

# Supreme Court Opens Hearings On School Bias

By George Lavan

On April 11 the U.S. Supreme Court finally began to hear arguments on how and when its school desegregation ruling of almost a year ago should be put into effect. Lawyers for Negro children and their parents urged the court to make a ruling that would start desegregation rolling in the South at the beginning of next year's school term or at the latest the school year after the next. Lawyers for border states — those Southern states which were not boycotting the hearings — presented a line of argument which would make the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, ruling a dead letter as far as compulsory desegregation was concerned.

The announced purpose of these hearings — the implementation of the Court's decision — was to decide ways, means and time limits of enforcing the earlier decision that school segregation was unconstitutional. Yet the attorneys — general and legal representatives of the Jim Crow school states didn't argue about how or when desegregation should begin but tried to prove that desegregation was impractical, unhealthy, undesirable, impossible and dangerous.

This led the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to

tell the court that "the Southern states have made no sincere attempt to advance constructive plans . . . as to how the May 17 decision outlawing segregation in public schools should be implemented." The NAACP lawyers called Florida an exception to this statement. This, however, appears to be a case of over-generosity.

While the friend-of-the-court arguments submitted by the Florida Attorney General were not as rabid as some of the others, they certainly do not represent an effort to find the best and quickest way to begin school desegregation. Florida argued against immediate integration. It also asked that the Supreme Court leave the details up to district courts and tell them that petitions of Negro children to enter hitherto all-white schools should be refused as "capricious" if the motivation was desire to advance a racial group. Petitions should be considered as being in "good faith" solely on the grounds that the Negro child's education was being impaired in a segregated school.

This would be a gimmick by which segregation could be maintained. Florida and other Deep South states are appropriating money for the horribly inadequate Negro schools. They hope in a few years to be able to claim that the improved Negro schools are "equal" to the white. Then state officials would declare that a petition from a Negro child for transfer to a white school was a "capricious" desire "to advance a racial group" since no educational impairment was being suffered. Thus would be revived the old legal trick of "separate but equal" which the Supreme Court supposedly outlawed last May.

## INSULTING ARGUMENT

One of the most insulting arguments was presented by Archibald G. Robertson representing Virginia. He alleged that Ne-

## Encouraging Vote Given Los Angeles SWP Candidate

LOS ANGELES, April 9 — Robert Morgan, candidate for the Board of Education sponsored by the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, received the encouraging total of 17,293 votes, it was announced here this week.

This compares with 12,588 votes which he received in running for the same office in 1953.

Morgan ran on a platform of opposition to the witch-hunt. He advocated that funds now earmarked for war by the capitalist government should be used for education.

# Some Who Should Get Invitations to Bandung

By Bob Dixon

The peoples of Africa, numbering some 200,000,000, have the smallest representation in the so-called "councils of the world." This lends special attractiveness to Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in the eyes of 50,000,000 Arab and 150,000,000 Negro Africans. It appears to be a forum promising to give voice to their views and opinions on some of the most burning questions of the day.

In the United States itself the Bandung Conference has excited great interest among the Negro

people. So much so that five American Negro journalists will attend as observers. The famous Negro novelist and publicist Richard Wright as well as the Harlem congressman Rep. Adam Clayton Powell will also be present.

The cold attitude of the State Department toward the Conference served to whet interest all the keener and give the gathering a still greater anti-imperialist coloration. Rep. Powell expressed this sentiment of the Negro people in his way when he said on the floor of Congress March 31: "I do not believe we or any country is strong enough to be indifferent to a conference representing three-fifths of the earth's population."

Yet just how representative is the Bandung Conference? Invitations have been extended to Egypt (population, 17 million), Ethiopia (10 million), Liberia (two million), Libya (one million), and the Gold Coast (four million).

Of these, the most significant invitation is the one to the Gold Coast, since it is the first Negro government to arise directly out of the struggles of the African peoples against colonial domination, even though it is still a colony within the British Empire, its one-crop cocoa economy completely under the thumb of British capital.

Thus the Afro-Asian Conference gives a voice to those claiming to speak for no more than 18 million North Africans and 13 million Negro Africans.

What then of the millions of Africans engaged in bitter and often bloody struggle against French, British, Portuguese, Belgian and Spanish colonialism?

Why was no invitation proffered to Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya African Union? To Messali Hadj, leader of the embattled Algerians? To the African National Congress, waging a bitter fight against the racist South African regime? To the RDA of French West Africa, the savagely repressed peoples of Madagascar?

The ostensible purpose of the

(Continued on page 2)

## Overflow Crowd Hears Dobbs In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, April 8 — At a meeting chaired by James P. Cannon, an overflow crowd to-night jammed the newly decorated hall of the Socialist Workers Party to hear Farrell Dobbs in the concluding speech of his coast-to-coast tour.

Dobbs flayed the arrogant American imperialists for their warlike attempts to bully the Asian and African people into submission to Washington and Wall Street. From McArthur's march to the Yalu some four years ago to the present day, Dobbs pointed out, the revolutionary people of China have successfully fought off the repeated attempts of Yankee imperialism to foist upon them a counter-revolutionary regime friendly to Wall Street.

Time, he said, is on the side of the formerly helpless colonial masses who seek to end the exploitation of capitalist imperialism and to determine their own fate.

Dobbs reported that during his tour he had observed a growing resistance in America to the witch hunt and a great feeling of economic insecurity among workers even in so-called prosperity areas.

While the tendency, he said, is for the workers to go through yet another experience with the Democratic Party, their political thinking is changing. Once they have begun to move in the direction of independent political action, he concluded, it will be the beginning of the end for capitalist exploitation and wage slavery.

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# GM Seeks to Handcuff UAW With Another Five-Year Pact

## Republican Machine-man Witch-hunted

Red-baiting is still in vogue as a means of settling an opponent's hash. The latest politician to find this out is Edward Corsi, prominent New York Republican. Corsi was former Republican candidate for New York City mayor and for U. S. senator. Until last week, he counted Secretary of State Dulles, Attorney-General Brownell and Republican National Chairman Hall among his close personal friends.

Three months ago, Dulles urged Corsi to take a job with the State Department to administer the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. On April 8 Dulles fired Corsi after Rep. Walter (D-Pa.), now head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, charged that Corsi had once belonged to "Communist front" organizations.

Corsi, who was born in Italy, opposes those features of the 1952 Walter-McCarran Immigration law that discriminate against South and East Europeans and Asians. For instance, under the act, normal 1954 quotas allowed 65,000 immigrants from England as against 5,600 from Italy and 185 from Japan.

To soften the resentment of Italians, Poles and other minorities in the U.S. against the Walter-McCarran act's racial bias, the Eisenhower Administration sponsored the 1953 Refugee Relief Act. Under its provisions 209,000 non-quota persons supposedly could enter the U.S. on the plea that they were victims of "Communist persecution." But with half the operating period already over, only 15,000 applications have been processed.

The Refugee Relief Act was meant as window dressing and so was Corsi's appointment. But Corsi got in the way of the restrictive bloc in Congress headed by Rep. Walter. Nor was he wanted by Scott McLeod, administrator of Immigration and chief McCarthy lieutenant in the State Department.

Walter smeared Corsi in Congress. McLeod and other McCarthyites put pressure behind the scenes and Dulles dropped Corsi. Dulles claimed Corsi was not qualified for the job and only held a 90 day appointive post, anyway.

This was news to Corsi. As was his alleged past membership in "Communist front" organizations. "But even if I had belonged, so what?" he complained to reporters. "Doesn't 25 years of service in conservative Republican surroundings count for anything?"

Evidently not among witch-hunters.

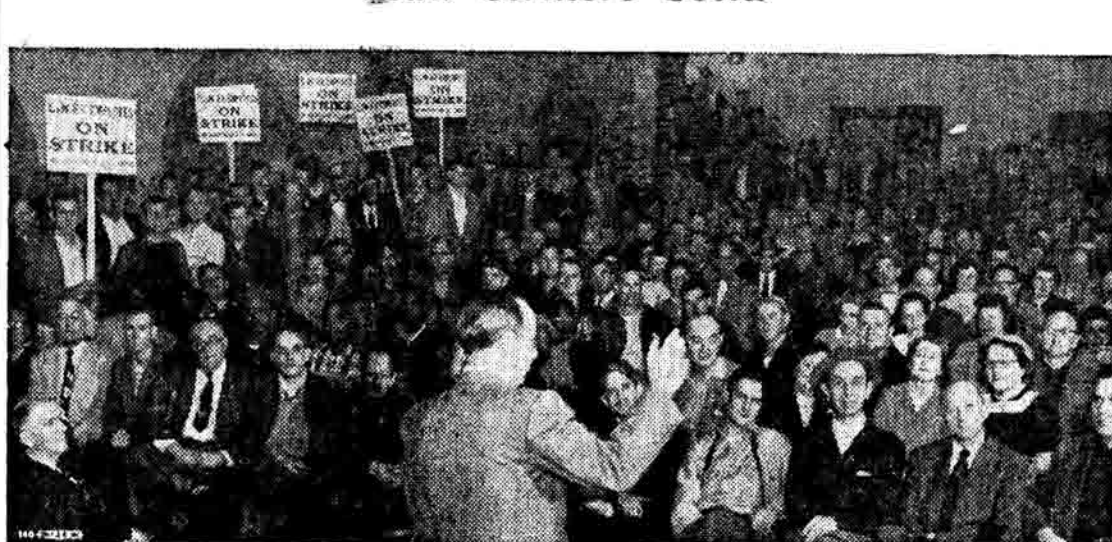
## By L. P. Wheeler

Since 1952 Republican Party spokesmen have hurled the charge of "war party" at the Democrats. This charge was a powerful weapon during the presidential election campaign and was instrumental in electing Eisenhower. The vote-catching line goes like this: "Don't forget, it was the Democratic Party that was in the administration during World War I, World War II, and the Korean War."

