he goes somewhere and trades it for a larger one the size of a platter. He stands right in the middle of our circling line, reflecting the sun right into the plant guard's camera. The day stays clear. No more pictures.

Tuesday

The second day. Just as cold before dawn, just as dark. By ones and twos we sign in at the union office and head for the picket lines across the street. Yesterday the foremen, executives, clerks, and engineers hung around until about 10:30 in the morning before going home. There was a little shoving here and there, but all in all it was a quiet day. What will this one be? We had half expected a quick settlement. Since it didn't come the first day the picture has changed. This might be a long one.

By 8:30 it seems as though we've been here all day, but it's just beginning. Foremen and white collar stooges eager to further their career mass across the street. We tighten up our lines waiting. Town cops and sheriff's deputies gather together. Yesterday in the first flush of the strike there was no trouble with the police. Some of the pickets innocently, happily think the cops are on our side.

Just how it starts we can't be entirely sure afterwards. There's a surge of the foremen and their cronies, and the cops are in their midst. Pickets brace at the gate and crowd in from all sides, cops holding us back. It's a momentary break in the line, and four foremen and engineers get through. Now the fellows see where the cops stand. Later, however, some of the company big shots get a little too obvious about what they expect from the police, and the cops bridle, mollifying some of our boys.

Earlier in the day — I think — we turned away the plant manager in his Cadillac, Tom Turner, one of the Westinghouse vice-presidents. It's hard to keep track of time on the line. He drove up importantly but found the way blocked. He's a thin, gray-haired man, terrifyingly stern, the hard-driving executive. But in the car he looked like a petulant little old man. Lo, the mighty often get that way at a picket line.

Pickets tell him all he has to do is go to the union office for a pass, but he has his dignity. Finally the sheriff gets the jeering picket line to open up for the long tan Cadillac, and his majesty passes from sight between two deferential plant guards flanking the door of the executives' garage.

The company men hang around until about a quarter to twelve. Only minor scuffles now and then, most of them started by a big, fleshy man in a brown suit and gray hat, whose mouth hangs constantly open in an imbecilic grin that reveals his golden dental work. Somebody says he's an engineer. Whoever he is, he was a nuisance yesterday and he's a nuisance today.

Wednesday

It's about ten degrees warmer, but it doesn't feel it. We check in and start picketing with a sense of routine. The peculiar

timelessness of a strike has set in. It's the third day, but it seems as if we've always been on strike.

Something changes, when you're on the picket line. In the plant there are always some loud fellows. Sometimes they get on your nerves. But here you run across some clown who's a good one. He brightens up the whole line. He's as loud as ever, perhaps louder. But you feel grateful. Your laughter gets as loud as the things he says to cause it. He's really an awfully funny guy, and you like him a lot. How is it you never looked at him that way at work?

Tension rises with the sun. You feel the sun's increasing warmth simultaneously with the growing sense that something is going to happen. And with the spreading sunshine the crowd of company men grows. One by one the white sheriff's cars and the black police sedans gather. Motorcycles come noisily up the street and stop, and cops get off and stretch their legs.

We're ready. Our line is so close that we shuffle along stepping on the heels of the people ahead of us. A slender, good-natured girl patrols the side of the line, calling, "Let's keep it close, fellows. Watch that corner over there." She's in the middle of everything.

Before we know it, they're on us. A flying wedge of cops breaks through with a pack of company men, and it's over in a minute. We're heavily outnumbered, but that doesn't mean a thing. Those who get through do it only with the assistance of the cops. And when the cops leave for school crossing duty, the company men keep their distance.

There's a flareup at another gate. A company man hits a picket in the face, and the picket chases him through the gate and halfway into the plant, cops dashing madly after the infuriated picket. About four of them escort the picket back out the gate as though he were a public enemy. But there have been too many witnesses, including a police lieutenant who saw the company man start the whole thing. Even the Buffalo press can't make much of the incident, although, naturally, they forget to quote the lieutenant, who probably didn't want to be quoted anyhow.

This is a funny strike, but it makes you feel good. The aim and demands caused a lot of confusion in the shop. In the Checkowaga (Buffalo) plant, there are no incentive workers, just dayworkers, and the contract allows the company to make time studies. In East Pittsburgh where it all began, the dayworkers walked out when the company started timing them. They have both incentive and dayworkers down there. So in a way we're supporting them in a fight against something we're already saddled with. But nobody mentions that on the line.

