

Big Four Moves Won't End War Preparations

By Myra Tanner

Most of the propagandists for U.S. Big Business foreign policy reacted with alarm to the new stage in the development of the cold war. This stage was marked by the sensational concessions of the Kremlin in Austria, acceptance of most U.S. disarmament terms and agreement on top level discussions by the "Big Four."

The right wing Republicans, of course, expressed fear that the Eisenhower administration was heading for a policy of appeasement. The liberal Democrats expressed the fear that the Kremlin was outwitting Dulles and placing the entire war program in jeopardy.

"RED MENACE" NEEDED
Harold Callender, N. Y. Times columnist, in an article headed "Soviet 'Retreats' Viewed as Peril" issued the following warning:

"In a sense the conviction of a Soviet menace is necessary to the North Atlantic alliance. . . If Europeans decided these trends were not so very menacing, they might show less enthusiasm for maintaining Western unity and the costly armaments that the Atlantic alliance entails."

The plan to add Western Germany to the armed powers of NATO was bitterly resisted by the people, especially the German working class. Wouldn't Soviet concessions now put this plan in jeopardy?

The fears that Wall Street's war plans might be changed would have proved unnecessary if the propagandists had taken note of the following fact: Adenauer, the German stooge of the U.S. State Department, reacted to "neutrality" proposals, as if by reflex, with a rush-up order for the rearmament program for Western Germany.

Adenauer's position was promptly and publicly supported by the Eisenhower administration. Dulles bluntly informed his West European allies that there would be no retreat in Wall Street's plan to re-arm Western Germany and carry through the preparations for World War III.

In fact, on May 24 Dulles went a step further. He announced that German "neutrality" would not even be considered by the Big Four Conference. The Democrats, ever-faithful watchdogs of imperialist interests, were quite relieved to know that Dulles had no intentions of bargaining away the war preparations so necessary to the continued profits of capitalist economy, and so necessary to the ultimate job of war against the Soviet Union. Walter F. George, Democratic leader of the Senate, said that the idea of German neutrality was "very seductive" but also "very dangerous for the free world." The liberal Senator Hubert Humphrey found Dulles' announcement "very reassuring."

It is clear that the cold war has entered a new stage; but this is not a result of any basic change in the foreign policy of American

(Continued on page 4)

More 'Loyalty' Oaths Demanded By City Bodies

A rash of "loyalty" oaths sprung up in the New York City-Northern New Jersey area last week.

In New York, the City Housing Authority mailed out "loyalty" oath forms to 30,000 tenants in federal public housing projects. Failure to sign such an oath would subject a tenant to eviction. On the other hand signing could subject a tenant to prosecution for perjury, if the authority were to deem him "subversive."

The oath is of the same nature as one declared void in Newark two months ago, when James Kutcher a member of the Socialist Workers Party challenged its constitutionality in the courts. It is expected that the oath will also be challenged in New York.

On the heels of the Walter Committee "hearings" held in Newark from May 16-19, the City Council proposed an ordinance demanding all city employees to sign a "loyalty oath." The Council also proposed to launch an "investigation" of subversive activities among city employees. The Belleville, N. J., Board of Education is considering a "loyalty oath" for teachers.

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Strike Victories May Herald New Era for Labor in South

By George Lavan

A new era has begun in the South. The strike victories of 30,000 railroad and 50,000 telephone workers mark the opening of that era. Two powerful segments of Big Business, with unlimited Wall Street

backing, tried to smash the rail and phone picket lines, to starve the strikers into submission. They failed completely. Their hopes of keeping the South a low-wage, open-shop province, not only for the superprofits squeezed from Southern labor, but as a weapon against Northern labor, have been frustrated. In fact their union-busting campaign evoked a Southern upsurge of labor solidarity and middle-class support for the strikers the like of which has not been witnessed in this country for over a decade.

The new contract of the 30,000 members of the AFL non-operating rail workers of the Louisville and Nashville and its five subsidiary railroads is a clear-cut victory. Indeed, the Wall Street Journal (May 23) had to head its story "L&N Settlement Is a Union Victory on Welfare Payments."

The main issue of the strike was the corporation's refusal, on grounds of "principles," to grant the non-ops a health-welfare plan that all other Class I railroads had granted. This plan, whose cost was shared equally by company and workers, had been recommended by a presidential emergency board last August. L&N refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. After a 58 day strike, during which the company tried unsuccessfully to operate with scabs and armed guards, it capitulated and agreed to arbitration.

The arbitrator's award ordered the company to bear the whole cost of the health-welfare plan. This is not only a great gain for the L&N strikers but a considerable assist to all the rail unions which are about to enter national negotiations. They will demand among other things that the rail workers, who now pay \$3.40 a month to the plan, be relieved of this charge and that the companies take it on.

BELL SETTLEMENT
Southern Bell, arrogant subsidiary of one of the world's greatest aggregations of capital, the Morgan dominated American Telephone and Telegraph Co., offered an acceptable contract after 68 days of strike. While the details of the contract are not to be made public until the union finishes polling its members on its acceptance, enough is known to see that it represents a union victory. The company had de-



Att. Francis Robertson, arbitrator in L&N rail strike. Company pretext in forcing strike was its "principle" against workers being "forced" to pay half of health insurance plan. Arbitrators ruled company should pay full amount.

manded a no-strike clause, at the same time refusing a clause for arbitration of grievances.