But, are the Republicans ready to say they were wrong in supporting the Democratic administration in each of these wars? That they were wrong in voting for each and every war measure and taking joint responsibility with the Democrats for the conduct of these wars? No, they reply, they wouldn't say that, they are merely stating a fact, no innuendo intended . . . etc., etc.

In the meantime they hope that millions of voters get the impression that somehow the Republican Party did not share equal responsibility for U.S. participation in these terrible wars.

## Rail Strikers Solid



Striking railroad workers reaffirm their stand at mass meeting in Louisville, Ky. The Louisville & Nashville railroad and two subsidiaries, branching through 13 southeastern states, have been halted by a strike of 25,000 members of 10 non-operating rail unions since Mar. 14.

## WASHINGTON HUSH-HUSH ON BOMB TEST DANGERS

By Theodore Kovalessky

"Is a studied attempt being made on a world-wide basis to hamper the American program for improvement of its atomic weapons by arousing vague fears that the human race might be accidentally poisoned by too many weapon tests?" Thus begins a feature by Nat S. Finney of the Buffalo Evening News Bureau in Washington. And thus begins also the governmental counterattack against the millions of American people who are feeling alarm that borders on terror concerning the ghastly results of the atomic tests.

This is not a subtle move on the part of the government. The News goes on to admit openly that this question "has some ugly implications for American scientists who have kibitzed about Atomic Energy Commission policies." Among the "ugly implications" is the claim that protests "are always directed at American tests and never at Russian tests."

If this "ugly implication" is correct, it is hardly strange. The American tests are occurring in America and the Russian ones, in Russia. It would seem logical that the atomic fall out most to be dreaded would be that which was closer. It was in Colorado that two scientists warned that radioactive fall out had reached dangerous proportions (and the governor of the state said they should be "put in jail" for their pains). Where the fall out may be occurring in the Soviet Union we do not know. But surely it is not Colorado, U.S.A.

Now, publicly to express one's worry over the hazard of atomic radiation, the News story indicates, is not merely an "ugly

implication" of subversion; it is worse, if possible. It is not fair play, not cricket, because "responsible government authorities are handicapped in several ways about correcting alarming statements they know to be false." Mr. Finney then sympathetically lists four different ways the long-suffering Washington officials are being taken advantage of.

## WOULD END IGNORANCE

First, by countering the statements of those alarmists who don't want to be poisoned by radiation or see the form of the human race changed by freakish mutations, they might disclose information that would be of value to Soviet intelligence.

There is obviously only one way out of that. The American people must have blind faith in their government. The old traditions of democracy have to be swept aside into the trash of modern times. There must be no questioning. The government must have a "divine right" to do what it sees fit to do. Anybody who may wonder about the course that Washington is pursuing, even with regard to the continuance of the human race, is by implication, working hand in glove with the Russian Intelligence.

Secondly, "responsible authorities are sometimes handicapped by ethical considerations." American authorities "know" that the famous Japanese fisherman "said to have died of exposure to poisonous radiation actually died of infectious hepatitis. . . that he probably got from the use of an inadequately sterilized transfusion needle. But because Japanese doctors attended the fisherman (Continued on page 2)

## Workers Need Eyes In Back of Heads to Watch Slippery Moves

By Art Preis

General Motors has launched a drive to handcuff its production workers with another long-term contract like the detested five-year agreement that expires May 29. This may be the price the world's largest industrial corporation is asking in return for concessions on the guaranteed annual wage plan sought by the CIO United Automobile Workers in current negotiations which began April 7.

The huge monopoly corporation is plugging the five-year pact through costly full-page ads in leading newspapers throughout the country. These ads appeared almost immediately following the opening of negotiations. A hint of the line GM would take had been given by its president Harlow H. Curtice last month when he issued a statement fulsomely praising the 1950 long-term contract that CIO and UAW President Walter Reuther helped to foist on the GM workers.

## OLD PACT PROTESTED

From its start in 1950, the five-year contract that is about to expire aroused bitter criticism and protest from the auto union's ranks. This reached such a pitch in 1953 that Reuther was forced to seek reopening of the contract on wages and to threaten strike action. The five-year pact became a major issue of the 1953 UAW convention.

GM has kept strict silence on the guaranteed wage issue and given no hint of its stand in the newly opened negotiations. But its ad campaign is intended to win public support for a demand for a long-term pact.

## WHAT GM CLAIMS

The ad claims that "General Motors and their employees have enjoyed five great years" and one of the reasons "certainly traces right back to the historic con-

tract worked out by the UAW and General Motors in 1950." The ad then boasts that GM today employs 511,792 persons compared with 383,688 in Jan. 1950. The implication is that the increase over the past five years is due to the long-term pact. The comparison, of course, is with a recession period and simply omits the fact of the Korean War boom that was the principal cause of the employment increase. But GM employment declined in 1954 over 1953 — a fact not cited in the ad. The new automation program is likewise aimed at still further reducing the working force.

The ad also claims that GM wage and salary payments rose from \$1,719,491,556 in 1950 to \$2,398,465,867 in 1954. In short, while the number of its employees rose one-third, its payroll increased only a little more than 18%.

## WHAT GM OMITS

What the ad leaves out is GM's profits — the real reason why the corporations "enjoyed five great years." Last Jan. 26 the company announced 1954 net profits of \$806,000,000, about 34.8% higher than the 1953 take of \$598,119,478, despite a 2% drop in net sales.

GM's claim that "five years of labor peace" made gains in employment and wages possible falsifies the facts. In March 1953, Reuther was compelled by the GM workers to demand reopening of the wage portion of the five-year pact. Faced with the possibility of a strike at the

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## Hand of Morgan Seen In Mail Order Battle

By Sam Marcy

It is utterly impossible to understand the current bitter struggle for Montgomery-Ward unless one takes into account the relationship between the House of Morgan and Sewell Avery.

First the reader should know that Sewell Avery, though a rich man by the ordinary standards of a working-man, is not a Rockefeller, Dupont, Ford or Morgan. As he recently described himself, he is a "mere manager" of a giant corporation. The fact that he owns 65,000 shares of Montgomery-Ward is in and of itself not sufficient to take him out of the category of a manager, since there are a total of more than 6½ million shares of Montgomery-Ward stock.

Up until June of 1948, if any giant company could be regarded as Morgan-controlled it was Montgomery-Ward. On its Board of Directors sat none other than Richard Whitney, chairman of the Board of Directors of J. P. Morgan; and H. P. Davidson, the senior vice-president of J. P. Morgan. It was Davidson who brought Sewell Avery to Montgomery-Ward to manage the firm in 1931.

Over the course of the war years, and especially since 1943, it became more and more noticeable that the Montgomery-Ward Company was accumulating so much in liquid assets (cash) that the firm had acquired the nickname of the "bank with a department store front." In the current proxy fight with his adversary, Wolfson, Avery described his financial policy as "salting away cash for a rainy day." His supposed rival, Wolfson, has described Avery as the chief prophet of "doom and bust."

The current contest between Wolfson and Avery has occasionally been described in the newspapers as a contest between two men embracing two "different philosophies," one of whom bases himself on an oncoming depression, while the other views the future prospects for further expansion with Pollyanna optimism.

## MERE CAMOUFLAGE

But all of this is mere camouflage for the small Montgomery-Ward stockholders. It could not fool the House of Morgan. The accumulation of an inordinate amount of cash reserves by the management of any corporation, is invariably regarded as an attempt by the corporation to cut itself loose from the dominion of its financial overlord. It is tantamount to the accumulation of ammunition or armaments by a vassal, and notice that the vassal is preparing to dispense with the "protection" of the suzerain.

Things were simmering all during the war years, between the Morgans and their manager of Montgomery-Ward, Sewell Avery, until one day the Morgans decided to cut him down to size. On June 10, 1948, at a meeting of the Board of Directors of Montgomery-Ward, the by-laws of the company were changed so as to redistribute the powers of the executives of the corporation in such a way as to give more power to one of the

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# They're Both War Parties

By L. P. Wheeler

Since 1952 Republican Party spokesmen have hurled the charge of "war party" at the Democrats. This charge was a powerful weapon during the presidential election campaign and was instrumental in electing Eisenhower. The vote-catching line goes like this: "Don't forget, it was the Democratic Party that was in the administration during World War I, World War II, and the Korean War."

But, are the Republicans ready to say they were wrong in supporting the Democratic administration in each of these wars? That they were wrong in voting for each and every war measure and taking joint responsibility with the Democrats for the conduct of these wars? No, they reply, they wouldn't say that, they are merely stating a fact, no innuendo intended . . . etc., etc.

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Now the Democrats come along. They try the same game. They accuse the Republicans of being the "war party" today. They charge that by its "bungling" and "fumbling" diplomacy, the Republican administration is dragging us into a war in the Far East — at the "wrong time" and in the "wrong place" (Quebec and Matsui islands).

But, are the Democrats ready to renounce the basic policy they share with the Eisenhower administration on the "cold war" in general and the Far East in particular? Are they ready to favor the removal of all armed forces from the Far East? Are they in favor of getting the Seventh Fleet out of the Formosa Strait? Are they ready to call for the cancellation of the astronomical war expenditures which account for 62% of the entire federal budget? Are they at least ready to stop their clamor for even greater war spending than Eisenhower proposes?

In other words, are they ready to abandon Wall Street's foreign policy, get out of Asia and let

the Chinese and other colonial people settle matters with their exploiters without the armed intervention of the U.S.?

No. They are not ready for that. The Democratic demagogues will hasten to explain. They are merely pointing out that "clumsy diplomacy" can be dangerous, and can lead to unfortunate results; they meant no innuendo . . . etc., etc.

