

THE BANK MERGERS -- FINANCIAL CIVIL WAR

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Dear Editor: Is There No Hope But to 'Dig and Pray'?

Dear Editor:

I'm in an awful fix and hope that you or one of your readers can help me out of it.

Today (March 12) I read in the papers that Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson has advised everybody what to do in case of a hydrogen bomb war. He said for each of us to build some kind of underground shelter "right now." He also said we should stock it with food and water to last "five or six days."

Especially with guided missiles that can cross the ocean in a few minutes, Mr. Peterson said, "we had all better dig and pray."

Of course, I don't want my family and me to be sitting ducks for an H-bomb. But living on the lower East Side of Manhattan this advice to "dig and pray" isn't so simple to follow, especially the first part and especially "right now."

I don't have a pick and shovel to begin with. And if everybody took Mr. Peterson's advice about digging himself a shelter, you wouldn't be able to buy a pick or a shovel for a thousand dollars a piece, I'll bet. There'd be riots in front of every tool supply store. It would be worth a man's

life if it got out that he had an extra shovel and pick.

But that's only the beginning. If I went down in the basement of our apartment building and started to hack a hole in the cement floor, I'd have the building superintendent on my neck in no time. And maybe a squad of cops too. They'd have me up for malicious destruction of property and building without a permit. And my landlord could evict me for violating my lease and sue me.

Besides, I don't think I have the strength to dig a hole in Manhattan soil. You see it's solid rock. I'd have to blast and you can guess what that would do to this 60-year-old tenement I'm in.

I've talked to some of my neighbors and some of the fellows in the shop and most of them say they just don't like to think about it. They say that if an H-bomb hits New York nothing's going to help them, not even a prayer. It makes me sore to think we're being told to dig our own graves "right now." Is the only future left to us to "dig and pray?"

Yours sincerely,
A Reader

Dear Reader:

"Dig and pray" is the only future the private profit system of American capitalism offers to you and all the people. If so-called "free enterprise" is allowed to rule much longer, an H-bomb war with all its ghastly consequences will be the outcome. The capitalist themselves and their political agents have no other perspective. They can only try to make the inevitable seem slightly less horrible. They give us a ray of hope — "dig and pray." But no one is really fooled by it. You, obviously, are not, and in their own way, neither are your neighbors and shopmates.

The other proposition being "studied" is as fantastic and farcical as the "dig and pray" advice. You probably also read of the conference of the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut governors who suggest as an alternative to "dig and pray," the evacuation of target cities — New York specifically.

Anyone who has ever been in New York City knows what a job it is to get through ordinary everyday traffic. The idea of trying to evacuate more than 8 million people from the metropolis in an hour's time and shifting them more than 200 miles away to be safe from radioactive fallout is fantasy. But you can take your pick under capitalism — die praying where you are on your knees in a grave you have dug yourself or die running away in a gigantic mob panic with people clawing and

crawling all over each other in a vain flight from atomic doom.

The capitalist propagandists sneer at us socialists and try to represent us as crazy fantasists, dangerous conspiratorial madmen who should be locked up. Is there anything madder, more insane than a system like American capitalism which offers the "dig and pray" and "flight into nowhere" alternatives.

Socialism doesn't offer us the million-to-one chance of survival after an H-bomb hits within 200 miles of us. It guarantees an end to the threat of H-bomb war. It ends the possibility of war altogether.

Capitalism, with its struggles for control of markets, spheres of influence, outlets for investment of accumulated capital, breeds war. It has given us two world wars and dozens of colonial wars, including Korea and Indo-China, within 40 years. And now it holds the perspective for the world of "dig and pray," as you point out. But this need not be.

The future rests with you and the millions upon millions like you. There is a way out — the fight for socialism. Fight for a cooperative, classless, planned economy, without private profit. Win a future of peace, security and plenty. You say it's a tough fight? Is it any tougher than digging a hole in the rocky ground and waiting for the world to collapse on top of you?

No "Healthy Vitality" Seen in U.S. Economy

By Art Preis

Despite cheery reports from the Administration, the American capitalist economy continues to show signs of instability. Unemployment is creeping up again. During the last three months of 1954,

the official figures on the jobless had fallen below 3,000,000. But the total rose last month to 3,383,000, according to the March 9 report of the Department of Labor and Commerce. From the 1954 low point in October, the number of unemployed increased 642,000 by February this year.

It was on Feb. 1, 1954, that an official spokesman for the White House told the Congressional Joint Committee on the President's Economic Report that unemployment "in the foreseeable future" would be stabilized between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000. So far, that future appears very dim.

The latest Joint Committee, which reported on March 14, has produced three divergent reports. In one, the Republicans and Democrats arrived at agreement that the "economy has been improving since late in 1954," although there are "elements of uncertainty." In a separate supplementary report, the seven Democrats on the committee cautioned that "we are not out of the woods." The Republican minority claimed, however, that the economy is exhibiting a "healthy vitality."

EMPLOYMENT DROPS

The above-cited figures on the rise in unemployment certainly do not confirm a diagnosis of "healthy vitality." But neither group of political quacks on Capitol Hill has discussed one of the most serious symptoms. That is the figure not of the unemployed, but the employed.

The number of those gainfully employed fell in February to 59,938,000. The January total had been 60,150,000. Thus, the rise

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Ouster of Bevan-- Right-Wing Blow At British Labor

By Daniel Roberts

On March 16, Clement Attlee and other right-wing leaders of the British Labor Party pushed through the expulsion of Aneurin Bevan, left-wing leader, from the party caucus in Parliament. They further threaten his expulsion from the party altogether.

The vote, however, was very close — 142 to 112. And Attlee failed to receive a clear majority, as numerous Labor Members of Parliament abstained. When the plans to expel Bevan were announced two weeks ago a storm of protest from Labor Party clubs and union locals from all over Britain broke over the right-wing leaders. But they went ahead with their attempt at silencing the left-wing regardless.

What is involved in the conflict? The fight can best be understood according to the lineup of forces behind Attlee and Bevan respectively.

Attlee and other right-wing Labor politicians such as Hugh Gaitskell, speak for the officialdom of the British trade-union movement. These officials form a conservative bureaucracy on the same order as the AFL and CIO officialdom in this country.

They are capitalist minded and rule their respective unions dictatorially. They control the British Labor Party at the present time by virtue of the bloc vote they cast at party conventions in the name of their unions.

WORKERS WANTED CHANGE

These bureaucrats were swept into the government in 1945 by the popular upheaval of that year, which elected the Labor Party by a 2 to 1 vote over the Tories. What the working people wanted was a socialist transformation. They wanted to get rid, once and for all, of the kind of conditions that led to the bitter

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Justice Dept. Aims New Attack on Bill of Rights



Hits Right to Confront Accusers; Would Fire For Mere "Suspicion"

By Joseph Keller

Attorney General Brownell and his Justice Department have filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court asserting the Administration's right to fire any federal employe as a "security risk" without giving him the constitutional right to confront his accuser and on mere "suspicion" of "disloyalty."

Chicago-Portrait Of an American Industrial City

By Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

CHICAGO, March 1 — "Hog butcher for the world, tool maker, stacker of wheat, player with railroads and the nation's freight handler; stormy, husky, brawling, city of the big shoulders." Thus did the poet Carl Sandburg once describe Chicago.

If anything, this city today measures up even more fully to Sandburg's dynamic feel of its character. Big sectors of almost all the basic industries are located here, together with a vast complex of diversified production units. A giant industrial working class that doesn't know its own strength has come into being. And class battles are brewing on a scale far beyond those symbolized by the Haymarket riots, the Pullman strike and the 1937 Memorial Day massacre that rocked Chicago in their time.

Presently listed as a favorable employment area, the city presents a surface appearance of economic upturn. Unemployment has dropped 17,000 from the peak figure reached last July. The papers carry long lists of "help wanted" ads. Corporation profits are up and dividends on some stocks have been boosted as have the salaries of numerous corporation executives.

A look beneath the surface tells a different story, however, about life in Chicago. To begin with some 150,000 remained on unemployment compensation as of January, the latest month for which official figures are available. Moreover, these people have survived a screening process calculated to hold jobless payments to a minimum. January figures

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DOBBS

The brief is the Eisenhower Administration's answer to an appeal before the Supreme Court by Dr. John Punnett Peters, Senior Professor of Medicine at Yale University. Dr. Peters was summarily dismissed from what is described as a "non-sensitive" part-time federal job because of "reasonable doubt" as to his "loyalty."

In Dr. Peters' case, as in most of the government purge cases, the accusation was based on FBI "information" from an unidentified informant. Press reports indicate that the accuser is Louis Budenz, who made \$70,000 in seven years as a professional stoolpigeon against alleged "Communists." Budenz quit the Communist Party in 1945.

DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS

Dr. Peters contends he has been deprived of his constitutional rights on two counts: (1) He was not given the opportunity to confront and cross-examine those who brought harmful accusations against him, as prescribed in the Sixth Amendment, contained in the Bill of Rights; (2) He was denied the protection of the Fifth Amendment against being "deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." The Justice Department brief claims that a government employe can be "dismissed without a hearing that meets the procedural requirements of the Fifth Amendment" and that in "loyalty" cases the dismissal "could properly be based not on proved fact but on suspicion."