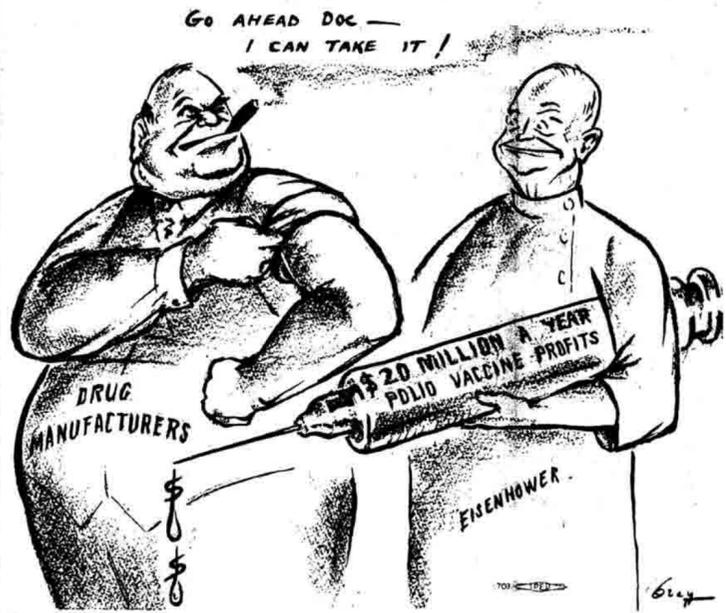
The settlement includes a no-strike clause and an arbitration clause, which according to Southern Bell, provides for "broader arbitration of disputes arising under the contract, including disputes involving suspensions of employees and disciplinary action taken under the no-strike clause."

Excluded from arbitration are matters arising under the pension-benefit plans, leaves of absence, health and safety conditions, and demotions and discharges during the trial period for new employees. Presumably included under the arbitration clause are selection of workers to fill job vacancies, transfers, discharges and suspensions.

Wage increases of \$1 to \$4 a week were won for all 50,000 Southern Bell workers. The company had long held out against granting any wage increase to 5,000 of its workers. The contract is for one year.

LABOR SOLIDARITY
Despite the barrage of hostile newspaper publicity (all capitalist)

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Must Your Children Die So Profits Can Go On?

MAY 26 — Every passing day makes Adlai Stevenson's description of the government's polio vaccination program as the "master mess of all time," sound like the understatement of the year.

Even a brief review of the highlights of the 44 days since the vaccine was released, constitutes a damning indictment of U.S. capitalism:

The first shock came with the revelation that the Cutter laboratories, which had been handed 10% of the vaccine production program, had released a dangerously defective product. Evidence of infections due to the Cutter vaccine came to light.

Then followed a series of bewildering announcements: the vaccine was withdrawn, released, withdrawn again — and again released. The program was on, off, on and off again. The demoralizing confusion prevails to this day. Parents are in a dilemma as to whether to get their child inoculated or not. Thirty per cent of New York City's eligible children have failed to get the shots.

UGLY FACTS
In the course of hunting down the defective vaccine some ugly facts were revealed: a black market had sprung up; the drug monopolies were planning an estimated \$20 million take on the unpatented Salk discovery;

adults, in privileged contact with doctors and drug companies, were rushing out of line to get inoculated before the children in priority age-groups; a huge batch of vaccine, desperately needed to increase the inadequate supply, proved to be ineffective and was poured down the drain.

After all this, when government scientists this week finally recommended new safety regulations to the drug manufacturers, these profiteers had the gall to fight the safety proposals on the ground that it would increase their costs!

The Democrats, who are trying to make political capital out of the incredible foul-up, are careful not to attack the administration on the main issue.

MAIN ISSUE

The main issue is simply this: the scientists discovered a protection against the crippling disease of polio. The American people, with their contributions, financed the research that led to the discovery. Then the government handed it to the private drug monopolies. From there on it was proven that a large-scale program providing for the needs of the American people was beyond the capacities of the planless capitalist method of production for profit.

As if to underscore this fact, neighboring Canada, which is certainly not a socialist state, has

conducted an orderly, effective and rational program, merely because the vaccine was placed from the start under the ownership and control of the government — both in production and distribution.

The government of billionaires, in the U.S., however, refuses to permit such an elementary step to be taken here. They must fight against "creeping socialism." They must prove that private enterprise capitalism can "do the job better." Well, the proof is in.

The capitalists don't object when the Army, Navy and Air-Corps are owned and operated by the government. They don't object to the expenditure of hundreds of billions for wars. No! All this is for the maintenance and protection of the capitalist system. But to expend a few hundred million for an adequate, rational program to immunize children against the disease of polio — that's practically bolshevism.

They may be getting more than they bargained for with this kind of propaganda. The American people may very well say: if effective measures to protect our children from polio is socialism — then let's have more socialism!

Women hold 29% of the jobs in the U.S., but they receive only 60% as much pay as men for equal work.

High Court Upholds 5th Amendment

The U.S. Supreme Court on May 23 overruled the contempt of Congress convictions of three witnesses who had refused to answer questions of the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee. The three witnesses were Julius Emspak and Thomas Quinn, officials of the Independent Electrical Workers and Philip Bart, general manager of the Stalinist newspaper, the Daily Worker.

By 7-2 and 6-3 vote the justices ruled that the men had sufficiently invoked their rights against self-incrimination guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. Quinn had refused to answer certain questions on the basis of the "First and Fifth Amendments." The witch-hunters quibbled that this wasn't clearly invoking the Fifth Amendment. Congress, and later, lower courts upheld this hair-splitting.

In delivering the majority opinion, Chief Justice Warren declared: "We find the government's argument untenable. The mere fact that Fitzpatrick and the petitioner [Quinn] also relied on the First Amendment does not preclude their reliance on the Fifth Amendment as well."