In the meantime they hope that millions of worried voters get the impression that somehow the Democratic Party does not fully share the responsibility for the present war danger.

Now that the Democrats are turning the "war party" charge against the Republicans, some of the GOP leaders are getting disturbed. What kind of an effect do these charges and counter-charges of "war party" have on public opinion?

Vice-President Nixon on April 3 declared that "there is no war party in America" and that anyone who says otherwise is furnishing grist for the "Communist propaganda mill."

Nixon is really saying that the game of "war party" accusations must be played within strict limits. It must not interfere with any basic moves in the war drive; and it must not reinforce the suspicion of the American people that both parties are war parties.



## A Strong Defense Of Fifth Amend.

By Daniel Roberts

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT TODAY, Three Speeches by Erwin N. Griswold, Dean and Langdell Professor of Law, Harvard Law School. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. 82 pages. \$2.

These are the speeches of a conservative lawyer. Though taken in by the premise of the witch hunt that the nation faces the danger of a Communist conspiracy, Dean Griswold takes his stand on the side of the Fifth Amendment. "The privilege against self-incrimination," he says, "is one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized."

The first speech was given in February 1954 at the time that McCarthy was at the zenith of his power. Witch-hunting was at its peak. In the Senate, the bill to appropriate money to continue McCarthy's investigations was passed by a vote of 85 to 1, with all leading liberals voting in favor.

Griswold's speech was a courageous act under the circumstances, for it undertook to justify use of the Fifth Amendment by witnesses appearing before Congressional committees. He reviewed the history of the privilege against self-incrimination, and showed its origin in the fight of English revolutionists against the high-handed Star Chamber proceedings of the absolute monarchy on the eve of its overthrow in 1640.

He showed that refusal to testify on the plea of possible self-incrimination went hand in hand in the American colonies with the fight for the right of free speech.

Bucking the McCarthyite propaganda that anyone who used the Fifth Amendment did so to hide his "guilt" and was to be branded a "Fifth Amendment Communist," Griswold showed that the real purpose of the Fifth Amendment "is to protect the innocent."

Griswold also defended the use of the Fifth Amendment by witnesses who wish to keep from turning informer against their former friends and associates, and he praised this motive.

Griswold said nothing that socialists and other militant free speech defenders had not already pointed out, but he added the prestige of an outstanding legal authority to the fight to defend the Bill of Rights. That was his valuable contribution.

Since the time Griswold delivered his speeches, the Senate censured McCarthy. Although the witch hunt is still going strong, the lynch atmosphere McCarthy pushed has abated. It has even become fashionable to speak out against the extremes of the witch hunt if not against the anti-Communist drive itself.

Thus Harry P. Cain, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and McCarthy's ally when a Senator from 1946-1952, three weeks ago defended the Fifth Amendment. He spoke out against smearing as "Fifth Amendment Communists" witnesses who invoke the privilege against self-incrimination. What is noteworthy is that Cain's arguments paralleled Griswold's arguments and were obviously drawn from that source.

Similarly on Apr. 4, three judges of the United States Court of Appeals used arguments evidently influenced by Griswold's speeches in a decision involving the Fifth Amendment. The judges upheld validity of Attorney General Brownell's measure for forcing witnesses to give testimony or face conviction for contempt of court, but said they did so "reluctantly."

This law, passed last August during the red-baiting orgy that marked the close of the 83rd Congress, tries to get around the Fifth Amendment by granting witnesses "immunity" from prosecution. Griswold attacked this law in his October 1954 speech as a violation of the Fifth Amendment, and the judges did likewise. But the judges lacked the courage of their convictions. They held themselves powerless to rule the law unconstitutional and passed the buck to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Because of the courage of the author, the role the speeches have played in the fight against the witch hunt and the wealth of arguments in defense of the Bill of Rights that the book contains, "The Fifth Amendment Today" is a valuable addition to every worker's library.

## ... Bandung Invitations

(Continued from page 1)

parley is to give an independent and powerful voice to the aspirations of the colonial peoples. And it is true that the former colonies represented there (Burma, Indonesia, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Viet Nam, the Philippines, Egypt, Syria) constitute a potentially giant force. But if the real purpose of the Conference was to strike a genuine blow against imperialism, how much more powerful it would be if the representatives of the trade unions and independence movements were present from North and South Africa, the Belgian Congo, British Malaya, Nigeria, Kenya.

The empty seats reserved for racialist leaders imprisoned for their revolutionary activities, such as Messali Hadj and Jomo Kenyatta, would be the most eloquent testimonial to the strivings of those hundreds of millions still in absolute colonial bondage.

It would be a most damaging condemnation of their imperialist jailkeepers.

Instead of taking this course, the organizers of the Conference, undoubtedly under the conservative influence of Nehru and the Chinese Stalinists, tendered an invitation to the so-called Central African Federation. This ugly duckling is a newly hatched white supremacist regime, hardly less reactionary than the Union of South Africa.

In calling the Conference, Nehru and the other sponsors undoubtedly had in mind capturing leadership of the colonial peoples for their own purposes. Nevertheless, the mere fact that it was necessary to call such a conference testifies to the dynamism of the colonial revolution and to the completeness with which western imperialism has been discredited throughout the colonial world.

## Walter White and His Times -- II

By Jean Blake  
(Second of two articles.)

The Negro struggle for equality in America, as Walter White knew it, took place against the backdrop of two world wars and one major depression. It took place under a democratic capitalist regime in the nation inheriting from Britain the role of dominant world power.

The conditions created by these historic events provided several alternative courses for the Negro struggle.

World War I, with the demand for a larger labor force which it created, stimulated the migration of Negroes from the rural South to the cities and to the North. And at the same time that they were called to fight in a mis-named "war for democracy," Negroes were subjected to Jim Crow tyranny in the Army and to the segregated ghetto in civilian life.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was the conscious spokesman primarily for the "talented tenth"—the educated, articulate minority—was inadequate for the expression of the protest and aspirations of the Negro masses. So they flocked to the Universal Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, who exalted the lowly, preached complete independence as opposed to integration into white American society, organized Negro co-operative enterprises and agitated for escape through migration to Africa.

But the Garvey movement could not last. While it left its mark on the consciousness of the Negro masses in terms of greater self-confidence and more articulate expression of the independent aspects of the Negro struggle against discrimination, its program of voluntary segregation eventually proved as unsatisfactory as the compulsory segregation of the white supremacists. It disintegrated.

### TURN TO THE CP

Another alternative for the Negro people was opened by the bid for leadership by the Communist Party. Following the war, and during the period of the Great Depression, race prejudice, fanned by insecurity and conscious attempts by the white ruling class to keep the working class divided, erupted in increased race riots and lynchings.

The Communist Party, uninhibited by considerations (valid or not) which limited the NAACP and the union movement, embarked on its campaign to take over the leadership of the Negro protest movement. For a period the party's activity in exposing capitalist Jim Crow injustice in the Scottsboro Case on a world-wide basis, its role in leading demonstrations of unemployed for relief, and then in helping organize Negro and white workers in industrial unions of the young

CIO attracted considerable support.

But as experience demonstrated that the Communist Party's policies and activities were determined essentially by the diplomatic needs of the Stalinist regime rather than the Negro struggle in America, this leadership, too, was abandoned.

One highlight of this experience was the artificial attempt to translate the demand of self-determination for small nations in Europe into a program for creation of an independent Negro nation, or republic, in America. No amount of theoretical argumentation by analogy could win broad Negro support for a perspective that implied isolation, if not segregation.

### CP BETRAYS NEGROES

But the experience which most blatantly demonstrated the inadequacy of the Communist Party for leadership of the Negro struggle was its abandonment of that struggle during World War II. When the American Negroes, smothered under the discrimination and humiliation of Jim Crow and embittered by the hypocrisy of the Great Crusade against fascism and Hitler's theory of the master race, were told that they should suspend their struggle in order not to embarrass the Democratic camp, they left the Communist Party in disgust.

It was then that they expressed their choice for two other alternatives open to them. Some turned to the smallest and youngest revolutionary socialist organization on the American scene—the Socialist Workers Party. Hundreds of Negroes joined it for the first time. A few thousand subscribed to the Militant, the paper which expressed its ideas and which alone, throughout World War II, continued to tell the truth about the capitalist war and to campaign against any compromise with Jim Crow.

But by far the majority of the Negro people turned to the other alternative, the NAACP under the leadership of Walter White. More than half a million joined by 1946, despite the fact that the NAACP supported the war and helped spread the illusions about its aims.

The post-war period brought the inevitable disillusionment. Outbacks in industry threw Negroes out of work first. Lynchings, race riots, police violence, bombing of Negro homes and other illegal and extra-legal methods were employed to try to "put the Negro" back "in his place."

NAACP membership slipped, but the organization was firmly established as the leading organization in the legal struggle for democratic rights for Negroes. It had developed an experienced and capable legal and publicity staff. It maintained a continuity in court actions and legislative campaigns for civil rights for Negroes. And its leadership, headed by Walter White, had strengthened the NAACP's alliance with the official labor movement, and had become adept at bargaining with the government for legal concessions in exchange for support of the State Department's propaganda campaigns abroad.

In the post-war period the NAACP saw the achievement of a number of its limited objectives: U. S. Supreme Court decisions outlawed the use of the courts to enforce private agreements barring the sale or renting of property to Negroes; ruled that several state institutions of higher learning must admit Negroes where they did not provide equal facilities for education on a separate basis. Finally, in the historic decision of May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public schools, whether equal facilities are provided or not, is unconstitutional.

Many of the editorial comments on Walter White's death March 21 cited the school decision, with its implication that segregation is unconstitutional per se, as the final confirmation of the correctness of his—and the NAACP's—program and methods: The program—reforming racial discrimination under the growth of the labor movement, and by the change in the Negro people from a dispersed, primarily Southern rural minority to an urban, concentrated, conscious segment of the working class.