This is so raw and alien to every traditional concept of American justice that even top Justice Department officials are reportedly opposed to Brownell's procedure. "Simon E. Sobeloff, the Solicitor General, and others hold that because of the stigma attached to those dismissed for disloyalty, or on suspicion of it, they may under some circumstances require the application of due process." (N.Y. Times, March 13.) Sobeloff has declined to sign the Department's brief or argue the government's case before the high court.

The Peters case goes to the heart of the Department of Justice and FBI system of frameup through paid informers. This foul

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Paris Paper Confiscated For Truth about Algeria

(Warfare continues in the Aures Mts. of Algeria between the French Army and guerrilla bands fighting for Algerian independence. Krim Belkacem, whose letter appears below, is one of these partisan leaders. The French Trotskyist newspaper, La Verite, printed his letter and the French police seized the issue. We also print below La Verite's news release on the suppression of its issue of March 5.—Ed.)

PARIS, March 10 — On March 8, 1955, at 7 P.M., four inspectors of the Criminal Brigade barged in on the premises of the International Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International), 46 Rue de l'Arbre Sec, Paris, 1.

The object of this police operation was to seize Issue No. 350 of "La Verite", central organ of the PCI. Thus the searches, interrogations and investigating commissions that we denounced in three press releases, dated Dec. 16, Jan. 17 and Feb. 3, respectively, continue.

Two flagrant breaches of law were committed during this operation:

(1) The search and seizure took place after sundown, which

is against the law. (2) The policemen did not leave any document, particularly the duplicate of the order to search and seize such as the law formally prescribes.

But the March 8 raid goes much further than these few procedural irregularities. Again, it is freedom of the press, it is freedom of opinion, it is freedom of information that are involved.

In effect, a partisan chief of Aures sends to the press a letter on Jan. 21 of this year addressed to the President of the Council, the Minister of the Interior, the Governor General of Algeria, the General Prosecutor of Algiers. The press says not one word about this letter. The duty of the press is to print objective information.

That is why "La Verite" Issue No. 350 published the letter of Krim Belkacem.

A Letter from Krim Belkacem, chief of the partisans of Aures to the President of the Republic, Mr. President:

On Dec. 26 and 27, 1954, the French Army unleashed an oper-

ation of great scope, called "Aloes."

According to indications in the press, 4,000 soldiers patrol 1,000 square kilometers (region of Dra-El-Mizan and Mirabeau.) Result: one of your soldiers was killed and a young Algerian of Douar M'Kira, disarmed, then cowardly assassinated by these soldiers.

Commanded by officers, hundreds of soldiers, supported by a pursuit plane, snipe on the homes of my family (useless demonstration of strength and of zeal), invade the home of my father, Krim El-Hadj, 80 years old. The latter, who has already lost his eyesight, gave 33 years of service.

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NEXT WEEK

The March 28 issue of The Militant will contain special articles discussing the problems of the CIO auto workers, who will be holding their national convention in Cleveland the week of March 27.

Mich. Union Heads Score Ballot-Ban Bill

DETROIT, March 10 — Labor, civil liberties, minority party and student groups last night staged an impressive demonstration against a legislative measure to remove minority parties from the Michigan ballot.

The occasion was a hearing on Senate Bill 1011 in the Senate chamber in Lansing. Today's Detroit News reported that "State Police detectives mixed with the crowd of 200, which was heavily sprinkled with Wayne University students."

Republican-sponsored Bill 1011 proposes over 50 changes in the state election code. But most of the hearing was concerned with a single proposal, Section 685, which would bar minority parties by raising the signatures they need to qualify for a place on the ballot from one per cent to 7 1/2 percent of the vote received by the Secretary of State in the previous election.

The sponsors of Section 685 received their heaviest blow when August Scholle, speaking for the

Michigan CIO Council, expressed his organization's opposition.

"In a democratic government we should welcome new ideas," Scholle said. "You can't have them if you destroy the machinery of expression at the polls."

Even the Senate Election Committee members listened with a show of respect to the views of Charles C. Lockwood, the distinguished attorney who spoke both for himself as an individual and for the Citizens Committee Against Section 685 of Senate Bill 1011.

Scoring Section 685 as another expression of the "drive toward conformity," Lockwood recalled the contributions to political thought that have been made by minority parties in this country. He warned that their suppression at the polls would mean eventual preparations for the establishment of a one-party system in America.

Fishing around for a "compromise" between the present one percent requirement and the pro-

posed 7 1/2%, members of the Senate Committee tried to get Lockwood and other witnesses to suggest a "reasonable" figure. But Lockwood, like other opponents of Section 685, insisted that if there was to be any change in the requirement, it should be made lower than one percent, not higher.

FORCEFUL STATEMENT

Frank Lovell, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction in the April 4 election, also attacked Section 685 vigorously. His remarks struck home with such force that he was interrupted twice by the committee and not allowed to finish his statement.

Asked what number of signatures he thought the law should require, Lovell proposed that minority and new parties be given a place on the ballot by holding a convention attended by 25 persons. In any case, he added, they should not be required to submit more than 1500 signatures, the

number of people who attended the founding convention of the Republican Party in this state.

(See page two for excerpts from Lovell's statement.)

Effective arguments against Section 685 were also presented by Harriet Talan, chairman of the Young Socialist Club of Wayne University, when she read resolutions against the measure that had been passed by her club and the Young Democratic Club at Wayne.

ACLU SMEARED

Republican legislators tried to red bait Dr. Walter Bergman, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, and George Trout, representing the Council on Rights and Reform at Wayne University. The smeared came in the form of questions, Bergman being asked if the ACLU had sent money to the Rosenbergs and Trout being asked if the CORR is a "cell."

The Democratic state chairman, Neil Staebler, also testified on several sections of Bill 1011.

Coming out against Section 685, he said, "The Democratic Party is not afraid of competition from the minority parties."

A spokesman for the Socialist Party, Woodrow Ingram, made a telling point when he attacked the present one percent requirement, showing that even this was stringent enough to have kept his party off the Michigan ballot in recent years.

Other speakers against Section 685 included representatives of the Mechanics Educational Society, CIO, the Socialist Labor Party and the Prohibition Party. A number of other people from the labor movement and the Citizens Committee were unable to get time to speak.

The next move is up to the Senate Elections Committee. Opinion in the crowded hearing chamber as the session ended last night was that Section 685 has received a severe setback, and that the Senate committee may even delete it before referring the bill back to the Senate for a vote.

The American Way of Life

'What Can We Do?'

Matthew Eichner, age 50 and his wife, Mary, age 40, are an all too typical example of the tragedy which pervades the "sick" industries of this country. They live in Wilkes-Barre, Penna., the heart of the anthracite coal region. Matthew Eichner is, or rather was for 30 years a miner. Now he has been unemployed for a year, not because he isn't a good miner, but because anthracite is a "declining" industry. In plain language, capitalism no longer has any use for anthracite miners. Because he is 50 years old other industries are reluctant to take him on and train him. They prefer "fresh" labor power which can yield more profit.

Recently Mr. and Mrs. Eichner were interviewed on a TV program by Sylvia F. Porter, the columnist, who writes on economic subjects. She later included some of the interview in her syndicated column of March 11.

Here are some of the replies of Matthew and Mary Eichner to Sylvia Porter's questions.

What are they living on?

Matt: "We're getting \$27 a week unemployment insurance and because I've had a couple of odd jobs in the year, I've been able to keep the insurance." Mary: "We had our savings to help for a while but now all the money we saved all these years is gone."

How do they live in a city on \$27 a week?

Mary: "We don't live, we exist. I get bones from the butcher for soup, I bake my own bread. . . Our rent is \$20 a month." Matt: "The suit I have on is seven years old, Mary's suit is almost as old. We only wear these clothes on occasions. We don't buy clothes."

What does the man do all day?

Matt: "I get up and read the papers given to us and listen to the radio (which is 18 years old) and I walk the floor, I walk the floor. . ." Mary: "He drives me crazy being under my feet all day."

What about their social life and friends?

Matt: "We don't have any social life. We stay home." Mary: "We know some families where wives have been able to get jobs and the husbands are taking over the housework. It hurts the men but there's money coming in. If I could get a job." (a timid glance at Matt). . . Matt: "Oh, my God."

What are they going to do?

Matt: "What can we do? I asked my relatives in New Jersey if I could get work there but they said there aren't any jobs for coal miners who are 50." Mary: "I'm so scared. Someone has to help us."

LOVELL'S DECLARATION TO MICH. LEGISLATORS

(Frank Lovell, Michigan state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, appeared before a public hearing in Lansing on March 9 to urge the removal from Senate Bill 1011 of "any and all changes in the state election law that would make it more difficult than it already is for minority parties and new parties to appear on the ballot in Michigan." Because he was allowed to present only part of his statement orally, we print the text of the final part of his statement below. — Ed.)

I am convinced that in the near future the people of this state are going to be so dissatisfied with the two major parties that they will want to form a new party that will better represent their interests — a Labor Party, uniting the workers and farmers and housewives and minority groups. By making it difficult or impossible for us to get on the ballot today, Section 685 (of Bill 1011) will also be making it difficult or impossible for other groups in the future, bigger groups, perhaps groups representing a majority of the population, to have their own party and candidates on the ballot.