REFUSED TO INFORM

Emspak had refused to answer when the Un-American Congressmen asked him a list of 58 questions about association with other people. Emspak had stated: "Because of the hysteria, I think it is my duty to endeavor to protect the right guaranteed under the Constitution, primarily the First Amendment supplemented by the Fifth Amendment. This committee will corrupt those rights. . . I don't think this committee has a right to pry into my associations."

While the Justices dodged the question of the applicability of the First Amendment in the refusal to answer, they found that Emspak's reference to the Fifth Amendment was sufficient to entitle him to its coverage.

Philip Bart, manager of the Daily Worker, had identified himself before the witch-hunting hearings as a section organizer of the Communist Party in Ohio in 1936. He refused, however, to identify other persons in the section and refused to answer other questions. In the majority opinion, Warren made it clear that a witness merely saying "Fifth Amendment" was legally sufficient to invoke the constitutional protection. Government lawyers have long been contending that a witness must refuse each question in "correct" form by repeating with each refusal the words: "I refuse to answer on

(Continued on page 2)

The State Dept.'s Labor Salesmen

An Editorial

What role are 23 top officials of the U.S. labor movement playing at the conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Vienna, where representatives of 54 million union members from 75 countries are gathered?

AFL President George Meany and the other high U.S. labor officials are in Vienna to sell the foreign policy of U.S. Big Business. Above all, they want to get the German trade unions to give up opposition to West German rearmament.

German rearmament is a major plank in Wall Street's program for launching World War III. But the German workers have doggedly opposed remilitarization of their country. The trade-union movement — six million members strong — has repeatedly denounced moves to rebuild the German army.

It's true that at Vienna, Meany and the other labor emissaries of the U.S. State Department pressured the weak-kneed German labor officials to vote for rearmament. But this does not alter the opposition of the rank-and-file German workers.

Why are these workers so bitterly opposed to the Wall Street-Adenauer rearmament program? Is it because the German workers are pacifists? Hardly! Only during the last year the industrial workers of Western Germany have fought pitched battles with police and thugs to defend their unions.

The point is that the German workers don't want the murderous anti-labor Nazi officer corps back in the saddle — while Wall Street and Adenauer are determined to unleash these dogs again and prepare Germany for war against the "Communist menace."

This slogan of a "Communist menace" has a familiar ring to the German workers. The last time they heard it was from Hitler. And they saw their unions smashed, hundreds of thousands of their best militants tortured and murdered — all in the name of fighting the "Communist menace."

They cannot see how the return of the Nazi industrialists, like Krupp, and the return of the Prussian-Nazi officer caste will serve the interests of freedom.

Meany and Reuther cannot convince them that the fight for free trade unions means, first of all, placing thousands of Nazi officers in charge of a powerful military establishment.

Can the American workers fail to sympathize with the German workers in this feeling? Despite the steady stream of cold-war lies, despite the attempts to corrupt the American workers with a war prosperity, despite the Meany and the Reuthers, we don't believe the American workers will swallow the attempt to foist Hitler's old murder gangs on the German workers once again.

Miss. Negro Leader Lynched by "Uptown Klan"

By John Thayer

The campaign of racist intimidation carried on by the White Citizens Councils has resulted in the brutal shotgun murder of Rev. George W. Lee, militant Negro leader of Belzoni, Mississippi. Lee, the first Negro to register to vote in Humphreys County, was murdered on May 7.

Local authorities tried to hush up the murder and actually entered it on the records as a traffic accident. Only on May 20, after Northern newspapers had revealed the true facts, a coroner's jury in Belzoni was forced to retract its "traffic accident" version and admit Lee had been shot.

NAACP LEADER
Lee was a local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Earlier on the day of his murder he told another Baptist minister that "someone at the court-house" had warned him to remove his name from the list of

registered voters and to tear up his poll tax receipt. He refused and restated his intention to vote.

It is well known that the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi — dubbed uptown Ku Klux Klans — have been bringing pressure on Negroes not to register or to withdraw their names if they have already registered. Humphreys County has witnessed growing racial tension since a White Citizens Council was formed there.

White businessmen have been passing around lists of those Negroes who registered. They were targets for economic and other pressures to make them repudiate their registration. The campaign succeeded in reducing the list of registered Negroes from 400 to 91.

Another form of intimidation in Belzoni has been the terrorization of the Negro section late at night. Cars would race through the streets, with the white occupants tossing rocks through house and store win-

dows and the windshields of parked cars.

WITNESS DISAPPEARS

Rev. Lee was killed around midnight, May 7. He was driving home from a meeting. Another car with white men in it drew up and fired three shotgun blasts at the Negro leader. The lower part of his face was torn off. The shooting was witnessed by a Negro woman who intimidated she recognized the white men in the murder car. Police say this woman "moved" from her house the following night but the NAACP says she has "disappeared."

Despite common knowledge of the murder and the obvious wounds, including shotgun pellets in Lee's corpse, the coroner's jury went through the solemn farce of declaring that he had died in an auto accident. This was based on the fact that, when he was killed, Lee's car crashed into a house. When Northern newspapers and the NAACP brought out the fact that Lee

had been shot, the coroner's jury changed its ruling and admitted that Lee had died of a wound, "the cause of which is not clear."

This was still a long way from the usual finding of "murder at the hands of a person or persons unknown." Since then the local authorities have reluctantly had to admit that Lee was murdered. But their stubborn cover-up is indicated by the "theory" of Sheriff Shelton that the murderer was another Negro "because Lee was a lady's man."

NEW-STYLE LYNCHING

The NAACP immediately went into action on Lee's murder, which it termed "a new form of lynching." Roy Wilkins, who recently succeeded the late Walter White as executive-secretary of the NAACP, flew to Mississippi for a memorial meeting in Belzoni. Despite the atmosphere of terror, 400 Negroes attended the meeting. Wilkins charged that the White Citizens Councils "persuade" Negroes not to pay

their poll tax and not to register. "Mr. Lee refused to be 'persuaded,' so he is dead," Wilkins said.