But it is significant that when the Supreme Court, under the pressure of colonial revolutions and independence movements of colored peoples throughout the world, finally felt it necessary to rule that segregation is unconstitutional (and thereby to attempt to demonstrate that capitalism can reform itself), the Court also had to introduce a new departure in its proceedings. Instead of simply stating its decision that segregation in public schools is illegal, and ordering that it be discontinued forthwith, the Court invited those guilty of the illegal practice, along with others, to advise the Court as to when and how the ruling should be enforced.

This precedent-making procedure by the Supreme Court indicates the probable pattern for the next period of granting legal concessions with one hand and taking them away with legal loopholes and red tape with the other.

An objective view of the history of the Negro struggle in Walter White's time must recognize that certain gains have been made. There is certainly a greater awareness in America and in the world of the "Negro question." Court decisions have restored some of the legal rights taken away from colored Americans in the period following the Civil War and Reconstruction. The number of annual lynchings—a barometer of race relations in the early days of the NAACP—have decreased. Negroes have gained entrance

to many industries and unions which formerly barred them.

But an objective view must also recognize that basically the status of American Negroes remains that of second-class citizens. (Even America's most famous Negro citizen, Ralph Bunche, chose not to accept a government appointment that would have subjected him and his family to living under the Jim Crow conditions in the nation's capital.) Segregation and discrimination in housing, education, employment, political and social life, are undeniably the dominant pattern of existence for the overwhelming majority of American Negroes.

While certain forms of anti-Negro violence, such as the old type of mob action, have decreased in the past few years, other forms, such as police brutality, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, bombing and stoning of Negro homes have taken their place.

Temporary and superficial gains in the struggle for equality were possible in Walter White's time. It is to his credit that he took advantage of the opportunities provided by the difficulties of American capitalism, by the growth of the labor movement, and by the change in the Negro people from a dispersed, primarily Southern rural minority to an urban, concentrated, conscious segment of the working class.

### NEED NEW METHODS AND NEW LEADERS

But the area of even small gains under capitalism is narrowing, and the conscious demand for full equality by American Negroes is growing. Neither promises nor hollow legal victories will suffice. When the limit of gains by the old methods is reached—and the granting by the Court that segregation is wrong in principle indicates that the limit is in sight—new methods and new leaders will be utilized. It will be clear that not small reforms, but basic changes must be made in American society and institutions to root out every form of racial segregation and discrimination.

To socialists it is already clear that the capitalist organization of production on a profit basis requires the division of the working class through devices such as Jim Crow in order to maintain the profits and privileges of the ruling class.

But even to the mass of Negro Americans who are not socialists, it is clear by now that the power of the Southern ruling class must be destroyed before any semblance of Negro equality can be achieved. And it was apparent even in the most liberal years of Walter White's period that neither the Northern politicians nor the courts can be expected to reconstruct our society. That is the revolutionary task before the American working class.

## ... Supreme Court

(Continued from page 1)

gro children had lower intelligence test results, a higher incidence of tuberculosis and venereal disease and a higher percentage of illegitimate birth. He gave no source for the statistics he presented. Nor did he explain why a child with tuberculosis or any other infectious disease was not hospitalized and cured by the "great" State of Virginia.

"White parents will not appropriate money to put their children with children who have that sort of background," piously orated Mr. Robertson, completely neglecting the fact that Negro parents in Virginia are equally taxed and for three-fourths of a century have got a lot less in the form of schools for their tax money than white parents.

Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond Jr. of Virginia said that in its May 17, 1954, decision the Supreme Court had taken great pains to assess the damage of segregation to Negro children but "no consideration has ever been given to the effect of integration on white children... what it would do to their hearts and minds."

To everyone except a white supremacist the answer to Attorney General Almond's question is obvious: integration would broaden the minds of the white children and prevent their hearts from that racist hardening which is a regional disease of most whites in the South.

Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi boycotted the Supreme Court's invitation to present friend-of-the-court briefs.

South Carolina, which like the four above-named states, has passed legislation to prevent enforcement of the Court's decision, was grudgingly present. This was only because it was one of the states originally brought into court as defendant. S. E. Rogers, legal representative of Clarendon County, South Carolina, was asked by Chief Justice Earl Warren whether he was "not willing to say here that there would be an honest attempt to conform to a Supreme Court decree."

"Let's get the word 'honest' out of here," Rogers replied. "Right now the people would not conform to immediate integration."

### RIDICULES SUPREMACISTS

Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the NAACP argued that integration could be successfully undertaken in the Deep South. "There is no local option on the 14th Amendment. It is a national constitution," he declared. He also derided the arguments of the alleged lower educational qualifications of Negro children. "It's no problem to put dumb colored children with dumb white children and smart colored children with smart white children," he said. "Those details are a matter of administration."

The present hearings by the high court have an air of unreality because the legal fiction is that both sides have accepted the May 17, 1954, ruling and are now sincerely trying to figure out the best way of putting it into effect.

This is decidedly not the case. The Southern states have not given an inch in their determination to keep segregated schools. Their lawyers are not trying to help the Supreme Court find the best and most expeditious way of putting desegregation into effect, but are trying to obstruct enforcement and pressure the Justices into watering down their original decision by handing down an inadequate enforcement decree.

Everyone in the courtroom, including the Justices know this. They are also sensitive to the outside pressure—the action of Deep South states in amending their constitutions to allow junking of the public school system, the statements of powerful Southern senators, the fiery speeches foretelling violence and defiance by Southern governors.

The racist strategy, it is believed, is in large measure directed by South Carolina Governor Byrnes, who was himself a member of the Supreme Court and knows what kind of pressure is most likely to bring results.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The volunteer army of Militant subscription-getters and distributors will all be happy to see their activities reported again in this column. Now that the brilliant success of the Press Fund Campaign is behind us, we can afford space for the exploits of our valiant soldiers of the regular army.

First, let's hear from comrades at the UAW Convention. Meryl, Literature Agent in Cleveland, writes: "Sunday afternoon we sold 56 copies of the Militant to the convention, and on Monday I took 400 to the hall. The people who took them knew just what they were getting, in fact some asked for two or three to take to friends. I can't tell you how inspiring it is to sell the paper to people who appreciate it."

"A very interesting incident happened. Two of the delegates came toward me—one from Michigan and one from Cincinnati. The guy from Michigan got a paper, but the other one was hesitant, so the guy from Michigan told him what a good paper it was and gave him a real sales talk. I couldn't have done better... I think this issue of the Militant is one of the best I have ever seen. It really was excellent."

All during the Press Campaign our sub-getters kept up with their Militant sales. Minneapolis deserves special notice. Almost every week we receive a fresh crop of new and renewal subs from them. Following is a sample from Literature Agent Helen Sherman, showing their enthusiastic work: "Alice, Harry, Ray and John turned in 7 Militant renewals this week, and Alice in addition got a new sub to the paper. Also enclosed is an F. I. renewal. Sales of the Militant at the Labor Temple are increasing. Norm and Jean, Julia and Helen sell there two nights a week on a regular basis."

Belle Montague writes from Cambridge, Mass.: "My contacts are delighted to see Theodore

### Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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## ... Hush-Hush on Bomb Dangers

(Continued from page 1)

man it would not be ethical for American physicians to describe the cause of death."

Even if this were true about the cause of death, why was the poor fellow having a transfusion anyhow? Was it some esoteric Japanese hobby? Or did he really need the transfusion because of the radiation to which he had been mercilessly exposed? And as far as medical ethics are concerned, don't we remember some snide remarks by a prominent member of the American Medical Association, which were sharply rebuffed by those Japanese doctors who attended the fisherman? It is hardly likely that medical ethics would have stood in the way if the American doctors had a leg to stand on.

Besides, did ethics of any kind at all stand in the way of labeling the Japanese a race of "Monkey men" or "sub-humans," when American imperialism was waging a war against Japanese imperialism? Ethics are discarded as readily as civil rights when they get in the way of imperialism.

### MIGHT BE CHALLENGED

The third handicap under which the ethical and tormented U.S. Government is suffering is this: "They shrink from publicly challenging the statements of a scientist. To do so would be negative or bad public relations and might promote alarming controversy."

Well, do tell! What ever happened in the Oppenheimer case? Who unleashed the hounds on the leading nuclear scientist Oppenheimer? Or is this idea of "bad publicity relations" something new that has come up since the Oppenheimer case? However, the most important thing is that "alarming controversy" must be avoided at all costs.

That's logical. When you set

about blowing up or poisoning the human race, you naturally don't shout your plans from the housetops.

A nice thick, opaque cloak of secrecy is a necessity to your operations. And there is nothing like a public controversy (especially an "alarming" one) to tear a few holes in that cloak through which the curious may peek.

The fourth point is somewhat abstruse, but it seems to deal a little with ethics again. We'll just quote it. Maybe you can get something out of it. "Responsible authorities must deal continuously with scientific people who would object to the Government doing other scientists' 'homework' on the grounds that any competent scientist has an obligation to keep abreast of what is published in his field. Therefore, authorities feel they must publish through orthodox channels and refrain from popularization." There, see?

Finney points at two lines of criticism that are being leveled against Washington, the dangers of radiation as such, and the genetic dangers. Concerning the fall out of radiation, he makes quite a case to show that there's nothing to fear, but we'll let that go. You can read it anywhere whenever the government tries to set your mind at rest.

### GENETIC HAZARDS

But the really hard nut to crack, the News story admits, is the objection to the tests on the grounds of genetic hazards. Why? "The difficulty in supplying authoritative answers to alarms raised about the genetic effects of radiation from weapons tests is that science knows almost nothing about the connection between exposure to radioactivity and human genetics."