BIRTH OF GOP

One hundred and one years ago, in 1854, a third party was born in this state. It was something new and daring, the most radical party of the time. It was called the Republican Party.

The Republican Party, one of the two major parties today, began as a minority party, and had to overcome all the difficulties and prejudices that have always faced minority parties. One of the difficulties was in getting on the ballot.

The procedures were somewhat different a hundred years ago than they are today. The new Republican Party got on the ballot by calling a mass convention in Jackson on July 6, 1854. Fifteen hundred people turned out and thus the Republican Party got on the ballot. Now I ask you to consider what would have happened if something like your proposed Section 685 had been on the statute books at that time.

Would the Republican Party have been able to qualify for the ballot under such a provision — 7½% of the vote cast for the winning candidate in the previous general election?

I have studied the statistics closely and I urge you to do the same. You will find that the

question would have been in doubt, because 7½% of the preceding successful candidate's vote means that the Republican vote would have had to get more than twice as many people at the Jackson convention as actually did appear there. In other words, the might have made it under Section 685 and they might not.

NO SECTION 685

But fortunately there was no Section 685 in those days. Fortunately there were no arbitrary restrictions against new parties. Fortunately the Republican Party got on the ballot. And it not only got on the ballot as a new party but it won the first election campaign it entered, in November 1854, electing the Governor and winning control of both houses of the Legislature.

This victory, which might not have taken place at all if a Section 685 had operated in those days, was so electrifying that the party spread to other states and a short six years later elected a Republican president (Abraham Lincoln) and became the majority party of the country.

If a Section 685 had operated in those days a new party might not even have been attempted, or if attempted, might not have got on the ballot, and not getting on the ballot might have died stillborn. All of subsequent American history might have been different.

In fact, if I may say so, most of you members of this committee might not be sitting where you are today — aside from whether you or I think that would be a good thing.

Therefore I conclude by urging you: Do not freeze the political structure of this state. Let the people choose freely at the polls. Don't make it harder for the people to make a free choice.

The U.S. Capital is in danger of becoming neurosis-ridden, according to a report given to the 32nd annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association by Mrs. Charlotte A. Kaufman. The "loyalty" program is blamed for the development of new anxiety strains. This conclusion was based on a study of 30 psychiatric cases in Washington, D.C. The problem threatens to become one of "national proportions," the specialist warned.

Rockefellers Open Civil War in Bankers Struggle

By Sam Marcy

A power struggle of unprecedented proportions has broken out within the ruling factions of American finance capital. The struggle is as deep as it is virulent, and rages from one end of the country to the other.

Principal contenders in the mammoth conflict are: the Morgan empire, whose power over American industry is so great it is said to be beyond statistical measurement; the Rockefeller oil octopus, the richest single family group in America; the closely knit duPont dynasty, whose profits during two world wars in chemicals, auto and rubber makes it a close second to the Rockefellers; and the multi-billion dollar investment banking and railroad financing firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co.

Just as deeply involved but not quite so directly are the Gianini's (the powerful west-coast banking group), the Mellons of Pittsburgh, the Henry Ford family of Detroit, the so-called Texas group of millionaires, and a score or so of lesser lights and satellites.

The major antagonism in the struggle is between the Morgans and the Rockefellers. This is further aggravated by the fact that the duPonts, hitherto a satellite in the Morgan orbit, have obtained such vast accumulations of wealth, that they well-nigh threaten the Morgans themselves.

CAUSE OF RIFT

The cause of the rift in America's ruling circles is twofold. First, is the scramble for the phenomenal wealth created by the sweat and blood of the American workers under the impact of the Second World War. Second, is the rapid tempo of development of American production due not merely to the impact of the last war, but even more to the preparations for the next one.

The new wealth and new technology simply can't fit into the old pattern of domination. They have thrown everything out of kilter. Old alliances between ruling factions based on old relationships of forces are crumbling. Coalitions of dynastic financial and industrial cliques, regarded once as the mainstay of stability in the inner circle of the American ruling class, are showing signs of coming apart at the seams.

In pre-World War II days, there was a sort of rough understanding among the giant rulers that each would not intrude into the other's sphere of domination except under penalty of severe reprisals.

Thus the Mellons were permitted a virtual monopoly in aluminum, with their share of holdings in steel, coal and railroads restricted to mere auxiliaries of their aluminum interests. The

Rockefellers operated mainly in oil. The vast merchandising field in the Eastern states was the special preserve of the Corn Exchange Bank, through which the Lehman family gathered in their harvest. In Boston the dominant family groups clustered around the shoe manufacturing industry with utilities and banking as secondary lines. In Cleveland the huge Mather interests were grouped around the steel industry in the Ohio area and the Cleveland Trust Co. A roughly similar arrangement existed in the reigning family groups in Chicago. Even the mighty Morgans were confined to the provinces of steel, coal and railroads.

But the consequences flowing from the Second World War have dealt a fatal blow to these arrangements.

SHIFTS IN POWER

Take, for instance, the Mellons, who started with pots and pans, and have now graduated to intercontinental bombers. They require a much larger base of operations, not to speak of larger profits, than they had under the previously existing monopolistic arrangement.

The sensational rise of Kaiser Aluminum to a position of prominence in the industry, is merely a road-block, constructed by a coalition of banking cliques, headed by Morgan and the First Boston Corp. to keep the Mellons "within the old limits."

Or take the duPonts — prior to the Second World War, they were merely the giant in chemicals, with subsidiary holdings confined primarily to auto and rubber. Today it is accurately stated that there is no man-made product which hasn't got some duPont ingredient.

The recent mergers in textile, which liquidated the giant American Woolen Co., for decades the undisputed ruler in textile, into the smaller Textron, Inc., can only be clearly understood if viewed against the background of the duPonts, emerging in recent years as the leading manufacturer of textiles. The dislocation of plants and consequent unemployment in New England should be attributed to the genius of the duPonts.

Or take that colossus of railroad finance known as Kuhn, Loeb and Co.; they have been quietly and surreptitiously transferring a goodly portion of their assets to "growth industries" in defiance of a well-established practice of sticking to their time-honored profession — that of milking the railroads. The virtual revolution in travel from railroad to auto, truck and plane is a key to this significant shift in the strategy of this powerful oligarchy.

The announcement last Jan. 20th, that for the first time in history, airplanes now carry more



The late J. P. Morgan, who headed the powerful banking family that grew rich on war deals, was involved in dramatic Senate hearings in 1934 on the rule of big finance in America. The Morgan interests are engaged in the bitter struggle for control of the biggest banks in the country.

long-distance passengers than railroad coaches, and that airline traffic last year totaled more passenger miles than railroad coaches, passed with little notice. These seemingly prosaic facts, however, carry momentous significance. Kuhn, Loeb and Co. are fully aware of the meaning of the rise of air transportation.

Their efforts to cope with it by shifting some of their assets away from rails, is meeting desperate resistance as an outrageous invasion of the "rights" of others. Examples of this kind, but on a lower plane, could be multiplied by the dozen. They illustrate the driving forces generating the current antagonisms within the hierarchy of finance capital.

BEHIND THE MERGERS

There have been more than 10,000 mergers since the last war, according to an estimate quoted in the Wall Street Journal. This seemingly endless procession of mergers is portrayed in the capitalist press as a smooth process whereby one corporation combines with another to achieve a common objective. The element of conflict is almost always absent in this description. The press rarely, if ever, takes the reader behind the mask of the corporate entity to show him the sharp clash for power between contending groups, representing divergent material interests, and utterly insatiable appetites for plunder and profit.

Of course there has been publicity on occasion, such as on the struggle between Young and White for the control of the New York Central, and the current struggle between Wolfson and

Avery for control of Montgomery Ward. But, these are exceptions. Even here, only the satellites and not the principal contenders are revealed.

The American press, which more than any other in the world pours out a stream of abundant data, both true and false, on power struggles within the Soviet orbit, keeps a discreet silence on the gargantuan power struggle at the very summits of the ruling oligarchy at home. The recent crop of literary apologists for American capitalism would have us believe that sweet reasonableness, unity, and stability reign supreme. This is allegedly due to the new realization by the oligarchs of their "social responsibilities" to the masses.

In his remarkable work, "America's 60 Families," Ferdinand Lundberg vividly describes the almost feudal bonds which unite America's ruling families on the basis of vast aggregations of property. Not being a Marxist, however, he fails to see that these enormous accumulations, while they unite the possessing class as against the non-possessing class, also operate to divide the possessors among themselves. And these divisions grow in proportion to the vastness of their holdings.

BATTLE IN BANKING

The arena of the biggest struggle is banking, the most sensitive institution of the capitalist system. This is best exemplified in the virtual civil war that is now raging among the brethren of the banking fraternity. Tip-off that this war was on in earnest, came in the form of an announcement last January 15th, that the Chase National Bank would combine with the Bank of Manhattan Co., forming the largest banking merger in American history. Its importance in the economic life of the country could scarcely be overestimated. Their combined assets are in excess of \$7½ billion — more than the total budgets of half the states in the union with room to spare for the national budgets of Norway, Denmark and Sweden!

In order to accomplish this feat, the Rockefellers, who control the Chase National Bank, committed a political fraud on the American people that rivals in size the magnitude of the assets involved!