Dr. A. H. McCoy, president of the Mississippi NAACP, also addressed the memorial meeting. Afterwards he told reporters that "everyone including Sheriff Ike Shelton" knew who Lee's slayers were, "but nothing is being done to bring the murderers to justice." Referring to Sheriff Shelton's statement that this was "one of the most puzzling cases" he had ever handled, Dr. McCoy declared: "The only puzzling thing is why the sheriff doesn't arrest the men who did it. Everyone knows who is responsible."

The White Citizens Councils are the most widespread of the many white-supremacist organizations that mushroomed throughout the South after the May 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court against school segregation. They dominate most of the "black belt" counties of Mississippi, where, as in Hum-

phreys County, the Negro population is heavy or is a majority. These councils have spread from Mississippi into adjacent states.

The declared aim of the councils is to maintain segregation. Publicly they maintain that the means they employ are economic and political coercion. Thus Negroes who favor desegregation or belong to the NAACP are to be driven out of the district by economic pressures.

Negro businessmen or farmers find white banks and merchants will not give them loans or credit, mortgages are foreclosed, etc. To combat this economic terrorism, the NAACP has secured the aid of liberal and labor organizations in depositing money in a Negro bank in Memphis specifically for loans to victims of the White Citizens Councils.

The councils boast that they are led by the leading white citizens of the communities: bankers, lawyers, officials, merchants and other "Southern gentlemen."

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — IV

Three Strikes that Paved Way for CIO

By Art Preis

The Industrial Conference Board, in a survey of collective bargaining under the NRA, could boast in March 1934 of "the relatively small proportion of employees found to be dealing with the employers through an organized labor union."

crushed, that the Toledo Auto-Lite struggle blazed forth to illuminate the whole horizon of the American class struggle. The American workers were to be given an unforgettable lesson in how to confront all the agencies of the capitalist government — courts, labor boards, and armed troops — and win.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

and tried to win them over. Speakers stood on boxes in front of the troops and explained what the strike was about and the role the troops were playing as strikebreakers.

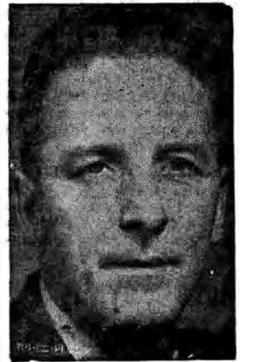
threw their last tear gas and vomit gas bombs and then quickly picked up rocks and started hurling them at the strikers, while the strikers recovered the last gas bombs thrown before they exploded and flung them at the troops.

the May 26, 1934, Militant. "Guns were imported to get after the leaders of the strike. Determined attempts were made to break through the picket lines on Friday night and Saturday. Two hundred arrests were made . . . Saturday night the 'regulars' and 'special' police rushed a truck load of women on the 'newspaper row' and beat them unmercifully, sending five to the hospital."

happened that day in the wholesale grocery district: "For two hours we stood around wondering what was up for there was no truck in sight. Then at two P.M. drew near a tensing of bodies and nervous shifting of feet and heads among the police indicated that something was up. We were right, for a few minutes later about one hundred more cops hove into view escorting a large yellow truck. The truck, without license plates and with the cab heavily wired, pulled up to the loading platform of the Slocum-Bergren Company. Here a few boxes were loaded on . . . At five past two the truck slowly pulled out . . . It turned down Sixth Avenue and turned on Third Street toward Seventh Avenue. As it did so a picket truck containing about ten pickets followed. As the picket truck drew near the convoy, the police without warning let loose a barrage of fire. Pickets fell from the trucks, others rushed to pick up their wounded comrades; as they bent to pick up the injured, the police fired on them . . . One young worker received a full charge of buckshot in the back as he bent to pick up a wounded picket.

ed hundreds of lies about what happened but none was brazen enough to claim that the strikers had any weapons at all." This was substantially confirmed by the governor's own investigating committee which, after the strike, found that the police had planned the attack in advance and fired to kill on unarmed pickets.

One worker, Harry Ness, died shortly after the shooting. Another, John Belor, died a few days later in the hospital. Some 55 workers were wounded. Within 20 minutes of the massacre, the National Guard rolled into the area. It was their signal. But if this terrorism was expected to smash the strike, the bosses got an unpleasant surprise.



FARRELL DOBBS

The Toledo Auto-Lite Epic

On Feb. 23, 1934, the Auto-Lite workers, newly-organized in AFL local 18384, went on strike. This was quickly ended by the AFL leaders with a truce agreement for negotiation through the Regional Labor Board of the National Labor Board, which had been set up under the NRA.

picket line after the injunction was smashed. While he was still unarrested, he wrote about the Auto-Lite battle: "The dynamic intervention of a revolutionary workers organization, the American Workers Party, seemed to have been required before that outcome [a union victory] could be achieved. The officials in the Federal Automobile Workers Union would have lost the strike if left to their own resources."

On May 24, the guardsmen fired point-blank into the strikers' ranks, killing two and wounding 25. But 6,000 workers returned at dusk to renew the battle. In the dark, they closed in on groups of guardsmen in the six-block martial law zone. Twice the fury of the onslaught drove the troops back into the plant. At one stage, a group of troops

On Friday, May 31, the troops were speedily ordered withdrawn from the strike area when the company agreed to keep the plant closed. This had not been the usual one-way battle with the workers getting shot down and unable to defend themselves. Scores of guardsmen had been sent to the hospitals. They had become demoralized. By June 1, 98 out of 99 AFL local unions had voted for a general strike.