They admit that "in theory exposure to radioactivity causes an increase in the occurrence of

mutations—radical changes that will be inherited by succeeding generations... but for human beings, science... has no 'base' upon which to calculate any changes that might occur."

A terrible admission is contained in this comment, which is intended to be "reassuring." Genetic scientists all over the world have raised an alarm about the continuation of bomb tests precisely because "science knows almost nothing about the connection between exposure to radioactivity and human genetics." These scientists contend that it is impermissible to gamble with the very future of the human race.

As the British geneticist C. H. Waddington has pointed out in his article "Peril from A-Dust" in the Feb. 19 Nation, the only known data shows that "radioactivity causes an increase in the mutation rate in all animals or plants on which it has been tested... Any increases in this radioactivity, caused for instance by the explosion of atomic bombs, would be expected to be followed by some increase in mutation. And the vast majority of the excess mutated genes would be harmful ones. This is the basic picture to which modern biology leads."

Other scientists, of world-wide standing have spoken out quite bluntly in recent months.

### "A CRITICAL SITUATION"

Dr. Linus Pauling, a Nobel prizewinning bio-chemist, told the Associated Press in Pasadena, Calif., March 18, "Continued dispersal of radioactive materials in the atmosphere is creating a critical situation... Radioactive rain has fallen in Germany and Japan and the resulting radiation may have started a new cycle of leukemia or new hereditary mutations."

Another Nobel prize winner and leading atomic scientist,

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Vol. XIX — No. 16 Monday, April 18, 1955

## Southern Labor Stirs

There's heartening news from south of the Mason-Dixon line. It is news about a new spirit of militancy among Southern workers. For a month now the two biggest strikes in the country have been going on down South. These are the strike of 50,000 CIO Communication Workers against the Southern Bell Telephone Co. in nine South-eastern states and the strike of 25,000 non-operating railroad workers against the Louisville and Nashville and several other railroads.

Despite police harassment, injunctions and company propaganda these strikes remain solid and militant. Moreover, AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood members as well as unorganized workers not only honor the picket lines but aid the strikers in other ways.

Recently the Greyhound bus drivers in 10 Southeastern states joined the AFL and went on strike against the traditional wage differential which says that in return for living under "the Southern way of life" workers shall be paid less than those doing the same jobs in any other part of the U.S.A.

Indeed there are many encouraging signs that Southern labor is stirring. A

joint organizing campaign of three CIO unions — Furniture, Paper and Woodworkers — has resulted in a string of organizing victories. The recent agreement on union elections between the CIO Textile Workers Union and the AFL United Textile Workers has brought an end to their internecine warfare and now victories can be won in this important low-wage, stretch-out industry.

Organization of the South is one of the major tasks that will confront the soon-to-be merged AFL and CIO. But it will take more than business-as-usual unionism. It will have to be a crusade as the early organization of the CIO was. But a crusade must have inspiring goals and methods. Operation Dixie of the CIO failed because it did not. To crack the open-shop, right-to-sab cities and towns of the South with their company-owned sheriffs, cops and judges, the root evil itself — Jim Crow — will have to be fought head-on by labor.

The successes of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union in their current Southern drive show that Jim Crow can be fought and that it pays off in victory. Let the great newly-united organization of American labor dedicate itself to this task.

## New Unrest in East Germany

The arrest of 521 persons in East Germany April 12 on charges of "spying" and "sabotage" is a sign that the struggle of the workers against the Stalinist regime continues to smolder — despite repressions and purges.

The charge of "spying" for the West was hurled by the East German Stalinists against masses of industrial workers after the general strike of June 17, 1953. Tens of thousands of workers, who played a prominent role in that insurrectionary struggle, were rounded up in mass arrests.

The fact that this charge was a lie was proved, first of all, by the scope of the general strike movement. Even official Stalinist sources couldn't deny, in their first panicky reaction to the general strike, that the movement embraced the great majority of the East German industrial workers.

Furthermore, the June 17 uprising was completely anti-capitalist in its orientation and program. That's why it received not the slightest support from the capitalists of Western Germany and the occupying powers, the U.S., England and France. The demands of the strikers were all directed against the bureaucratic Stalinist regime, and for workers' democratic control of the industrial establishments.

After the German Stalinists were saved from utter rout by the Kremlin's tanks and firing squads they began to peddle the canard that the strike was instigated by provocateurs.

And now again the April 12 mass arrests are accompanied by the threadbare Stalinist lie that hundreds of workers are engaged in "espionage" in the East German factories.

It is significant that these arrests take place against the background of a drive by the regime to "raise the industrial norms" again. The factor which precipitated the outbreak of June 17, 1953 was a decree raising the norms by 10%. This process of raising industrial norms

(speedup), when coupled with food shortages and the stifling domination of the bureaucrats within the factories, has been consistently met by the East German workers with determined struggles.

Another significant background factor is the recent crisis in the Kremlin marked by the fall of Malenkov. In 1953 the German workers showed they were masters of political timing in their struggle with the native Stalinist regime. They chose the moment after the death of Stalin, when the crisis of succession in the Kremlin became intertwined with the rise of working-class demands throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR, to launch their strike.

This strategic course was calculated to weaken the overall power of the Kremlin and its satellite regimes. The success of this aim is revealed by recent information about the strike of 250,000 prisoners in the Kremlin's Vorkuta coal-mining labor camps. The strike was organized in July 1953, one month after the East German uprising.

John H. Noble, who was in the Vorkuta camp during this strike, reports in a New York Times series of articles this month, that the news of the East German uprising, coming as it did after the death of Stalin, was an inspiring factor in the organization of the historic Vorkuta strike.

Thus we see the close reciprocal relation of the revolutionary struggles of the East European working class and the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union. This relation is part of the broader interdependence of the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries and the workers of the Soviet bloc. It shows that the overthrow of Stalinism, far from being the task of the capitalists, who are always ready to make a counter-revolutionary deal with Stalinism, is the task of the working class — a task that is part and parcel of the world-wide revolutionary movement against capitalism and all its agencies.

## Avery Wins a Stockholder

Dave Beck, President of the AFL Teamsters is the apostle of business unionism. "I have no use for class warfare," he once declared. What he does believe in is the hook-up of unions and employers.

Beck thinks of himself as a businessman and wants to be admired by the business community. "Our business is selling labor," he once said. He in turn fawns on the employers.

On March 31, Beck came up with a new dodge in the game of working with the boss. He signed a union contract with Sewell Avery, President of Montgomery Ward.

At first glance, it would seem that this was quite an achievement indeed, since Avery is a notorious union-hater and always refused to deal with unions before. How did Beck manage to get an agreement?

Avery heads a group of stockholders involved in a fight for control of Montgomery Ward with another bloc of stockholders led by the financier, Louis Wolfson. (See story on p. 1) The Teamsters bought 13,500 shares of stock in the company when they decided to organize it, and Beck agreed to vote this stock for Avery in return for a contract.

"The accord was announced at Ward's headquarters in a news conference conducted in an atmosphere of jollity," reports the April 1 N. Y. Times. "The merriment reached its peak when the normally reserved Mr. Avery playfully rumbled Mr. Beck's hair."

Beck must have wagged his coat-tail with pleasure. Just think, to have his hair rumbled by an outstanding business leader like Avery and participate at his feet in a fight for corporate control! What greater glory can he possibly reach?

Beck might be satisfied, but what will the workers gain from the agreement? Their independent strength was not mobilized. The union does not rest on their aroused will to struggle against the company nor their democratic control of the organization.

If Wolfson defeats Avery, the union is out altogether because it backed the wrong employer. If Avery wins — even if the minute holding of the Teamsters should provide the margin of victory — he will no longer need the union.

Beck would then have to grant Avery new favors in order to maintain the agreement. These can only come at the expense of the workers.

But is Beck really such an exception among union officials? It's true few other union leaders try to advance by backing one set of management against another in corporate elections. Few think of themselves as "eminent businessmen."

But they do think of themselves as "statesmen." They block off labor's independent political struggle and throw union funds and energies behind one set of employer-dominated political candidates against another. And has this gained anything substantial for the workers?

# A First-Hand Political Report from India

By Raj Narain

With the rise of the Indian Prime Minister Nehru in the firmament of international politics and the exuberance of tributes paid to him by Moscow and the more astute in Washington, the attention of the world public has become focused on India and the role it is playing.

Nehru is the hope of the Western powers as the saviour of world capitalism in Asia. His tactics in India are being watched with interest, and it must be said to his credit that he is the only statesman in the world who has in a political duel sent both the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party sprawling.

A steady increase has been observable in the ranks and the influence of the Left in India, yet, the recent debacle of the same Left in Andhra — the greatest stronghold of the Left and one of the most powerful sectors of the CP — left every one gasping. Nevertheless, the forces of the Left are on the rise here too.

The deepening economic crisis and the anxiety of the native capitalists to shift the burden on to the backs of the workers and the peasants is generating new struggles. Production is being re-organized and standardized in the mills, so that the workers are being exploited more intensively than at any time for the last 50 or 60 years. In this the government sides with the capitalists.

The workers, on the other hand, are organizing themselves and preparing for a fight. In Kanpur six unions have merged into one Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha and have threatened a general strike for May 2. For the first

time since the political atomization of 1947, and the comparative lull of the past period, the workers are again moving. Neither Nehru's socialist demagoguery nor the Stalinist betrayals have succeeded in checking them more than temporarily.

### PEASANTS ON THE MARCH

The peasants are also on the march. With the growing economic crisis, conditions for the peasantry are becoming more and more ruinous. One-third of the Indian peasantry consists of agricultural laborers, another third tills only others' lands and of the remaining one-third few can meet the bare necessities.

The fall in prices of food grains and other agricultural products intensifies the situation, and their reaction has been strong.