In the press release announcing the proposed merger, it was stated that the Chase National Bank would "abandon" its privileges under its federal charter, in favor of the state charter, under which the Bank of Manhattan operates. No newspaper explained the real reason behind this. The impression was left with the reader, that the reason for "abandoning" the federal charter was that the Bank of Manhattan was one of the oldest in the country, having been founded in 1799

by Aaron Burr, and therefore was hallowed by tradition. Pictures of the old bank building and even the pistol which Aaron Burr allegedly used in his duel with Alexander Hamilton were reported to be on display at the bank.

FANTASTIC CYNICISM

The real reason, however, for Chase's "abandonment" of its federal charter in favor of a state charter lies in the shift from federal to state supervision. To put the \$7½ billion banking corporation under the supervision of the banking department of the State of New York, is tantamount to putting an elephant under supervision of a flea. The cynicism of the Rockefellers here reaches fantastic proportions. This can be seen by an examination of the current budget of the State of New York, which amounts to more than one billion dollars. A mere \$33,000 is allotted to supervision of the banking department, which can't possibly provide for more than

a dozen employees — and they are to supervise a bank (in addition to many other banks) which has 17 branches in England, France, Germany, Japan, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama and the Canal Zone, and its five representative offices in Mexico, Argentina, Italy, India and Lebanon!

In a laudatory editorial, the New York Times referred to the merger as a "rare synthesis of size and tradition" (the size of the Chase National Bank, and the tradition of the Bank of Manhattan).

To the House of Morgan, however, this "rare synthesis" represented the biggest challenge it had received in more than half a century. The Morgans were not taken by surprise. On the heels of the announcement of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase merger, the Morgans opened a broadside counterattack, which we will discuss in the next article.

(First of a series. Watch for the next installment: "The House of Morgan Counterattacks.")

\$15,000 Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Allentown	\$ 75	\$ 88.00	117
Pittsburgh	150	155.00	104
Seattle	175	175.00	100
Youngstown	200	200.00	100
Chicago	1,600	1,472.50	92
Detroit	750	680.00	90
Boston	600	507.00	84
Newark	275	220.50	80
Philadelphia	400	317.00	79
Cleveland	250	190.00	76
Milwaukee	250	177.00	71
Los Angeles	3,000	2,055.83	68
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	759.30	63
San Francisco	800	501.00	62
Akron	125	75.00	60
Buffalo	1,600	925.00	58
New York	3,200	1,749.50	54
St. Louis	75	32.50	43
Oakland	300	118.00	39
General	—	12.00	—
Totals through March 15	\$15,025	\$10,409.83	69

PRESS FUND CAMPAIGN HAS A BANNER WEEK

By Constance Farr
Campaign Manager

A banner week in our Press Fund Campaign! A total of \$1,256.50 was sent in by our readers all over the country who want to see The Militant kept going. This is the largest amount we have received in a single week since the campaign started, and brings us over the two-thirds mark on the way to our \$15,000 goal.

The biggest leap of any city last week was made by Youngstown. A remittance of \$125 from our readers there jumped them from their next-to-last standing of the previous week to the top group of four cities that have done 100% or better on their campaign pledges. Congratulations, Youngstown! And our appreciation for what Ted has to say about the paper: "The Militant expresses the day-by-day moods of the masses, clarifies the issues as they arise and makes these issues fit into their rightful place in the class struggle and the future of humanity. The Militant gives the only correct interpretation to the happenings as they unfold. With the further collapse of capitalism, it will lead the workers. We are pleased to be able to fulfill our pledge for the building of our paper."

With only three more weeks to go, most cities are moving into really high speed. Last week, for example, we received remittances of \$100 or over from six cities: Buffalo, \$100; Boston, \$102; Youngstown, \$125; New York, \$143; Chicago, \$222; and Los Angeles, \$314. The large contribution from Los Angeles, by the way, included a special \$100 donation from a devoted reader of the paper.

This burst of speed gives us confidence that other cities will be following suit in these last weeks and will all take their place in the 100% category by the end of the campaign.

Our Pittsburgh readers, the first group to go over the top, will be pleased to hear what Seattle, another city with a 100% record, has to say about them. Clara Kaye writes: "Heartiest congratulations to our Pittsburgh friends for being the first to complete their quota — and even to surpass it! Such an accomplishment merits the admiration of readers of The Militant everywhere. With such wonderful examples being set for us, this fund drive should prove remarkably successful. . . Even though we are already a bit over our quota, we don't quit until March 31."

We want to express special thanks to a reader in Alberta, Canada, who just sent in a subscription renewal and, along with it, a donation of \$5.50 for the Press Fund.

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Propped by all the mounting pressures of capitalism in decay, a new layer of vanguard elements are feeling their way out ahead of the mass in search of an answer to the social problems of the day. About 50 of these people — workers and students, Negro and white — who are just awakening to political class consciousness were among those present at the meeting I addressed in this city.

From the questions they asked and the thoughts they expressed, I became convinced that some among them will soon enter the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and lend their weight to the building of a class-struggle left wing in the mass movement.

New York Friday Forum
Fri., March 25, 8 P. M.
Speaker: Art Sharon
"Matusow's Expose of the Witch Hunt"

116 University Place
Contribution 25c.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum
presents a talk on
"Youth in a Delinquent Society"

by Joyce Cowley
Friday, March 25 at 8:30 P. M.
at 52 Market Street
(Second Fl., Corner of Plane)

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum
The FBI
Friday, March 25, at 8 P. M.

The UAW Convention:
A Report from Cleveland
Friday, April 1, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free to unemployed

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At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free to unemployed

Seattle
Hear Farrell Dobbs
"What's Ahead For American Labor"

Sat., March 26, 8:30 P. M.
Polish Hall 1714 — 18th Ave.

Refreshments and social following discussion
Donation: 50c.
Unemployed free

Los Angeles
Friday Forum
'CIO-AFL Unity'

speaker:
Thomas Kerry
Fri., March 25, 8:15 P. M.

"Race Prejudice And the Supreme Court Decision"

speaker:
Richard Fraser
Fri., April 1, 8:15 P. M.
1702 E. 4th St.

...Chicago -- Portrait of a Giant Industrial City

(Continued from page 1)

also report 149,000 people on relief, an increase of almost 15,000 since last July, which shows that some have exhausted their unemployment benefits without finding a job. Part of the jump in the relief rolls is also due to an influx of people from other regions who come to the city looking for work.

'SCISSOR-BILLS' WANTED

Taking advantage of the presence of this "labor reserve," the employers are setting up stiff qualifications for jobs. They cull the job applicants for those who are young, healthy, white and scissor-bills. Negroes usually get only the least desirable jobs and even then a preference is shown for those newly arrived from Southern farming regions.

Jobs are hard to find in the big plants. Those hired are sometimes laid off before sufficient time has elapsed for them to qualify for the seniority lists. Later they may be called back only to be laid off again. A cyclical pattern of short-term employment thus develops that has the earmarks of a corporation scheme to weed out potential militants among new employees before they get seniority protection.

Want ads for industrial labor are generally for small shops where the applicants are often compelled to accept wages below the union scale in order to get hired. Office employment seems to be getting tighter and paying less than it has in the past. Many part-time jobs are advertised with a preference indicated for people already working. Much of this part-time work is in the door-to-door sales line. Since regular peddlers complain they are doing badly, especially in the poorer neighborhoods, green hands at door-to-door sales don't figure to do very well.

These facts show that a large number of workers are being put through the wringer at the very

time when the area is supposed to be undergoing an economic upturn. Among the hardest hit are the Negro people who appear to constitute a majority of those subsisting on jobless compensation or public relief. Their plight is made even worse by the high rents they must pay, often on a weekly basis, for slum dwellings in segregated areas. More and more Negroes are expressing the feeling that things can't go on this way.

Perhaps the roughest time of all has been had by the Mexican people since a mass deportation drive was launched against them last September. A dragnet made up of hundreds of border patrol men gathered from all parts of the country has been combing the Chicago area for Mexican victims unable to prove they are legally in the country. Arrests have generally been made without a warrant.

Hundreds have been thrown into a loft building turned into a jail by the use of chicken wire partitions. Fed nothing but cold box lunches during their incarceration, they have usually been deported by plane in less than a week. During that brief time these people, so callously uprooted, had to collect their pay checks, gather their personal belongings, sell their cars and other property and say their last farewells.

A closer look at the local economic situation, which contains the danger of the present "labor reserve" becoming transformed into an army of unemployed, will help to explain this brutal assault on the Mexican workers.

THREAT OF DECLINE

The construction boom which ran strong during the past three years and drew many outside workers into the area now appears to be tapering off into the former seasonal pattern. Although tool and die job shops have thus far maintained full operation, their production contracts are beginning to run out and an employment decline threatens unless

they obtain new contracts or some form of subsidy.

The market for farm equipment does not seem to be in too good shape. International Harvester has on hand an unusual inventory of several hundred new tractors which have been placed on display to discourage union demands in the coming contract negotiations. In the past year the previous work force of about 10,000 at the General Motors Electromotive works has been cut almost in half. Some rehiring is now taking place there but the introduction of assembly line methods for the production of Diesel locomotives and a consequent stiffening of the speedup promises to leave many workers out in the cold.

Automation is spreading in the chemical industry, cutting so deeply into employment that in some cases the combined technical, office and sales personnel actually outnumber the production workers.