We're on strike, and all we're interested in is to win. Nobody's grumbling at all. Perhaps the basic reason that moves our pickets without their recognizing it or even searching for it, is that we all feel that whatever the words in the contract, whatever the precise terms of the dispute, Pittsburgh is fighting speedup, and we are fighting speedup. Our victory will mean a blow struck against speedup, and with a grimness belied by our rollicking attitude on the line, we intend to win.

You meet old friends on a picket line. There are many we never see at union meetings, but every day — just like the last strike four years ago — we say hello on the line. Factories have some wonderful people who never run for union offices, whose names are known to only their fellow workers in the departments where they work. I suppose they must have this famous "humility." They don't let anyone push them back either. In a strike when you need them they are there, quiet, uncomplaining, and very dependable. Brown-suit is still around with his foolish gold-striped smile doing his best to get through the line. Maybe tomorrow the cops will help him out.

Thursday

How do you like that! It's all over. A strike's not just something you do. It's a way you live. A striker isn't just a guy who is on strike; he (or she — and some of the best are the girls) is a person whose routine of life is one of reporting for combat and preparation for combat each day. The striker is a worker only as a moth is a caterpillar; the striker is a worker who has been set free. When the foremen approach our picket lines, they do so with trepidation. They know we're not

the same people they bossed around in the shop.

Now, suddenly we're to be workers again. It's going to take some getting used to.

Yesterday the big news was that Westinghouse was going after an injunction. Now, before dawn, we stand around shuffling our feet on the damp gravel of a parking lot waiting for the meeting to begin which will formally end our strike. Last night the first bulletins about a settlement came over the radio. At first we wondered: is this a false alarm like last Sunday? But they sounded right.

Someone comes up in the half-dark and says, "Did you know Pittsburgh's still out? I heard it on the six o'clock news."

Little crowds gather. Others have heard it too. Everybody wants to know the exact words. Maybe we're still out after all.

Finally the sound truck turns in off the street crunching the gravel and lurching over the holes like a great horned beast, a prehistoric lizard. We follow it back into the lot for the meeting.

The president thanks us for holding the lines, tells us it's all over. The IUE Westinghouse Conference Board has voted to accept the company's offer to negotiate the dispute along with the national wage negotiations next month. That's it. In our union we don't even vote on it. Two thirds of the Conference Board starts a strike, and two thirds of the board ends it.

The company has announced they will call the workers back "as soon as possible." At a suggestion from someone in the crowd the president says the negotiating committee will set about establishing with the company that in the future, when we all walk out together, we'll all go back together.

Somebody says, "Yesterday the plant was open for all who want to work! Now the strike's over, it's closed until they call you!" "Tell the cops to help us get in, like the foremen yesterday," somebody else says.

Later

It's pretty light now, a murky, damp, but rather beautiful morning, like springtime. The crowd thins out, but some hang back swapping strike anecdotes or discussing the settlement.

"It was Tuesday, down at Four Gate. This guy comes up with a camera, and everybody wants to know who he is, Courier-Express, or News, or what. So somebody, the picket captain I guess, asks him and tells us it's the Associated Press. Then some guy in the line hollers back, 'Who's he associated with, the company?'"

In a quiet group there is a shaking of heads. Pittsburgh's still out, and we're going back. We remember how the international president, Carey, came to an agreement with the company at first, Sunday night, and the Pittsburgh people turned it down.

Now it's happened again, and we're left them high and dry. We weren't down there and didn't hear all the arguments, but we don't like it. It's like tabling a motion that ought to be voted up or down right now. It's like walking out on the Pittsburgh local.

By ones and twos we drift away. Driving down the street in the bright sunshine we look at the empty gates. Those we held at bay there for the last three days will soon be walking through. Another day or two, and the machines will be humming, crashing, cutting and pounding. Whistles will blow and we'll start or stop work, eat our lunches out of boxes and bags, look ahead with a yearning for quitting time. Friday will mean payday again, and a good one if we've put in the last Saturday. But there's a little regret. You're a foot taller on the picket line, and the factory is going to be a tight fit for a while.