On Monday, a strong detachment of pickets was sent to the market. These pickets managed to wedge between the deputized business men and the police, isolating the "special deputies." One of the strikers, quoted in Charles Rumford Walker's American City, a stirring and generally reliable detailed study of the Minneapolis struggle, described the ensuing battle:

On May 21 and 22 there was waged a two-day battle in the City Market that ended with the flight of the entire police force and special deputies in what was called by the strikers "The Battle of Deputies Run."

The next day, the showdown came. The bosses' private army of 2,200 "special deputies," plus virtually the entire police force, were mobilized in the market place to break the strike at its central point. A striker gave the following account in the June 2, 1934, Militant:

The rain of bullets then became a little heavier so I and three other pickets hopped a fence and walked back to headquarters . . . Pickets by the dozens lying all over the floor with blood flowing from their wounds, more coming in and no place to put them. The doctor would treat one after another who urged him to treat others first. "The Minneapolis papers print-

6-Day Battle with National Guard

By May 23, there were more than 10,000 on the picket lines. County deputies with tear-gas guns were lined up on the plant roof. A strike picket, Miss Alma Hahn, had been struck on the head by a bolt hurled from a plant window and had been taken to the hospital. By the time 100 more cops arrived, the workers were tremendously incensed. Police began roughing up individual pickets pulled from the line. What happened when the cops tried to escort the scabs through the picket line at the shift-change was described by the Associated Press.

by the tear gas fired from inside the plant, it was the police who finally gave up the battle. Then the thousands of pickets laid siege to the plant, determined to maintain their picket line. The workers improvised giant slingshots from inner tubes. They hurled whole bricks through the plant windows. The plant soon was without lights. The scabs covered in the dark. The frightened deputies set up machine guns inside every entranceway. It was not until the arrival of 900 National Guardsmen, 15 hours later, that the scabs were finally released, looking a "sorry sight," as the press reported it.

The Citizens Alliance had called a mass meeting of small business men, junior executives and similar elements and steamed them up for an armed attack on the strikers. They were urged to become "special deputies" and strikebreakers.

On Tuesday, May 15, 1934, after the employers had refused even to deal with the union, the second truckdrivers strike began. Now 5,000 strong, the organized drivers and warehousemen promptly massed at a large garage which served as strike headquarters. From there, fleets of pickets went rolling by trucks and cars to strategic points.

The employers then agreed to move no trucks. On May 25, the strike was settled, with union recognition, no discrimination in rehiring of strikers, and arbitration of wages, which the employers had increased previously to forestall a strike and avoid dealing with the union.

On May 26, 1934, Militant reports: "Flying squads of pickets toured the city." The Local 574 leaders warned the membership over and over to place no reliance or hope in any government agents or agencies, including Floyd B. Olsen, the Farmer-Labor Party Governor, and the Labor Board. They preached reliance only on the mass picket lines and militant struggle against the employers.

On May 24, 1934, Militant reported that Local 574 "displayed a well organized, mobile, fighting picket line that stormed over all opposition, closed 65 truck yards, 150 coal offices and swept the streets clear of scabs in the first three hours of the strike."

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Model Strikes in Minneapolis

While the Auto-Lite strike was reaching its climax, the truck drivers of Minneapolis were waging the second of a series of three strikes which stand to this day as models for organization, strategy and incorruptible, militant leadership.

Minneapolis, with its twin city St. Paul, is the hub of Minnesota's wheat, lumber and iron ore areas. Transport — rail and truck — engages a relatively large number of workers. In early 1934, Minneapolis was a notoriously open-shop town. The Citizens Alliance, an organization of anti-union employers, in the Auto-Lite alone.

On Feb. 7, 8 and 9, 1934, the Citizens Alliance got the first stunning blow that was to shatter its dominance. Within three days, the union of coal yard workers, organized within General Drivers' Local Union 574, AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, had paralyzed all the coal yards and won union recognition. The Minneapolis Labor Review, Feb. 16, 1934, hailed "the mastery manner in which the struggle was conducted . . . there has never been a better example of enthusiastic efficiency than displayed by the coal driver pickets."

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The Showdown in July

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They Fight and Win

All union-driven taxicabs, ice, beer and gasoline trucks, which had continued to operate by union permit, immediately went on strike. The police were cleared from all areas near the strike headquarters. Then, when Harry Ness was buried, the whole working class of Minneapolis turned out in an historic demonstration for his funeral. Some 40,000 marched in the funeral cortege. They took over the streets — not a cop was in sight. The workers themselves directed traffic.

Governor Olsen declared martial law. The military commanders began handing out "permits" for trucks to operate under the protection of the troops. Soon thousands of trucks were being manned by scabs and strikebreakers. The union did not take it lying down. The leaders gave an ultimatum to Olsen to withdraw the permits and to issue orders only with the union's approval.

Los Angeles Friday Forum

"Can America Have Another Depression?" Speaker: Milton Alvin

June 3, 8:15 P. M. 1702 E. 4th Street Questions and Discussion

added, "I object to the advice because [it] is unintelligible, misleading and a threat to the continuing vitality and strength of the nation's internal security."

Cain pointed out that the political blacklist was first drawn up by the Truman administration in 1947 and has been added to since. Of the 275 organizations on the list, he said "approximately 150 of them have long since gone out of business," and that only 20 or 30 of the remainder were "Communist fronts."

Cain cited the Broyles Bills introduced in the Illinois Legislature which would make membership in any of the listed organizations punishable by up to 20 years of imprisonment. He also described Alabama's "fantastic statute" which required publishers to swear that the author of every book or any book mentioned in the book's bibliography, was never a member of any organization on the "subversive" list.