These developments seem to be changing the thinking of some college people holding jobs as specialists in industry. New receptivity toward critical ideas is appearing among them. Recent polls have shown from one-fourth to one-third of the chemists and engineers favoring the idea of collective bargaining for people in their category, a significant departure from their past disdain for union methods.

Production is up in packing, yet there is a decline in the stable work force. Because of automation only ten workers are now required to pick sow

Snooper Racket Becomes Big Business

By George Lavan

It used to be said that the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands earned their livings by doing each other's laundry. If present trends continue we may be approaching the day when the people of this country will be earning their livings by spying on each other or servicing the machines that do the spying. Such is the fantastic rate of growth — governmental and private — of wiretapping, peeping by private TV, gumshoeing, reading other's mail, investigating in general and in particular.

SCOPE OF SPYING

This article is not primarily concerned with the huge increase in governmental spying, but rather with the bonanza in private (i.e., "free enterprise") spying. Suffice it to say about government spying that between the FBI, Congressional committees and other agencies a political snooping machine has been erected that even Hitler would be amazed to see. One example — and that not from

Washington, where the amount of spying is fairly well known — will indicate the scope of this spying.

Supreme Court Justice Douglas, in his recent book, "An Almanac of Liberty" states: "During 1952 there were in New York City alone at least 58,000 orders issued which allowed wiretapping — over 150 a day every day in the year. . . The New York system has in practice been oppressive. It has been used as a means whereby police have obtained guarded confidences of people and used the information for corrupt practices. . ."

A recent disclosure in New York City makes one wonder whether the private spies have not exceeded the police in the number of wiretaps per year. A few weeks ago William J. Keating of the Anti-Crime Commission, a private civic organization, told members of the state legislature about a private wiretap center on E. 54th in Manhattan. He said that on Feb. 11 "a high police official and a lesser police official" had gone

there. In the apartment was about \$10,000 worth of the latest electronic wiretap equipment operated by four people.

What is interesting about the E. 54th St. wiretap center is that it was equipped to tap six different exchanges. Each exchange can carry as many as 10,000 different numbers. So that the tappers could tap over 50,000 telephones. It is not at all far-fetched to assume that wiretap centers exist for all the other exchanges in New York.

If there's anyone in New York whose telephone conversations you want recorded — the facilities exist. The standard way of making arrangements, however, is to hire a "private eye" who knows with whom to do business.

Reporter magazine, in its Feb. 10 issue, has an exhaustive description of the business of private snooping. It points out that the private detective business has become "a full-fledged industry" of over 5,000 agencies employing 150,000 and taking in about \$250 million annually. It is no longer a hand-to-mouth business existing largely on getting

reflects on the entire force. If you do it, you're cooked as a private detective.

Other regular connections of the private detective industry are specialists such as locksmiths, wiretappers, lie-detector operators. Beside these general contacts which are needed for staying in business, there are the sources of information in specific cases. These include the cop on the beat, milkmen, mailmen, laundrymen, newsboys, meter readers, etc., etc. Real finds are unfriendly neighbors, dissatisfied servants, business rivals, suspicious relatives and divorced mates. Some agencies secretly buy all the trash from a business or home and sort and read it for weeks.

TECHNOLOGY OF SPYING

Perhaps the most lurid spying is that done electronically. Wiretaps without touching the wires, a device to read letters without opening the sealed envelopes, vibration microphones to aid in opening combination locks and safes, and now television.

RCA recently put a closed circuit TV system on the market for less than \$1,000. Already more than 30 private companies in New York have secretly installed these hidden circuits to watch their employees. In one plant in Brooklyn a much larger circuit was installed, with the consent of union officials. Four concealed cameras are trained on various parts of the production line so the boss can spy on the movements of large groups of workers at the same time.

Installation of concealed microphones or "bugging," as it is known in the trade, has also undergone a technological revolution. Now any room that can be gotten into briefly can be easily and completely "bugged." A battery-operated "bug" the size of a match box with a transmission life of several days will broadcast all conversation to a receiving set somewhere in the vicinity. A permanent installation — about the size of a pack of cigarettes — is often concealed in the wall behind a light socket and operates off the building's electric power. Another method is to slip a carbon-button microphone into the telephone mouthpiece. This not only picks up telephone conversations but all conversation in the room when the phone is not in use.

OFFICIAL CONNECTIONS

In our epoch spying has become so specialized that a "private eye" operates mainly through connections. Reporter says: "Through inside contacts, the private detective can get copies of Western Union messages, unlisted telephone numbers, telephone toll-call records, and hotel registration cards. He can obtain Treasury Dept. tax figures, Social Security lifetime employment records, completed Civil Service job-application forms, and the detailed Pentagon dossiers on some twenty million present and former military personnel. . . A friendly postal inspector can order a 'mail cover' . . . Even FBI agents sometimes rely on a private detective with special talents or underworld contacts, and are glad to repay such favors with information from their own files."

Reporter quotes one private detective as saying: "You can't work in this business without deluxe police cooperation," and warning: "Never turn in a copper, no matter how crooked he is. It

Better be careful what you say — someone may be listening. Better snap it up on the assembly line — you may be giving a private TV performance and not know it.

... Truth about Algeria

(Continued from page 1)

means used to retaliate against a patriot who loves his country? Is it by such maneuvers, aimed at family affections, that you will curb an Algerian patriot, proud of his country's history? Are massacres, tortures and all kinds of cruelties the way to stop a people determined to regain liberty at the price of its blood?

No, Mr. President! On the contrary! That is a sign of weakness and desperation.

No! You dishonor yourself and strengthen my belief in your inadequacy and you do me an honor along with the Algerian people, who will know in whom to place their confidence. It is regrettable that my cousin, the Agha Dahmoune, is your shield, persisting in his blindness in fulfilling the role of traitor to his family and his country.

As for me, I love my country for which I have sacrificed everything. Long live liberty! It can't be bought and sold. It must be deserved and won. Glory to those who died for it!

Mr. President!

Why these vindictive actions, this show of weakness, degrading to France? Are these the

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

A thorough scientific analysis of the social bases of fascism — fascist strategy on the march to power — and fascism in power.

Long out-of-print — but a very few copies still available at \$4 per copy

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Confesses to Lies



Harvey Matusow (right) confers with his lawyer, Stanley Faulkner (left), and Sen. Herman Welker (R-Ind.), after telling the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he lied in hundreds of cases in which he linked persons to the Communist Party.

... U.S. Economy Seen Unstable

(Continued from page 1)

sustaining the economy at the present level have been automobile output and housing construction. Will they continue at their present rate?

The auto industry is producing at a fantastic rate in terms of available market. During the past weeks it has been turning out passenger cars at a rate of 9,000,000 per year. This compares with total actual car production last year of 5,509,550 and of 6,665,863 in the peak year of 1950. It is obvious that the auto corporations are building up a huge inventory of unsold cars.

Moreover, no authoritative source anticipates any big rise in the auto market. In fact, the Federal Reserve Board in its consumer survey issued on March 13 disclosed that a smaller percentage of consumers than last year plan to buy new autos this year.

A great deal has been made of the construction boom, but there is some concern about this in housing finance circles. George Cline Smith, economist of F.W. Dodge Corporation, construction news publisher, said at the recent annual savings and mortgage conference of the American Bankers Association that in terms of constant dollars private construction per capita now is only three-quarters as great as the 1926 peak. Only 7% of the gross national product is provided by private construction, compared to 13% in the Twenties.

The country's biggest single industry — agriculture — is taking a beating, according to the March 12 report of the House Agriculture Committee. It states that the "great blow to the farm economy is yet ahead." The farmers' situation is summed up in one key fact: net farm income in 1954 was 28% below 1947 and 10% below 1953. "Further declines are in prospect for 1955 and 1956."

In their separate report, the Democrats claim that "the economy is improving" because of the "stabilizers" built into the economy under their rule. But the only real "stabilizer" U.S. capitalism has today, as in 1941 and 1950, is massive government war spending. It is notable that one of the chief complaints of the Democrats is that the Eisenhower regime has "weakened defense" by cutting down slightly on the military budget, although it is still at a near-Korean War level.

... Justice Dept. Hits Bill of Rights

(Continued from page 1)

system has been put in the spotlight by the confessions of such paid witnesses as Harvey Matusow, who lied about 280 people in 21 witch-hunt hearings and in two federal trials leading to convictions. Mrs. Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson have also confessed to lying at the instigation of government officials in the FCC hearings on millionaire Edward Lamb, Erie, Pa., publisher and TV station owner.

Mrs. Natvig has been indicted on perjury counts — all carefully drawn to avoid the real issue of her lies when she called Lamb a former "Communist."

Matusow is being held in "contempt of court" because he "deliberately attempted to obstruct justice" when he appeared in the Texas court of Federal Judge R. E. Thomason on March 12 and admitted he had lied in testifying that he knew Clinton Jencks, a union leader, was a "Communist," which led to Jencks' conviction for allegedly swearing falsely to a Taft-Hartley oath. But the Judge refused to grant a retrial.

BRITISH TRADE MISSION TO CHINA in February signed 130 contracts worth the equivalent of \$11,000,000. Commodities involved are: automobiles, chemicals, dyestuffs, drugs, plastic raw materials, wool and scientific and electrical instruments from Britain; newsprint, tea, plywood, canned meat and fruit from China.