The whole petty bourgeoisie is writhing under the impact of the crisis and in spite of the ballyhoo of Five Year Plans, its problems have not been solved.

In short, there is not one single section of the Indian people which is not desperately looking for a solution. This situation is finding its echo in the consciousness of the masses.

### NEW ORGANIZATION

In January 1955, representatives of the Peasants and Workers Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Socialist Party, Mazdoor Communist Party, Communist League and the Forward Communist Party with many other smaller groupings, sat down together and decided to form a single organization. Many other groupings like the Forward Bloc (Marxist) are likely to come in.

For the first time in Indian history, a sizeable party with good units in each state of India



NEHRU

and with good influence among peasants and workers is being formed. For the first time in Indian history a Marxist party, free from Social Democratic reformism or Stalinism, is coming into being.

The present re-grouping of forces is not sudden or unexpected. Early in the Thirties such formations were groping their way toward independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time fighting Stalinist policies. It was thus that the Congress Socialist Party, Forward Bloc and Revolutionary Socialist Parties arose.

The growth has been slow no doubt, but it is unmistakably there. Especially since 1947 with

the assumption of power by the Congress and with mass struggles coming into conflict with the Congress government, the need has been felt for an independent organization of the workers and peasants, independent from both the Congress and servile Stalinism.

The Trotskyists of India have not been mere spectators of this process. Their earliest formations — Bolshevik-Leninist, Bolshevik-Mazdoor and Mazdoor Trotskyist Parties of India have

done much to clarify theoretical issues and help this growth.

The tasks of the future are by no means easy. The party ranks have to be educated and brought to such an ideological level that they can truly contribute in the shaping of party policy. The Trotskyists are constantly analyzing the concrete situations and putting forward their solutions, explaining them to the broadest masses of the party and trying to convince them of their correctness.

## Merger of AFL-CIO Featured in Spring FI

The spring issue of Fourth International, a Marxist quarterly magazine, is especially rich and varied in content. In the leading article, "The Political Meaning of the CIO-AFL Merger," Tom Kerry

analyzes the various factors that caused the "beneficent split" of the CIO from its parent body back in 1935, that kept them apart for 20 years, and that now brought them together. Kerry examines the key role of national politics in the prolonged separation and present unification. Finally the author discusses possible future courses facing the 15-million member labor federation.

Trade unionists will find this article one of the most thoughtful and considered analyses of the AFL-CIO merger to date.

"Automation — Menace or Promise?" by Harold Robins is a timely statement of the present progress of the current industrial revolution and the crucial problem it poses to the labor movement.

Those interested in developments in the USSR will find assistance in penetrating the veil of mystery and confusion surrounding such events as the fall of Malenkov in the article "Bureaucrats in Crisis" by M. Stein and John G. Wright.

These two writers, experts on Soviet history and politics, examine the underlying forces in the economy which reflect themselves in the dramatic shifts of personalities among the top rulers.

Of closely related interest are book reviews of "Communism and the Russian Peasant" and "Moscow in Crisis."

An absorbing historical survey and evaluation of the struggle for equal rights for women is made by Joyce Cowley in "Women Who Won the Right to Vote." With

graphic illustrations, the author takes up the relationship of the woman's movement to Abolitionism, the split over the 15th Amendment to the Constitution, the influence of the British suffragists on the American movement and the results of the enfranchisement of women.

James P. Cannon, a founder of the early communist movement in this country as well as a founder of Trotskyism, contributes another installment in his series of letters to a historian on the "Early Years of the American Communist Movement."

As with previous installments in this wonderful series, the reader gets a clear, considered exposition not only of the problems, personalities, achievements and errors of the early movement but of the universal problems that Marxist parties face in their beginning.

The "Arsenal of Marxism" features Plekhanov's famous philosophical essay "Bolshevik and Rational Reality," translated into English for the first time. Chapters I and II appear in this issue; the remaining chapters will be published in further installments.

No Marxist or student of philosophy will want to miss this important work by Plekhanov, whose writings on dialectics and philosophy were considered by both Lenin and Trotsky as among the best in the Marxist classics.

A copy of the spring issue of Fourth International can be obtained by sending 35 cents to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

## World Events

**GENERAL STRIKE** of government workers in Finland ended in a victory for the Trade Union Congress. The settlement was a maximum wage increase of about \$4.00 a month — the amount the strikers had demanded.

**A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL BLOC** scored a victory in the first elections held in Singapore. Under the new Constitution Singapore will have a certain amount of self-government. The British retain control of foreign affairs, internal security, justice and finances. Moreover, the British Governor has wide veto powers. Surprise victories in the election were the Peoples Action Party and the Labor Front. In coalition they have a majority of the 25 elective seats in the Legislative Assembly. Their main plank in the campaign was ending the British emergency regulations under which people can be arrested and imprisoned without trial. Free speech and assembly are denied and severe penalties including death can be imposed for "aiding" the Communists. Around 80% of the population of Singapore is Chinese. About 55% of the adult population voted. What surprised observers was that most of those who went to the polls were women.

**FRANCO SPAIN** is blackmailing U.S. imperialism for an increase in economic aid by slowing down and obstructing the construction of U.S. air bases in Spain.

**BRITISH GOVERNOR OF UGANDA** has ordered that all Africans of the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes be expelled from their lands and the colony as a preventive measure to stop the spread of Mau Mau sympathies.

**IN WEST BERLIN** all refugees from East Germany are put in two categories: "recognized" and "unrecognized." The former are those who are officially recognized as having fled for political reasons. And "political" is interpreted as pro-West. They are allowed to get jobs in Berlin or to go on to the Western Zones of Germany. Those who have left the Soviet Zone because living was too hard there, because they

wanted to move to a different part of Germany or for other non-political reasons are classified as "unrecognized" refugees. These cannot legally hold jobs in Berlin and are not allowed to go on to the West. Naturally word gets around and everyone entering Berlin from the Soviet Zone who wants to be recognized, claims "political" motivation.

**DECLINE IN STRENGTH** of the Italian Communist Party among industrial workers is indicated by a continuing series of losses of shop steward elections. The most recent defeat was in the huge Fiat automobile works — Italy's largest industrial set-up — in Turin. This year the Italian CP received only 39% of the votes; last year they polled 63%.

**JOHN L. LEWIS**, president of the United Mine Workers of America has demanded that a U.S. Commission investigate a mine disaster in Turkey that killed 60 men on Jan. 23. The U.S. Foreign Operation Administrations has been spending some \$41 million on development of Turkish coal mines and it was on this basis that Lewis asked for the investigation. Noting that an attempt was being made to blame the miners for the disaster rather than the lack of safety precautions and equipment, Lewis told U.S. government authorities: "It is, indeed, a callous governmental practice to ignore such considerations and permit mass killings and burning of these Turkish mine workers through stupidity, negligence, unconcern for human suffering or any other reason."

## New York Friday Forum

Speaker: Robert Dixon  
"Behind The Asia-African Conference"  
Fri., April 22, 8:30 P. M.

116 University Place  
(Near Union Square)  
Donation 25c.

## ... GM Seeks Long Pact

(Continued from page 1)

peak of its war production, GM agreed to incorporate most of the escalator-clause cost-of-living wage increases secured by the GM workers as a permanent part of the wage structure and to increase the annual improvement factor from 4 cents an hour to 5 cents.

But the clauses covering productivity standards, grievances, etc., have stood unbroken for five years, during which GM has been squeezing ever-greater output from its workers and swelling its profits enormously. Today, it is reported from numerous GM plants, the speedup is becoming unbearable. Men stagger out of the plants haggard and shaking from the grueling production pace.

### WHERE UAW STANDS

At the March, 1953, UAW convention, two years ago, Reuther and his lieutenants exerted all possible efforts to head off any extended debate on the five-year pact. But the delegates made it amply clear they bitterly opposed long-term contracts. Reuther prevented a clean-cut declaration against long-term pacts, but insisted that the convention was not being asked to endorse the long-term agreements. He asked the convention simply to inform GM that if it did not concede to wage modifications at that time, the UAW would refuse future long-term agreements.

Some auto workers think that Reuther is bound by convention

decision to turn down any long-term pact. There is no such decision. And Reuther may be sorely tempted to accept some form of long-term contract (if not five-years, then four or three years) in return for something that can be called a guaranteed annual wage and palmed off as a victory.

### LEAVES DOOR OPEN

Reuther has already given a sizable hint that he is willing to accept something less than a genuine guaranteed annual wage. He opened the door to other plans than the one proposed by the UAW when he said on March 25 of this year that he would give "earnest consideration" to any "guaranteed employment plan" and would listen to anything offered as "better or more practical." The next day he re-emphasized that he is "not wedded" to any one approach on the issue.

One danger is some form of "guaranteed annual wage" based on a limited fund beyond which the corporation would not be liable for unemployment payments. The "annual wage" would cease when the fund is exhausted. The company could lay off huge numbers of workers and empty the fund in a day or week. That would be the limit of the "guarantee." The auto workers must be doubly alert to escape the dangers of long-term contracts and phony wage plans. They must have eyes in the back of their heads to watch the moves of both slippery company officials and slick union officers.



## "If You Have No Money"

By Carl Goodman

From Cleveland, Ohio, comes a horror tale. It shows that disregard of the individual is also practiced in the United States — This side of the Iron Curtain.

Harry Horkins was a single man, 48, living alone the last five years in the Lawler Hotel, 1737 E. 19th St.

"The Lawler is not the Ritz. And Horkins was not a widely known citizen," said Todd Simon in the March 24 Cleveland Plain Dealer. "He washed dishes. Once he was a laborer in a cardboard factory. Lately he sold shoelaces, sticky tape and trinkets, around Payne Avenue, N. E. He was no vagrant nor a drunk. He kept himself tidy."