The Supreme Court decision and Cain's speeches indicate not a movement to dismantle the whole witch hunt, but as the Christian Science Monitor of May 24 puts it, "to replace hysteria" with "a more realistic approach."

He said that the political blacklist was "nothing more than an attorney's advice to his client who started out to be the government but has become anybody and everybody else who makes use of the list." "As a citizen," Cain

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Trying to Fill McCarthy's Shoes

Has Democratic control of Congress meant a reversal in the witch hunt? And will electing a Democratic Administration in 1956 bring a new dawn for civil liberties? Many liberals contend that it will, and the Stalinists, with an idiotic unconcern for the facts, echo this absurd claim.

In addition to the fact that the witch hunt was officially launched by the Democrats under Harry Truman, there are ample recent examples to refute these contentions.

Take the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, conducted in Newark from May 16 to 19. These hearings resulted in the suspension of three teachers who invoked their rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The Un-American Committee is now headed by Rep. Francis Walter, a Pennsylvania banker. He is the Democratic replacement for McCarthy and apparently bent on filling the vacated post of Witch-Hunter in Chief.

In the Newark hearings, victims were smeared on secret testimony of stool-pigeons. They were refused the right to cross-examine informers against them. When witnesses invoked the Fifth Amendment, Committee members charged they did so to "conceal crimes."

Everything happened exactly as it used to when McCarthy, Velde and Jenner

bossed Congressional "investigations." Only now Democrats ran the show.

But the real pay-off came when the liberal, New Jersey Democratic Congressman endorsed the "red" probe and Newark's Democratic Mayor Carlin ordered the teachers suspended.

The truth is clear. Both Big Business parties — Republicans and Democrats alike — are for the witch-hunt.

They currently have a gentleman's agreement not to use the witch-hunt against each other and are in favor of limiting it to that extent. This enables them to team up all the better for smears and purges aimed at working class parties, unions, liberal and Negro struggle organizations as they did in Newark.

True, the Un-American Committee's hearings did not succeed in bulldozing Newark as it did other communities last year. There was greater resistance to its visit.

But this is no credit to the Democrats. There is a changing political climate in the country. People are not as readily taken in by the witch-hunters' lies. Opponents of thought control are more determined to fight.

Any notion, however, that civil liberties are safer in Democratic hands than Republican is a dangerous illusion that can undermine the struggle against the witch hunt.

A Built-in Strikebreaking Device

An important problem for all organized labor emerged from the recent strikes against Southern Bell Telephone Co. and Sperry Gyroscope. This is the problem of the large number of supervisors and engineers who cross picket lines.

The clashes at the Sperry plant in Long Island, at the moment the strike began, had to do with wholesale violations of the picket lines by oversized staffs of engineers and supervisors. Southern Bell, which employs 50,000 workers, has 10,000 "supervisors," or one for every five workers. Besides these 10,000, "supervisor-strikebreakers" were flown down South by the thousands from other sections of the monopolistic telephone empire.

The Bell System used to specialize in company unions. When that racket could no longer be used, it worked up the supervisor angle. They form a built-in strike-breaking force. They are not really supervisors in the sense of directing the work as foremen do. They are, for the most part, skilled craftsmen. The company gives them \$5 more a week and the title of supervisor and they usually continue doing the same work.

The real difference is that they have been removed from the jurisdiction of the union. Needless to say the company tries to wean them from any sympathy from their former fellow workers and union brothers, but it doesn't always succeed.

The Communications Workers have tried to cope with this problem by having the contract state these supervisors shall not do the same craft work they did before

"Labor Peace" and Prosperity

In war-time if workers strike, the employers are quick to holler, "Treason!" "Interference with the war effort!"

In peace-time if workers strike, the employers cry out "Interference with the defense effort," for in peace-time the employers are always preparing the next war.

In depression, the hue and cry is "Strikes prevent recovery!" In prosperity, the employers thunder "Strikes will bring about the crash!"

We gather from all this that the employers think that the only valid time for workers to strike is never.

It's prosperity now. Or what passes for such. Working people are still poor, but there is relatively full employment and profits are exorbitantly high, so it's prosperity.

The main anti-strike barrage of the employers, therefore, takes the form of the fourth outcry we cited — namely, that strikes threaten to bring on the depression.

Here for instance is what General Motors President Harlow H. Curtice, told GM

they were made supervisors, except in an emergency. Since "Ma" Bell, a notorious contract violator, decides what is and what isn't an emergency, the contract clause is ineffectual.

The problem exists in other industries and it looks like it will spread. The union movement will have to take it up and work out a solution. Actually that shouldn't be so difficult. The answer is that these people have to be organized and brought into solidarity with all labor.

First, many of these people have not ceased to be workers because they get \$5 more a week and a title. Second, engineers and other technicians are merely hired brains for the companies and need the protection and benefits unions can give them. Third, white-collar workers are more sympathetic to unionism today than ever before, and only await a big organization drive. Fourth, even foremen can and should be organized and thus brought over from the side of management to the side of labor.

Unorganized, all these people are at the mercy of the boss. They may not want to go through the picket lines, they may hate scabbing. But, unorganized, each one is alone. His or her only alternative is to throw up the job by refusing to do the company's bidding.

These people must be brought into the labor movement. To leave them unorganized gives Big Business a dangerous weapon against labor. Organizing them will strengthen labor immensely. Here is a job cut out for the soon-to-be-born united labor movement.

stockholders on May 20: "It will certainly be GM's biggest production and sales year if current labor negotiations are concluded peacefully." And many other employers are singing the same tune.