"Confidence Can Be Lost in a Day"

"Confidence (in America's economy) may take weeks, months and years of good conduct and demonstrated conduct to build up. It can be lost in a day," said Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey in a statement before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee inquiry into the state of the stock market.

This is, in reality, quite a damaging admission on the frailty of capitalism from one of its chief spokesmen. For if confidence in the American capitalist system is so fragile it can be shattered in a single day, then the system itself invites only weak confidence.

We have been hearing right along how strong the economy is, how well balanced by "built-in stabilizers." Now we are told that this economy rests on nothing more substantial than a psychological attitude, a sentiment — "confidence" — and one that can be smashed in a day, at that.

Humphrey is right, of course, in saying that confidence in the American economy is so frail a flower that it can wilt overnight. As everyone knows, there is a tremendous sense of insecurity among the American people. Not all the statistics on high "gross national product," "national income," etc., have sufficed to overcome the feeling that the higher the economy rides, the harder it is going to fall.

But Humphrey has stood the matter on its head. What he calls "confidence" is not the foundation of the economy. Rather, the

economy is the basis of the "confidence." It is because the American economy is fundamentally unstable that "confidence" in it cannot survive the first chill wind of rumor or the hot sun of any investigation into the system's operations.

What, in truth, holds up the economy at all and therefore gives room for even one-day confidence? Humphrey knows the answer, although he does not care to admit it now. It is what the Republicans charged to the Democrats in the last elections and what is equally true for the Republicans. Tremendous spending for military purposes remains the chief prop of the economy.

Official government figures over the past 22 years prove conclusively that "prosperity" has coincided only with the periods of war preparations and war. The creeping unemployment that set in with a slight cut in military spending following the Korean War has demonstrated the incapacity of American capitalism to continue steady for even a brief time without increasing scores of billions being poured out by the government for war purposes.

If capitalism is so delicate and fragile that it can survive even temporarily only on a war diet, if confidence in capitalism is so brittle that it cracks at a mere touch of adverse news, then it is time to seek a sounder economic system. The anarchy and chaos of capitalism must be replaced by the scientific organization and planning of socialism.

No Secret Diplomacy

Out of the political horse-trading, dealing and double-dealing, jockeying and bluffing that goes on in Washington, D. C. has come a good result. The records of the Yalta Conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are being made public. This was effected through a tortuous series of events.

Secretary of State Dulles tossed a bombshell into the Democratic camp last week by announcing that he was sending to Congress 24 "confidential" copies of the hitherto-secret documents. The angle was that with lots of Congressmen of both parties having access to the documents, certain things could be "leaked" to the newspapers and no one could say for sure who was responsible for the "leakage."

The items in the documents the Republicans wanted to get to the public are, of course, damaging to the Democrats. According to papers in the know, like the New York Times, Roosevelt was guilty of making, or allowing to pass unchallenged, certain "indiscreet" remarks about "at least two politically powerful minority groups in this country." With elections on the horizon, publication of such remarks is counted on to divert many voters' anger from the Republican administration's record to the hypocrisy of the Democrats.

Senator George (D-Ga.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, speaking for the Democrats in Congress declared he would refuse to accept the "confidential" copy of the Yalta documents. Make everything public about

Yalta, he dared Dulles, or keep it secret even from Congressmen.

This gave the Republicans pause. They wanted to get the items damaging to the Democrats before the eyes of the voters — especially of the minority groups involved. On the other hand to publish the whole Yalta record, would harm the reputation of U.S. imperialism not only at home but abroad. Senator George told Dulles in effect: "If you insist on publishing the dirt on Roosevelt, go ahead. But we won't let you publish just excerpts — you must publish all the documents and thus bear the onus of putting Republican partisan interests above those of U.S. capitalism's foreign policy."

Churchill was against publishing the documents. The Kremlin was against it. The Democrats were against it. And the Republicans wanted to publish only a few choice tidbits about Roosevelt.

But the affair had gone too far. Republican machine appetites had been too keenly whetted with the prospect of campaign material. Moreover, it would be both embarrassing and a sign of weakness for the White House to be out-bluffed by the Democrats. So the Yalta papers are being made public.

All of which shows that when political thieves fall out, honest men — in this case, the American people — come into their own. Perhaps the sight of the secret diplomacy of 1945 will make them rise up in wrath and demand to see the secret deals of 1955.

U.S. Policy in Indo-China

The free election is the most sacred principle of capitalist democracy, according to the claims of the capitalists themselves. But principles, as every ideologist of capitalism will explain, are not made of steel. They can and must be bent, and even twisted, to the needs of the times. When practical political expediency, the pressure of circumstances, the necessity to put first things first, intervene, "principles" must take a back seat.

Last summer in Geneva an agreement was signed between France and Vietnam. A cease fire in the civil war was agreed upon. But a stipulation was made that a general election would be held in both North and South Vietnam in July, 1956. The distant date was insisted upon by France, in the hope that by then sufficient counter-revolutionary forces would be mobilized for them to conduct the elections in the customary French colonial style.

But the struggle in Indo-China is not favoring counter-revolution. The North is consolidating a great social revolution, while the South is suffering from inner corruption, feudal decay, and imperialist strangulation.

That's why, as the date for the elections approach, the "free world" imperialists are sweating over the problem of how they are going to get around the elections.

C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent for the N. Y. Times, doesn't have the answer as to how the elections will be avoided, but he is quite sure as to why: "Geneva fixed July, 1956, as the date for all-Vietnam elections. These really will never be held. The Communist North cannot meet the standards of free balloting stipulated. And the non-Communist South cannot afford the slightest risk of defeat.

Nobody likes to talk about this. But when the time to admit it arrives a grave crisis must inevitably develop."

One has to peel off the tissue of lies and deliberate confusion to get at the meaning of any statement by a capitalist journalist or diplomat.

Sulzberger says that the "Communist North cannot meet the standards of free balloting." This implies that the South can meet these standards. Let us see.

In the same column Sulzberger says: "What exists in South Vietnam is a barren dictatorship — barren because there is no effective dictator." He also says: "This country (South Vietnam) remains largely parceled out in feudal strongholds." The whole structure of South Vietnam is crowned by the Emperor and Chief of Staff, Bao Dai. Sulzberger has a few words to say about this representative of the "free world": "Bao Dai is an evil, venal man . . . imperial abomination . . . depraved symbol."

Apparently Sulzberger feels the contradiction between the reality of South Vietnam and the "free world" slogans of the U.S. State Department: "Bao Dai rests on democracy's conscience about as comfortably as the putrefying albatross tied around the neck of Coleridge's Ancient Mariner." (How about the other representatives of the "free world," Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, etc.?)

Thus: Sulzberger, voicing the policy of Big Business, proposes . . . (the elections and welch on the Geneva agreement in the interests of saving a regime . . . is bitterly hated by the masses of all Indo-China, which is admittedly a dictatorship of feudal landlords, governed by a corrupt, venal clique, and headed by a petty tyrant who wallows in luxury on the French Riviera.

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

The Junkers of the South

Analogies have been made between the German Junkers and the Dixiecrats. The Junkers are best known in this country as reactionary German militarists. But that was only one of their functions and doesn't indicate their social base which was the large landed estates in East Prussia. There, by maintenance of semi-feudal control over the farm workers they were economically and politically dominant.

This semi-feudal class served German capitalism politically as well as militarily. They were the most open reactionaries and labor-haters in Germany. In politics they could say and do things the capitalist politicians in the industrial sections dared not. They were a constant pillar of strength to chauvinism, anti-semitism and finally Nazism.

The ruling class in the Deep South is similarly based on large plantations and a semi-feudal control over the farm workers, who are mostly Negro. This class is the bulwark of Jim Crow in America. In politics they do many services for the capitalists which the politicians in industrial areas dare not. And they are properly rewarded by Big Business. This explains why so many politicians hated by labor come from the Deep South.

It is only fitting therefore that the chairmanship of the main witch-hunt body in the Senate, the Internal Security Committee, has gone to plantation owner and white-supremacist supreme, Senator James O. Eastland (D-Miss.)

There was one little difficulty standing in the way of Eastland's confirmation as chairman. Negro and Jewish organizations

protested the employment on Eastland's personal office staff of Ralph Bearman. This Bearman received money from Gerald L. K. Smith's native-fascist Christian Nationalist Crusade at the same time he was on Senator Eastland's payroll. In 1944 Bearman chaired sessions of the convention which nominated racist Gerald L. K. Smith for president on the America First Party ticket.

This may help explain how it came about last year when McCarthy let Eastland hold some one-man witch-hunt hearings in New Orleans that Aubrey Williams, editor of the Southern Farmer, and other liberals who are opposed to the stringency of Deep South Jim Crow were smeared as "Communists."

Eastland has dropped Bearman from his payroll, but the Senator has the reputation of not deserting his friends. In one speech on the Senate floor Eastland stated that Nazi occupation troops in France had behaved far better than American Negro soldiers were behaving. It is noteworthy that complaints about the Negro troops in France all came from racists in the U.S. The French people don't like any occupation troops but as between white and Negro U.S. troops they said they preferred Negro soldiers.

When the Supreme Court ruled against school segregation Eastland got up in the Senate and urged defiance of the ruling. Moreover, he charged the Court with being "indoctrinated and brain-washed by left-wing, Communist-front organizations."