Horkins suffered from varicose veins. On Feb. 26 a bad cold and his leg trouble brought him down. The leg was ulcerated.

Within a couple of days, as he lay unattended, he was so weak he could not lift a water glass to his lips nor get out of bed to keep himself clean.

The hotel manager called the city-health department. A city doctor came Sunday, Feb. 26 after 10 P. M. and ordered an ambulance to take Horkins to the City Hospital's out-patient department the next day.

But the ambulance men refused to pick him up because he was "too dirty." By that time Horkins was delirious.

"Three teams of ambulance men refused to haul the sick Horkins in their wagons

that day and the next morning. One pickup slip said: 'Urgent,' but that team also refused to take Horkins to the hospital."

A police ambulance team refused to pick Horkins up, complaining it was "not police work" and wrote "Refused to go" on their slips.

The hotel manager, Gilbert, refused to clean Horkins, protesting to the ambulance men "He's just as much a stranger to me as he is to you. . . I'm a businessman. I'm running a hotel not a hospital." He urged that City Hospital send out an orderly, but no one came.

"It was Tuesday noon, March 1, before Horkins arrived at City Hospital," said Todd Simon. "His leg was gangrenous and inflamed. He died there the next Monday, March 7 at 2 A. M."

His sister, Miss Catherine A. Horkins, in New York, was not notified until after Harry Horkins' death. "Until some time late in the week, because of mistakes, the hospital had the patient's name and address wrong: Henry Hopkins, 1737 E. 18th Street?" The errors were not cleared up until after he died.

Who is to blame? The city officials and the newspapers say nobody in particular. It was just a "tragedy of errors." Maybe the fault was really Harry Horkins'. After all he was poor, and as hotel manager Gilbert said, "If you have no money in this town, you're in bad shape."

## "Seven Angry Men"

By Trent Hutter

The critic of the N. Y. Herald Tribune has made fun of "Seven Angry Men," the motion picture about John Brown. He has made fun not so much of the way it is directed or acted, but of John Brown's momentous story itself, of his struggle, of the sons who, like their father, died for the Abolitionist cause. That's how low a bourgeois critic can sink.

These gentlemen who condemn almost any unconventional outlook, having replaced culture with sophistication, feel uncomfortable each time they see a movie expressing moral courage, and reject it all the more spitefully. The defenders of political, social and ideological conformism cannot help resenting the heroic figure of John Brown, the fighter against slavery, an American revolutionist and one of America's great men.

Therefore, the critic of the Herald Tribune is not the only one to deal harshly with this picture. "Seven Angry Men" won't be a film for you if you prefer Hollywood's pseudo-scientific presentations of pathological cases or elaborate technicolor-cinemascope productions with spectacular technical tricks and no "dangerous thoughts" whatsoever. . . It's a simple black-and-white film. But it tells a powerful story and does not attempt to sugar-coat history.

"Seven Angry Men" is based on Charles Marquis Warren's novel "God's Angry Man," which comes close to historical reality. Warren directed the picture. Raymond Massey found in John Brown one of his most exciting roles; and Jeff Hunter, Larry Pennell, Debra Paget and others support him very well indeed. "Seven Angry Men" was produced by a young and

enterprising studio. It tells John Brown's tragedy in a straight, dramatic style. The scenes follow each other like the blows of a hammer.

We see John Brown's partisan war in Kansas, where the advocates of slavery were defeated in 1856, and the attack at Harper's ferry (in 1859), which failed because the Southern Negroes were not yet ready to join the struggle; for this subjective factor had been miscalculated by the partisan leader. John Brown died a martyr's death on the gallows, knowing that his example and his end would be an inspiring signal. He was not wrong in this expectation. Slavery was abolished a few years later, after thousands of Negroes had joined the Union Army in the Civil War.

John Brown was a deeply religious man. But his religion was not the opium handed out by priests who are opposed to social change and console the poor and oppressed with hopes for a better world after death. John Brown's religion was a faith dedicated to helping the oppressed through action, to freedom in this world, to man's birthright in this world. He followed an inner call to abolish slavery; and his life, his activities, the demands he made upon his family, were entirely subordinated to this call.

In our present-day America of overbearing reactionaries, cowardly liberals, glorified stoolpigeons and silent masses, the gigantic shadow of angry John Brown reminds us of America's proud revolutionary traditions, of the moral duty to fight injustice without any foul compromise, and of rebels being indispensable to mankind's progress.

## Notes from the News

**ROY WILKINS** is now head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The vote of the board of directors on April 11 was unanimous to make Wilkins, 53, executive-secretary and successor to the late Walter White.

**MURDER RATES.** New York Police Commissioner Adams in a recent annual report revealed that the murder rate in New York City was two-a-day or about 730 a year. In 1953 — a typical year — there were 131 murders in all of England and Wales. New York City has a population of some eight million, England and Wales 44 million. Thus the murder rate for New York City was approximately 3,000% higher.

**ANOTHER SECRET ANTI-NEGRO GROUP** has come into existence. It calls itself the Southern Gentlemen's Organization and has begun an advertising campaign soliciting membership in Louisiana. It is headed by J. B. Easterly, a manufacturer. The Southern Gentlemen are affiliated with the White Citizens' Councils of Mississippi and are being advised by them. These organizations have begun a campaign of economic terrorism against NAACP members and those who speak out for school integration.

**NEARLY \$250,000** has been deposited in the Tri-State Bank of Memphis to defeat the attempt of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi to bankrupt Negro businessmen and farmowners who support school integration. The Tri-State banks will make loans on a strictly business basis to Negro property owners in areas where the White Citizens Councils have succeeded in cutting off their credit. Among organizations which have deposited money in the Tri-State bank for this purpose are the AFL Ladies' Garment Workers, AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, CIO Auto Workers and CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

**'PRISONERS' DEBATING TEAM** at Lewisburg Penitentiary was host to the debating team from the University of Pennsylvania. The latter was prepared to debate admittance of Red Cina into the UN. The warden refused to allow the prisoners to discuss the question. This debate subject was chosen nationally this year by the nation's

colleges. The warden at West Point and Annapolis have also refused to allow debate on the subject.

**A CANDID SKYPILOT.** Rev. R. J. McCracken, in his Easter sermon at Riverside Church in New York City, defended what he called "the pie in the sky when you die" theme of religion.

**ANTI-UMT CONFERENCE** was held in Los Angeles. Paul Hutchinson, editor of the Christian Century, was the keynote speaker against the new universal military training bill before Congress. Other speakers included George B. Roberts, a field representative of the CIO-PAC clergymen, educators and a retired Army colonel. It was pointed out that the UMT proposal would tie every young man to the military machine for from eight to ten years, in either an active or reserve capacity, and that it would heighten the cold-war atmosphere.

**IMMORAL? WORSE — ANTI-WAR!** Publishers are fighting the U.S. Post Office's confiscation of Lysistrata, a play written by the Greek dramatist Aristophanes in 411 B.C. This classical comedy depicts the women of Greece banding together to stop the interminable wars between Athens and Sparta by going on a love strike. They will have nothing to do with their husbands until the war is called off. It isn't clear whether the Postal officials consider the women's methods or objective to be indecent.

**CIO COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS'** President Joseph A. Beirne has congratulated ex-Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington for his recent statements against the methods of the witch hunt. Cain is a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, who surprised everyone by calling for limited reforms in the loyalty purge. Said Beirne, "Continued requirements of this kind (that industrial workers inform upon co-workers and relatives) may turn America into a nation of first class stool pigeons."

**QUOTE** from the Boston Globe: "You know you're in civilization when you see armed guards standing over anything that's valuable."

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## Kiezel Hits Government Union-Busting

By Bill Morgan

OAKLAND, Calif., April 10 — Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for councilman-at-large, sharply attacked the anti-union move of the Navy in attempting to take over jobs done by members of Local 1304, the East Bay Union of Machinists, CIO.

"This is pure and simple government union-busting," said the SWP candidate. "It proves that all important problems confronting the labor movement today are political. Only a party of labor could give fight to government union-busting and the anti-labor offensive of the combined forces of government and the bosses."

Speaking at a membership meeting of Local 1304, Mrs. Kiezel urged the workers to break with the capitalist parties. "You wouldn't cross a picket line in a strike so don't cross a picket line on election day — vote for your political interests as you struck for your economic interests."

Mrs. Kiezel has spoken at more union meetings than any other candidate in this campaign. The date of the election is April 19. Since the SWP candidate is the only one opposing the spokesman of the bankers and landlords in Oakland, Lester Grant, the Oakland Tribune, mouth piece of the Knowland machine in California, has attempted to scare away votes for the SWP candidate by implying that Grant, the incumbent, is practically unopposed, since Mrs. Kiezel is supported by the Socialist Workers Party. No mention of Grant being a Republican, of course, since this is supposedly a non-partisan campaign.

In addition to Local 1304, the SWP candidate spoke this week before the following local unions: Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Glaziers and Glass Workers, AFL, Stationary Engineers, Local 39, AFL, and the Cemetery and Greenkeepers, Local 322, AFL.

In addition Mrs. Kiezel has appeared and presented the SWP program to two civic groups and a church.

From Detroit

## Democratic Trend Continues

Michigan's spring elections on April 4 continued the trend toward the Democrats which was shown so strongly last November. The Republicans had not lost a single state-wide contest in the spring elections since 1933. Deciding they were in danger this time, they made their main target the CIO rather than the Democrats as such, trying to horrify the voters with the idea that the CIO was trying to seize control of the courts and schools. In spite of their labor-baiting, the Republicans lost one of two state judge-ships and four of six educational posts; and the two educational posts they retained were by such razor-thin margins that they too may be lost if there is a recount.