This is a double-purpose lie, and labor had better combat it.

Its first aim is to provide the capitalist class with an alibi, should a depression — even a "mild" one on the 1954 order — break out at the end of this year.

To arguments from workers' ranks that capitalism breeds depression, the employers would then be able to counter "Oh no, the greed of the workers and their unreasonableness brought on their own misery."

On the same grounds, the employers would fight against higher unemployment insurance, adequate relief, the six-hour day and all other measures designed to ease the suffering of workers in a depression.

The second aim is to frighten the workers now and try to mobilize public sentiment against strikes and the unions' legitimate demands.

Labor must stay put, say the employers in effect. Their well-being will be guaranteed by us, the employers, by the wonderful prosperity we have brought into being.

But even if the workers remained docile, the capitalist class could not work the wonder of everlasting prosperity. The very workings of the capitalist system — based on the insatiable lust of the employers for profit — takes the economy from boom to bust.

The only way for working people to better their conditions of life is to fight for all they can get whether in war or in peace, in depression or prosperity.

What Does Wave of Stock Splits Mean?

By Sam Marcy

Several months ago, the United States Steel Corp., the country's principal steel producer, and one of the largest industrial satellites in the Morgan empire, split its stock two for one. Republic Steel followed suit. Ten other mammoth corporations fell in line shortly thereafter. What seemed like a bare trickle a couple of years ago has now assumed the proportions of a waterfall of stock-splits by hundreds of corporations, both large and small.

What are these stock-splits, and what significance have they in the light of the current economic situation in the country? Let's take U.S. Steel as an actual example. It split its stock two for one. If you had one share of Big Steel's stock before, you now have two shares. It's the same as though you had a quart bottle of whiskey and poured the contents into two smaller bottles of one pint each. Where is the difference? Not much, it would seem, but let's look a little closer.

WHO POURS? The people who pour whiskey are the Board of Directors of the corporation, and when they pour the whiskey, a few drops "get lost" during the operation. These drops don't evaporate; they are carefully collected and appear in the form of new

"legal," "clerical," and "administrative" expenses. At any rate, the two pint bottles together do not contain the same amount as the old quart bottle. But that's not all. When the new bottles, the "pints," reach the market, they should normally sell at most for the price of a pint.

What actually happens, however — and this is the main point — is that during the course of a speculative stock market period like the present one, the momentum of the stock market usually drives the price of a split stock higher — temporarily, of course. Why?

The price tag on the whiskey bottle, the "pint," naturally is much lower than the price of the previous quart bottle. This puts it within the price reach of a wider group of people, who are induced to invest in a low-price stock — thereby temporarily forcing the price up. It thus becomes sucker-bait for a large section of middle class people who are roped into the stock market in this period, just like they were in the late 1920's prior to the crash. It's easy to see why.

When Big Steel split its stock on January 2, 1955, The New York Times the next day reported: "U.S. Steel shares ran wild on the New York Stock Exchange yesterday under the stimulus of U.S. Steel's higher

dividend rate and stock split. . . . Big Steel opened 96 minutes late on a tremendous block of 100,000 shares — it closed with a net gain of 7 points at 78 1/2." A point is \$1.00. When the stock closed 7 points higher, it meant there was a gain of \$7.00, with the stock selling at \$79.50 a share — a gain of over 10% in one day!

Assuming that part of the steep rise was due to the higher dividend rate rise (it was only an increase of 25 cents per share) the rest of the increase was due to pure manipulation arising from the stock-split.

ROLE OF STOCK MARKET

The opportunity to manipulate the stock of giant corporations and thereby to manipulate the Stock Exchange is one of the characteristics of the monopoly stage of capitalism. As long ago as 1916, Lenin in his "Imperialism" vividly showed how the stock exchange no longer played the role it did in the classical competitive stage of capitalism. When such a giant corporation like U.S. Steel, often considered the bell-weather and pace-setter for many trends in industry, resorts to this fraudulent method, other corporations cannot but be dragged in its train.

For the giant corporations, the stock-splits are also a means of dispersing some of their stocks — or, as they put it in their phony advertising propaganda, of "democratizing the ownership of the corporation." Actually it is a method for raking in new cash in exchange for stock certificates with an enormously inflated market value. Comes a bust, and it's a handy instrument for the economic expropriation of huge sections of the middle class.

After the great stock market crash of 1929, many capitalist economists attempted to take a post mortem. As capitalist apologists, none could succeed — the diagnosis would be an indictment of capitalism itself. One of them, who confined himself to the specialized area of stock-splits, made an exhaustive study. He incorporated his findings in the Harvard Business Review of April, 1933. His conclusion was that, "stock split-ups appeared with increasing frequency during the 1920's — reaching flood proportions during the active boom years of 1928 and 1929. . . . The stock market crash of 1929 . . . terminated the orgy."

Another writer, the outstanding expert on corporation finance, and financial advisor to banks and insurance companies, A. S. Dewing, summarizing all

the studies of the stock-splits made in the pre-crash period, wrote in 1941 that, "the splits occurred during the rise of the business cycle, and were most frequent at the climax."

Stock splits for the year preceding last April, reached an all time high for the decade. It is plain that stock-splits are a symptom of an eventual bust. Like other symptoms, they can sometimes be temporarily suppressed, diverted or diminished, but the disease which they reflect — the anarchy of capitalist production, continues to gain in momentum.

Although the capitalist class views stock-splits with fear, few capitalists speak out against them. (Note that the writers quoted above, wrote about them more than 10 years ago.) This is due partly to their realization that they are in no better position today to resist the trend than they were in the late 1920's. But there are other good reasons why they will not speak out against them.