For continuing the traditions of the committee the Senate couldn't have chosen a better chairman than Senator Eastland.

"The Investigator"

By R. Spencer

Two months ago a phonograph record, The Investigator, reached the music shops. It was published by a transcription company well known in its field. The author spent ten years in Hollywood writing shows like "The Life of Riley" and the "Jackie Gleason Show." Canada's leading radio actor performed the major role. And yet, this recording has never been played on a major radio network station in the U.S.; it is surrounded by an air of "ill-gality," and is currently the target of an attempt by the American Legion to suppress it.

The Investigator is a brilliant satire on McCarthy. Its outstanding artistic merit has been recognized even by conservative critics. Despite lack of publicity 15,000 copies a month are being sold.

What explains the nervousness and play-it-safe policy of the radio networks and the press? What explains the fact that even the liberals act as if the record were too hot to handle? After all, attacks on McCarthy have become almost fashionable.

The point is that The Investigator is more than a satire on McCarthy. It is a satirical stab at the witch hunt as a whole. With devastating wit it exposes the true nature of the red-baiting scourge. The founders of the United States, for example, are shown to be "subversive" under today's witch-hunting standards.

Such an attack on the witch hunt is a different matter than poking fun at the "extremist" McCarthy. It subjects the very foundations of the political regime of both Truman and Eisenhower to criticism. It attacks the witch hunt itself, not only the former Witch Hunter in Chief.

The Investigator was first broadcast on May 30, 1954 over the Canadian network. It was heard by a New York transcribing company which thought it had commercial possibilities. Obviously they were right. According to Counterattack, the pro-Mc-

Carthy paper which acts as a political police censor in the radio industry, The Investigator "may gross better than a half-million dollars in sales and become a smash hit." Counterattack describes The Investigator as a "straight party-line recording. . . A bitter burlesque, its target Senator Joseph McCarthy and every U.S. Congressional committee investigating Communism."

Counterattack cannot see the humor in this radio play about the "witch hunt in heaven." But then, conformist reaction was never noted for its sense of humor.

One of the highlights of the play is a scene between Satan and the Investigator. The "heavenly" witch hunt has gotten out of hand. Socrates, all persons named Karl Marx, Thomas Jefferson, John Milton, Voltaire, John Stuart Mill, Martin Luther, Thomas Paine, Oliver Cromwell, Garibaldi, Victor Hugo, Abraham Lincoln, Shelley, Chopin, Beethoven, Bach, Wagner, have all been deported from "Up Here" to "Down There" for "subversion."

Satan complains that too many are being deported:

Satan: "You don't know what's going on. Jefferson and Milton are calling for a Congress; Martin Luther and John Stuart Mill are making speeches about the Rights of the Damned; Cromwell and William Lloyd Mackenzie have recruited a Lost Souls Militia, that madman Socrates keeps asking me if I know what virtue is. Me? And that lunatic Karl Marx. . ."

Investigator: "Which Karl Marx?"

Satan: "How should I know? There are hundreds of them all over the place. Remember those pamphlets (Communist Manifesto) you handed them at the hearings? They took them with them when they got deported. They printed thousands of copies, and you know what their slogan is? 'Workers of the Underworld Unite! You have nowhere to go but Up!'"

Notes from the News

VIGILANTES drove three organizers for the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union out of Haleyville, Alabama. The ILGWU is attempting to organize the Winston Mfg. Co. there. The vigilantes came up to the organizers' hotel room, told them that if they didn't leave they would be "dragged out." Thirty of the vigilantes accompanied the union organizers to the city limits.

GEORGIA GIMMICK. Something new in the way of anti-labor laws is an ordinance in the town of Baxley. It provides that anyone doing organizational work for a union must apply to the mayor and city council for a license. The license, if granted, costs \$2,000 a year plus a fee of \$500 for every member recruited in the town. Violation is a criminal offense punishable by 30 days in jail or \$300 fine. An ILGWU organizer, convicted under the law, has been fighting vainly in the courts for a year now to get it declared unconstitutional.

JIM-CROW GEORGIA leads all the other states of the union in the number of people executed by electrocution. Under Georgia law a child of 14 may be sent to the electric chair. Last month the legislature defeated a bill to raise the electrocution age minimum to 21.

PET MILK IS THINKING OF YOU. In cooperation with the U.S. Government, the Pet Milk Co. will mail you an identification tag approved by the Civil Defense. There are to be worn around the neck and in case there's anything left of you

after an H-bomb explosion, your grave can have your name on it. All you have to do is send 25c, a label from a Pet Milk can and the necessary information to the Pet Milk Co. This is an inspiring example of private enterprise and government working together. Corpses found without the Pet Milk tag around their necks will be considered disloyal to Pet Milk and the American Way and will be investigated for subversive pasts.

"RIGHT TO SCAB" LAW was passed by the Utah Legislature and signed by Gov. Lee. This marks success for the Big Business campaign with its propaganda and slush fund in the 18th state. A similar law as defeated recently in Massachusetts.

"THE 5TH AMENDMENT is our protection against tyranny," a resolution adopted by the Civil Rights Conference of the IUE-CIO declared. Refusal to testify before a legislative committee by invoking this amendment "is not, in and of itself, proper ground for discipline or expulsion from a local union." While saying that most of those invoking the 5th Amendment were "ill advised" the resolution denounced McCarthy as General Electric Corp. for subverting the true meaning of the constitutional guarantee.

RIGHT TO VOTE in Washington, D. C. was discussed at a Senate Committee hearing. Opposing enfranchisement of the nearly one million Washingtonians as a local real estate broker who declared that the proposal was "part of the Communist conspiracy" for Negroes to take over the District government.

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New Jersey SWP Names Candidate

NEWARK, March 14. — The Socialist Workers Party last week filed nominating petitions naming Daniel Roberts, local SWP organizer, its candidate for New Jersey State Senator from Essex County in the November elections.

The working people's need to build their own independent Labor Party will be one of the main issues of the SWP campaign.

BOSSSES SLATE

"Just look at the slate that the Essex County Democratic steering Committee filed last week for County and State Legislative posts," said Roberts. "It includes two bankers, four assorted businessmen, five lawyers, five professional politicians, and one CIO organizer, one AFL organizer and one Negro lawyer."

"Yet this slate counts on getting elected through the votes of organized labor and the Negro community."

"The labor officials and the Negro candidate are on the slate just for window dressing. They would be powerless to win anything substantial for the working people. In office the Democratic slate would serve Big Business just as would the Republican slate."

CIO ANGRY

New Jersey CIO officials reacted in anger to the filing of the Democratic slate. "There was a definite commitment that at least two candidates would be selected from the ranks of the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council," was the complaint voiced by Joe Minish, the council's executive secretary, in the March 14 Newark Evening News.

And Joel Jacobson, state CIO executive vice-president declared "Don't think the CIO has no place to go. Mr. Carey (the Essex County Democratic boss). And to the Republican party I say, don't write us off. Give us good candidates and we may surprise you."

"How bankrupt can these CIO leaders get?" said Roberts. "They were ready to give the Democrats full support if they got two candidates on the slate, although that would still have left the bankers, businessmen and politicians in full control. But now that Boss Carey told them they could have only one candidate, the CIO leaders threaten the Democrats with voting for a few Republicans."

Roberts declared: "We of the SWP think that the unions and the Negro community should stop the game of maneuvering with Big Business parties — a game in which labor and the Negro people always lose. They should build their own party — a Labor Party."

Fired Seamen Picket Pier



Fred Jones, Kenneth Anstee and Ronald Costello (l. to r.), stewards fired off the Queen of Bermuda, picket the ship's pier in New York after the liner sailed for Bermuda. Some 300 striking crew members, of the British Natl. Union of Seamen, were left behind when they staged a protest walkout over the firings.

Scientists Raise Alarm On Bomb Tests Danger

By Myra Tanner

Evidence of the harmful effects of experimental nuclear explosions is mounting daily despite an official conspiracy of silence. On March 12, two scientists at the University of Colorado expressed alarm for public safety with increased radioactive fall-out over that state. Dr. Ray R. Lanier said that "the upsurge in radioactivity measured here within a matter of hours after the (Nevada) tests has become appreciable."

Dr. Theodore Puck, head of the biophysics department, said that "the trouble with airborne radioactive dust is that we breathe it into the lungs where it may lodge in direct contact with living tissue."

Pressured to retract their warning the two scientists insisted that there is no "safe" minimum below which radiation has been proved harmless, contrary to official claims. Governor Johnson of Colorado replied that the scientists "should be arrested."

After the recent atom bomb tests in Nevada, newspapers reported that X-ray films had been destroyed in a DuPont chemical firm in New Jersey. Workers entered the plant with radioactive material on their shoes following a light rain. New Jersey Labor and Industry Commissioner Holderman reported that DuPont officials had found it necessary to "wash down the whole plant, spread carpets at all entrances and have employees change their shoes on entering buildings."

The next day the newspapers reported that Holderman's story had been denied by the plant manager, Fred Sackett. Holderman, however, insisted that his original information came from the plant and "is accurate in essence as far as this department can determine."

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic the leader of the British Labour Party, Clement Attlee, asked scientists to issue a statement on the danger, not merely from atomic warfare, but from "the continued experimentation in these dangerous practices." He demanded that a halt be called to further atomic experiments.