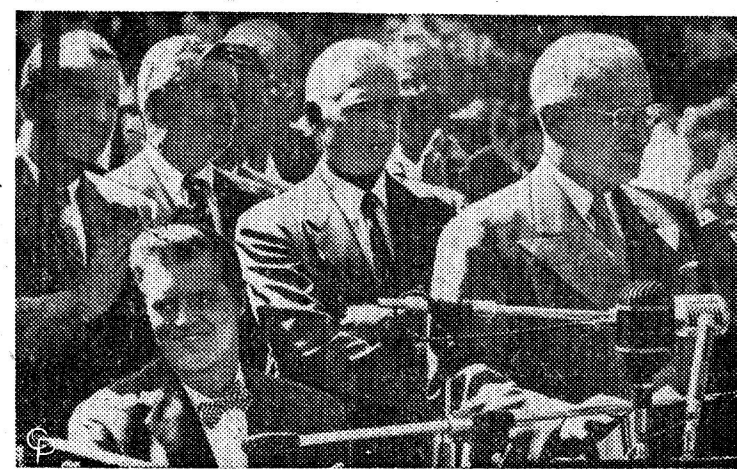
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Truman Didn't Explain



In Detroit's Cadillac Square, former pres. Harry S. Truman (r.) denounced the Eisenhower administration's anti-labor policies in a Labor Day oration. Seated at left is Michigan Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams (D). None of the Democratic orators explained why the 84th Congress, which was controlled by the Democrats, has gone along step by step with the administration's basic policies.

Company Line Swayed Buffalo Westinghouse Local to Join Strike

BUFFALO, Sept. 15 — The nation-wide Westinghouse strike of the International Union of Electrical workers, CIO, was ended by the National Conference Board as the result of an agreement reached between James B. Carey, IUE president, R. D. Blazier, Westinghouse Labor Relations head. The strike was called by the Conference Board in support of IUE's embattled Local 601 in East Pittsburgh.

Prior to the strike the utmost confusion reigned among the workers in the Buffalo plant. Pittsburgh workers were already on strike because management began a time study of the hourly workers. On this same issue the Buffalo Westinghouse workers were recently involved in a strike situation which was squelched by the local bureaucrats, and at which time it was agreed that management could time study the Buffalo workers.

The question, therefore, buzzed among the Local 1581 members in the Buffalo plant: would they strike to help another local turn down what they, themselves, had already been forced to accept? In addition, the aborted strike situation in Buffalo left many disgruntled workers who felt with considerable reason that they had been badly let down by their "leaders." Some of these workers were so bitter that they openly opposed joining forces in the precedent-making national strike to protect a sister local.

The Buffalo management, however, unintentionally, as often happens in the class struggle, solidified the workers. The company brazenly called meetings in the plant where foremen spoke to the workers, urging them to vote against the strike and published bulletins attempting to answer every leaflet published by the local union.

The strike most certainly demonstrated the will and the ability of the workers to struggle against one of the richest corporations in the world. No matter how the bureaucrats try to stifle the struggle and water it down, the very fact that a strike involving 44,000 workers in 28 plants across the country took place at all, is eloquent testimony that the labor bureaucrats in fear for their positions, were forced to capitulate to the pressure of the workers and lead — if only for a few days — a nation-wide strike, first of its kind against this company.

PITTSBURGH STRIKERS "SOLD DOWN THE RIVER"

By John Black

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 15 — "We have been sold down the river." These words, hurled by a member of the Executive Board of Local 601 of the International Union of mass meeting in East Pittsburgh represented the feeling of the Westinghouse workers.

The strike is over. The company has won the temporary right to continue the time-study, speed-up project which had led to the Aug. 8 walkout. James B. Carey, IUE-CIO president, signed an agreement with the company, 72 hours after the strike had been extended to the whole Westinghouse chain. With this agreement all but Local 601 returned to work.

Local 601, largest of all the Westinghouse Locals with over 9,500 workers, stuck it out for another 15 hours and at a stormy and bitter meeting, at which the name of Carey was booed loudly and repeatedly, decided to join in the retreat.

Westinghouse workers here feel betrayed by Carey. They know that Carey had signed an unsatisfactory agreement with

the company the afternoon before the strike spread to the Westinghouse chain and that the Conference Board then rejected it and went ahead with the strike. After 72 hours Carey signed the same agreement with the company and this time forced a majority vote of the Conference Board for the return to work. Local 601 was left out alone in its defiance of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation. With Carey leaving them in the lurch, the workers in Local 601 could not see any chance of beating the company at this time. The agreement which Carey forced on the striking workers gives the company the right to continue with its time-study project for the time being. However, the Company has agreed to include the problem of time studies on the agenda of the contract negotiations now going on between the IUE and the Westinghouse Corporation. The company has hailed the end of the strike as a vindication of its right to "manage the plant." In the meantime Local 601 has been subjected to a fierce attack in the boss press and by the labor-backed Republican Rep. James Fulton who announced that he will press for an investigation of the leadership of Local 601.

RARE PAMPHLET
by
Leon Trotsky
THE KIROV ASSASSINATION
\$1.50 incl. postage 32 pages
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. C.