The State Affairs Committee has finally reported a Fair Employment Practices bill to the Michigan House of Representatives, but only after adding 26 amendments designed to kill or postpone action on the measure. One would make final enactment of FEPC dependent on the results of a referendum to be held in November, 1956. Another would exempt the Detroit Civil Service Commission from the provisions of the bill; the commission itself suggested this amendment. FEPC was killed by amendment in the previous legislature too.

The Urban League's annual report gives a bleak picture on employment discrimination in Detroit's major retail stores and food industries. It says: "With the exception of J. L. Hudson Company, Sam's Cut Rate, and to a limited degree Crowley-Milner and Sears-Roebuck, satisfying reports on the employment practices of the larger Detroit retail stores cannot be reported. Repeated contacts have been to no avail. Beer, bakery and soft-drink establishments have done little to open profitable driver-sales opportunities to Negroes. Preliminary surveys do not give too encouraging a pic-



President Walter Reuther (left) of the CIO and the United Automobile Workers introduces AFL President George Meany to delegates at the UAW convention in Cleveland. It was the first time an AFL president addressed the convention of a CIO union. The CIO-AFL merger is expected before end of year.

## Our Readers Take the Floor

### School Integration Articles Useful

Editor:

Just tonight a young fellow, a student, who has become a regular Militant reader bought Kutcher's book and took with him a large pile of back copies of the Militant. A friend of his saw a copy he had lying around and told him to get all the copies that had articles on desegregation in the schools, he wants them for a term paper in school.

J. B.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

### A 'Coincidence'

Editor:

On March 1, an election was held at the Westinghouse plant just outside Baltimore, involving a contest between the UE and an AFL union. There was nothing in the papers about it, that I saw, until Feb. 28, when an ad similar to the one enclosed was in both Baltimore evening papers. In the Baltimore Evening Sun it was accompanied by an article

three-columns wide at the bottom of the front page, headed "Woman Employee of UE Balks at Red Probers' Questions." The article was exactly what one would expect, but it is surprising that the Sun carried it rather than the Hearst News-Post.

There is only one morning paper in Baltimore, and the ad was repeated in the March 10 edition, accompanied as you will note by another article about the "Communist-controlled UE." It was announced in the March 2 paper that the AFL union won the election 560 to 219, with 39 people voting for no union at all. However it is evident, since 219 voted for the UE that there must be considerable reason for dissatisfaction with things as they are. I asked a man who works at one of the Westinghouse plants, I don't know which one, about conditions down there, and he told me "the bosses are b — s."

I am not certain, but I understand that it is supposed to be illegal for a company to intervene in a union election in any plant, and if so, they must have gotten permission to violate the law, or at least assurance that nothing would be done about it. The "coincidence" of the witch-hunt hearings being held just before this election, at the exact time to permit publicity to accompany the ads must also have been planned in advance.

D.  
Baltimore, Md.

### Fact vs. TV Fiction

Editor:

The television show, "The Assassin," aroused a great deal of discussion among our friends and sympathizers. One Militant reader called me the day he received the issue with Joe Hansen's article setting the record straight on the facts in the play. He was quite excited and pleased with the Militant's treatment. As an old timer who remembers the facts, he was particularly concerned about attempts to rewrite even such recent history to suit the purposes of the State Department.

J. B.  
Cleveland, Ohio

## Stewards Victims In West Coast NLRB Election

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, April 8 — A four-year battle to determine the bargaining agent for the marine cooks and stewards on west coast commercial ships ended yesterday.

At stake was the right to represent 2,400 men. Losers in the battle, fought out in an NLRB election, was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

They sought to represent the stewards but their opponents, Harry Lundberg's AFL Seafarers International Union, were able to win because there was no contest in the deck and engine departments. (The NLRB had ruled that all three departments could vote in the election.)

Out of the 5,322 valid ballots cast, the ILWU received 1,064 and the AFL-SIU received 3,931. There were 327 votes for no union.

Soon after the results were published, the ILWU at its convention meeting in Long Beach advised their steward members to shift membership to the AFL union. They warned, however, that any discrimination in shipping rights of former ILWU members would bring prompt court action.

Ed Turner, International Organizer for the AFL Marine Cooks, issued a statement that AFL shipping lists would be open to all non-members of his union who possess proper shipping papers.

BEGAN IN 1950

The struggle for control of the stewards department began in 1950 when the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards was thrown out of the CIO on charges of "Communist domination." Soon after that Lundberg set up a paper organization called the AFL Marine Cooks and Stewards and set out to raid the jurisdiction of the ousted NUMCS.

Following 1950, numerous NLRB elections were held. In every case, the AFL-MCS lost. However, court judgments amounting to several hundred thousand dollars were levied against the new independent NUMCS. Their leader Hugh Bryson was charged with lying when he signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit. Propaganda barrages were leveled against the independent union and in the end it was driven out of existence.

A year ago the ILWU stepped into the picture and started to organize the stewards. In the NLRB election held then they were ruled off the ballot. The ILWU called for a "no union" vote saying that in effect this would be a vote for the ILWU. The overwhelming majority of the stewards voted "no union."

Lundberg then shifted tactics. He petitioned for an NLRB election for all three departments — stewards, sailors and firemen. His petition was granted. This would obviously rig the election because the sailors and firemen were already in the AFL.

### CHARGE VIOLATION

The ILWU charged that this violated a consent decree handed down in 1952. That decree was to remain in force until "a union has been duly certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the exclusive representative for collective bargaining purposes of the employees in the Stewards Department of the vessels covered thereby."

The language of the decree



HARRY LUNDBERG

seems perfectly clear. It refers only to the "employees in the Stewards Department." There is no mention of the other departments on board ship. This seems to be a clear case of collusion between Lundberg and the NLRB to violate their own agreement.

The ILWU then went to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth District, on Jan. 17, 1955, in an effort to halt the election. In addition to the charge that the election violated the 1952 consent decree they charged that in the event that the AFL won the election, hundreds of Negroes, Chinese, Japanese and other racial minorities would lose their jobs.

Allan Brotsky, attorney for the independent NUMCS, charged that the election "raises the question of whether the Board can ignore the decree and order an entirely different form of election which could result in frustration of the decree and permit (the stewards) to be overwhelmed by twice as many workers who belong to unions which are lily-white and have a 40-year history of total discrimination against Negro and other minority workers."

### RIGGED ELECTION

The NLRB got the green light to proceed with the rigged election on Jan. 22, when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit turned down the ILWU appeal for a stewards department only election. The court ruled that the NLRB alone has the right to determine "what unit employees desire as a bargaining agent."

Although the AFL Seafarers International won the election there is still doubt about the final outcome of the fight. On March 30 attorneys for the ILWU and the independent NUMCS announced that they were going to appeal the Jan. 22 decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court.

The ILWU brief to the Supreme Court quotes Appellate Judge Walter L. Pope as saying: "... the last chapter of this question has not yet been written," and adding, "although the last chapter may not be written for a long time to come, there is here an intermediate chapter at least which calls for the authorship of this court (the Supreme Court). The right to employment free from discrimination is hardly less significant than the right to desegregated education."

## ... Battle for Montgomery-Ward

(Continued from page 1)

key vice-presidents by the name of Norton, and reduce the power of Sewell Avery.

It seems that the Morgans had gathered their faction, prior to the Board meeting, agreed upon the conspiracy, and apparently pushed it through without Avery realizing what was afoot. When Avery finally awoke to the consequences of the redistribution of power, he, still having a majority of the Board, obtained the resignation at a subsequent Board meeting, of Norton, and again redistributed the powers of the executives in such a way as to give himself full control.

It was clear to the Morgans that a struggle in the open was imminent. It was, however, "beyond the dignity" of the House of Morgan to carry on a public struggle with one of its vassals, particularly when it was being threatened from several other directions — such as from Robert Young in his initial step to

win control over the Morgan-dominated New York Central.

In a cunning maneuver, very typical of the House of Morgan, both George Whitney and H. P. Davison resigned from the Board of Directors. In a statement, which is a classic in the art of camouflaged interecine struggle among the oligarchies, they said, (Mr. Whitney speaking) — "It is with regret that Mr. H. P. Davison and I have resigned from the Board of Directors of Montgomery-Ward & Co. Mr. Davison has been a director since 1929 except for an interval during the war, and I have served since 1942. . . Mr. Davison and I wish to record our appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. Avery in the past. To him is due the present splendid financial condition of the company, and we hope that the company will continue to have the benefit of his advice, knowledge and judgment."

However ( ! ! ! ) the letter

continues, "Certain differences of opinion have arisen, as to matters of policy, largely involving the internal organization of the company. Mr. Davison and I have felt that in face of these differences which we have been unable to compose, our usefulness as directors has been impaired and therefore we have resigned."

### DECLARATION OF WAR

This was a declaration of war by the House of Morgan, and must have struck terror into the hearts of Avery's coterie of followers. In vain did David A. Crawford, president of Pullman, Inc., and a director of Montgomery-Ward, immediately rush to confer with the Morgan officials in a desperate effort to stop their resignation. But the House of Morgan had made up its mind, and would not budge. They were already laying long-range plans for a siege.

When the Morgan officials re-

signed from Montgomery-Ward, this was public notice among the dynasties that an actual war had broken out between a vassal corporation and its financial overlords. All the other robber dynasties began to assess the possibilities for intervention.

In the case of such a big company as Montgomery-Ward, it usually takes a long time. The tradition of the giant ruling dynasties is never to appear openly, but to set up knights who enter the lists, as in a feudal tournament. The audience watches the knights in combat, rarely aware that they are fighting on behalf of the feudal overlords.

We will show in the next installment how the Lehmans and the Rockefellers, after years of watchful waiting, finally intervened in the war between the vassal Montgomery-Ward and its financial overlords, the House of Morgan.