India, Ceylon and the other Colombo powers will ask the Asia-Africa Conference which is to convene next month at Bandung, to demand the "cessation of experiments" with nuclear weapons.

What is the known truth about the danger of radioactivity in the earth's atmosphere that is alarming everyone? In a very cautious treatment of the "Peril From A-Dust," in the Nation, Feb. 19, Professor C.H. Waddington of the English University of Edinburgh, whose field of work is animal genetics says, "All the available evidence, however, makes it seem overwhelmingly probable that any atomic explosion which produces an increase in radioactivity, however small, in regions inhabited by man will add something to humanity's store of newly mutated and mostly harmful genes."

There is absolutely nothing that is reassuring in the discussions that leak through the "silent curtain" on the dangers of radioactive fallout. There is every justification for alarm.

'Let People Vote On War,' Oakland Candidate Urges

By Bill Morgan

OAKLAND — March 12 — Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-Large is officially on the ballot for the coming city-wide elections. So far the S.W.P. candidate is the only opposition candidate to file against the incumbent, an outright representative of the Oakland landlords.

The worker voters of Oakland have heard the program of the S.W.P. presented by Lillian Kiezel in past elections when she was the S.W.P. candidate for Mayor and for Lieutenant Governor. A veteran of 16 years in the socialist movement, Mrs. Kiezel has been a member of the CIO auto and electrical workers' unions and participated in the fight for the FEPC in California.



LILLIAN KIEZEL

VOTE ON WAR

After securing the required number of signatures and submitting a list of ten sponsors in accordance with the election laws of California, the S.W.P. immediately launched the campaign. A program was issued calling for the end of the drive towards atomic war and pledged to make the anti-war campaign a key issue. "Let the people vote on war or peace!" will be the slogan of the S.W.P.

The program further calls for an end to discrimination against all minorities, for the thirty-hour week at forty-hours pay, for full economic equality for working women, against universal military training, for the repeal of the police-state drive assault on civil liberties, and for the formation of an independent Labor Party.

The key local issue in the campaign is housing. Recently a group of capitalist vote-catchers seeking some publicity suddenly discovered the existence of slums in Oakland and are talking of slum clearance. Until now these five traps have provided a fat income for the landlords. Threatened with losing their rents the landlords are seeking ways of opening the public treasury to compensate for any losses.

On this issue, Lillian Kiezel, the S.W.P. candidate, speaking at the meeting of the Laborers' Union said, "It is the real estate interests of 'free enterprise' that create slums and there is not enough profit for the rent gougers to build low-cost housing for all. We say let the tenants form a committee in cooperation with the labor movement and demand the millions now earmarked for a war of destruction be used for housing!"

Despite the low registration figures and the small turnout expected at the polls the S.W.P. candidate is conducting a spirited and militant campaign to arouse the workers to the need

of independent working class politics. Comrade Kiezel will speak before many unions and over the radio, before church and other organizations.

Several leaflets on the issues of the campaign will be distributed and a mass rally will be held in the Jenny Lind Hall, 2267 Telegraph Ave. on April 2nd, at 8 P.M. at which Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the S.W.P. will speak and where friends and supporters of the S.W.P. may hear and meet our candidate.

NAACP Leader Hits Democrats

The Democrats in Congress were denounced for "pussy-footing on segregation" by Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a meeting in New York City.

Mitchell said: "There is a serious question about whether they (the Democrats) can be entrusted with national power during the transition of the United States from segregation to integration." He warned that despite the gains of recent years in the fight against Jim Crow something must be done or "we may well find ourselves moving backward."

Mitchell blasted Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) for his conduct of hearings on integration in the District of Columbia Fire Dept. Davis has encouraged the use of the insulting term, "n — r," by witnesses.

The Tragic Case of Dr. Edward Teller

By Lynn Marcus

Atom-physicist Dr. Edward Teller is a scientist of the first rank. Ordinarily such a man is respected and admired by his colleagues. Instead, Dr. Teller is a tragic figure; he has become an outcast in his profession, regarded almost as a Judas, the symbol of American science in a military-police strait-jacket.

SERVICE TO WALL STREET

Teller put service to Wall Street's war machine above service to humanity and above the principles and ethics of a scientist. Thus he contributed to bringing about a condition where a scientist must hesitate before advancing a scientific conclusion lest he be purged, smeared and hounded. Many scientists fled from Nazi Germany because of conditions like these. Teller himself was one of those who fled Hitler's terror in 1933. Perhaps, therefore, his offense in lining up with the American police-staters is all the more serious.

The case of Dr. Teller broke into public view last September with the publication of a book, The Hydrogen Bomb. The authors of this book, James R. Shapley, chief of Time Magazine's Washington bureau, and Clay Blair Jr., lauded Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, Lewis Strauss, and Teller as the "heroes" of the hydrogen bomb. At the same time it depicted the Los Alamos scientists, led by J. Robert Oppenheimer, as a group of bumbling obstructionists, or worse.

This was not in accordance with

the facts. Moreover, it came on the background of a series of witch-hunt attacks on Oppenheimer and acted to give the smear of the great scientist a cover.

Clearly it was up to Dr. Teller to dissociate himself from the book, if on no other grounds than its attributing false "credit" to him for scientific achievements of others. Teller failed to do this. Dr. Enrico Fermi, the renowned "architect of the atomic age," summoned Dr. Teller to his death bed and implored him to take a position. Fermi didn't live to see his wish fulfilled.

REACTION OF SCIENTISTS

The reaction to the Shapley-Blair book in the scientific community was quick and angry. AEC Advisory Commission Chairman, Dr. I. I. Rabi, called the book, "A sophomoric science-fiction tale to be taken seriously only by a psychiatrist. . . (the person responsible) should have either his head or his motives examined."

Former AEC Chairman, Gordon Dean, in a review of the book in the November, 1954, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists said, "This is no time for mincing of words. This is a vicious book. And it is an untrue book. If it is accepted by the public as a true account of America's struggle to achieve a thermonuclear weapon, it will be nothing short of a tragedy. . . This book is in one sense a sort of 'Valentine' presented to Dr. Edward Teller — but it has blood stains on it — the blood of the entire staff of

that (Los Alamos) laboratory, Dr. Oppenheimer and many others." In September, 1949, Truman issued the order to the scientists: Build a super-bomb — the H-bomb. A number of scientists, including J. Robert Oppenheimer, expressed doubts and warnings; the hydrogen bomb was an unknown; it was dangerous; some-where in the work of super-bomb building lay an explosion we might not be able to control; it would be necessary to proceed carefully.

The "crash" program, as outlined by super-scientist Harry S. Truman, was not regarded by these responsible scientists as a safe course. In this discussion Dr. Teller lined up with Lewis Strauss, the representative of Big Business in the field of Atomic experiments. In that same corner was the bomb-happy brass of the Strategic Air Command.

For his doubts and warnings Oppenheimer has been subjected to an endless series of "investigations" and "loyalty" procedures. The latest procedure against him, last summer, took his AEC security clearance from him.

The irony of all this is that Oppenheimer played one of the largest roles in actually producing the H-bomb. And Teller's experiments were apparently not fruitful.

The Alsops reported in their column, Oct. 4, 1954: "There is publicly available evidence which strongly suggests that the hydrogen bomb designed at Dr. Edward Teller's Livermore Labora-

tory turned out to be a failure during the Pacific test series last spring." They quoted Dr. Norris Bradbury, director of the Los Alamos laboratory, as saying that the Los Alamos laboratory, where Oppenheimer was working, was responsible for "every successful thermonuclear weapon that exists today" in the U.S.

But Teller was lined up 100% with Wall Street's program, while Oppenheimer expressed scientific doubts and reservations. That's why Oppenheimer was given the "treatment" while Teller was given a big publicity "Valentine."

"TELLERISM"

The issue goes far beyond the question of individual scientists, their accomplishments, unfair "credits," or even the witch hunting of any particular scientist. J. R. Shenken of the Nebraska College of Medicine writes in the Feb. 11 issue of Science on the subject of "Tellerism." He says, "What assurance do we have that medicine will continue to remain outside the domain of the security regulations, secret police, political restraints, and the like?"

This apprehensive question, is typical of the feelings in the scientific community. With the example of what is taking place in the field of nuclear research, what scientist can feel that any discovery will not be somehow "politically unsound?"

Such an atmosphere is intolerable to serious scientific work — and this explains the growing militancy of the scientific world

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Teller has felt the pressure of criticism from his colleagues. In an article appearing in the Feb. 25 issue of Science he admits that the hydrogen bomb was the result of the work of others. But the motive for this admission is of exceptional interest. The phony build-up of Teller as the author of the H-bomb had an unexpected result. People are not very happy with the bomb. They are worried sick as to how it will be used and even by the dangerous results of experimenting with nuclear explosions.

This raises the question of the responsibility, not the credit, for the unleashing of a super-destructive weapon. Teller is no more capable of answering this question than he was of standing up against the forces that seek to militarize the scientists. But Teller alone is not involved. Nor is it a question that scientific workers can settle by themselves. The perversion of scientific discoveries by the capitalist war makers can be halted only by the intervention of the working class. Such intervention will have the political aim of taking all the forces of production out of the hands of the capitalist rulers — including the tremendous force of scientific research.