HIDING PROFITS

For one thing, the stock-splits are an excellent method for hiding the super-profits of certain types of corporations — the giant utilities — such as the large gas, electric, and municipal transit companies. These companies must always be in a position to "plead poverty" whenever they ask for one of those extortionate hikes in rates of gas or electricity or transit fare. It's necessary for them to hide their profits from the public view.

Here is how the swindle works. Suppose an electric company paid out a dividend of \$5.00 per share last year. However, the company is getting ready to mulct the public with another of those hikes in its electric rates. So it splits its stock two for one, and the dividend per share is reduced from \$5.00 for one share, to \$2.50. The stockholder who had one share before, will now have 2 shares, and the dividend for the 2 shares still totals the original \$5.00. But the company can now prepare its propaganda campaign to confuse the public in order to put across its rate hike. It puts out one of those slick advertisements with a fancy, very readable chart, which shows how wages went up, taxes went up, overhead went up — but dividends per share declined \$2.50 from last year!

This method of mass deception of the public in general, and the working class in particular, has become so firmly im-

planted as part of Big Business financial jugglery, that it is now openly contained in most manuals for corporation executives. For instance, the latest edition of Bogen's Financial Handbook (standard manual for corporation executives) openly lists stock-splits as the second most important method for corporations who wish "to avoid appearance of excessive earnings per share."

... Phone, Rail Strike Victories

(Continued from page 1)

ist papers in the South, conservative and liberal alike, were against the strikes) and the blizzard of injunctions, all sections of Southern labor, AFL, CIO and independent, rallied to the strikers' cause. Financial support came from small locals, central labor bodies and international unions. Picket lines were observed by members of all other unions, and frequently bolstered by them.

Though Negro workers are a minority in both industries, the mere sight of Negro and white workers picketing together has had an impact greater than statistics would indicate. Sympathy strikes marked the long walkouts. These occurred among the independent operating railroad union, the CIO steelworkers in Birmingham and some textile workers in Tennessee.

Also notable was the marked sympathy for the strikers among broad sections of the middle class. This, added to the militancy of the strikers and labor solidarity, undoubtedly had much to do with the hesitancy of the Southern governors to call out the national guards. One example, among many, of this sympathy was the demonstration of 200 college students before the telephone exchange in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, where 20 of their classmates, lured by the full pages ads of Southern Bell, were scabbing. They pulled the scabs off the job.

OTHER STRIKES

A number of important strikes are still continuing in the South. These include the 10-state strike of 725 AFL Greyhound Bus drivers, 1,500 CIO Packinghouse workers at two sugar refineries in Louisiana and the AFL hotel workers in Miami, Florida.

This latter strike has spread since April 13 to twelve super luxury hotels. These are among the most expensive hotels in the world, charging guests from \$20 to \$200 a day. Yet they pay wages as low as \$2 for a 12-hour day, seven days a week, with no overtime.

The AFL Hotel and Restaurant Workers has announced that it will take a general strike vote in all Miami and Miami Beach hotels on May 25. The votes will be tabulated by hotel and wherever a majority votes strike, picket lines will go up. There are 1,500 hotels in the resort area. Several hundred of them are big and employ large staffs.

CAUGHT RED-HANDED

Several weeks ago the attorney for the Miami Beach Hotel Association told reporters that strike leader David Herman would be subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Committee hearings just concluded in Newark, N. J. Ordinarily names of those to be subpoenaed are not revealed before hand by the committee. Investigation by the union revealed that Herman was to be subpoenaed because it had been requested by the hotel owners. Also it was learned that the publicity agent for one of the struck hotels is a close chum of Congressman Velde of the witch-hunting committee.

The Un-American smearers had to back down. Herman was not summoned to Newark and his hearing has been indefinitely postponed.

The hotel strike is also marked by unity of white and Negro workers on the picket lines. Union officials report unsuccessful attempts to split the workers on racial lines. In one case the millionaire hotel owners recruited a number of Negro workers from other areas without telling them of the strike. When they arrived in Miami they refused to scab. The union fed them and paid their expenses back home.

At the Di Lido Hotel the owner's son pulled a pistol on a picket and ordered him into the lobby of the hotel. The picket captain ran in after the pair. Threatened by the gunman, he ran out and got a cop. The gun toter was charged only with a misdemeanor. The Miami papers "buried" the story.

In another incident the hotel owners rigged up secret cameras all around the picket lines and then sent a gang of hired toughs with counter picket signs out to march and jostle the bona fide pickets. Forewarned of this attempt to provoke violence and get "evidence" for injunctions, the striking hotel workers refused to walk into the trap.

Traveling Salesmen



AFL Pres. George Meany poses with his wife aboard the liner Queen Mary as Pres. David Dubinsky of the Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union snaps picture. Meany and Dubinsky were on their way to a congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Vienna where they peddled the U.S. State Department line to the delegates.

... Strikes that Paved the Way

(Continued from page 2)

Father Haas had to retire to a sanitarium.

On Aug. 22, after five weeks of the toughest battling against all the forces of the employers and government, the strikers won. The bosses capitulated and signed an agreement granting the union its main demands. This included the right to represent

"inside workers," which the employers had threatened to fight to the bitter end as industrial unionism.

While the Minneapolis truck drivers were battling their way to victory, the San Francisco general strike — involving 125,000 workers at its peak — carried the American class struggle to new heights.

San Francisco General Strike

On May 9, 1934, from 10,000 to 15,000 West Coast members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association went on an "unauthorized" strike. Soon the strike included 25,000 workers, many of them members of seamen's organizations who joined in sympathy.

The original demands had been for a coast-wide agreement, union-control of hiring halls and a closed shop. The strikers added demands for \$1 an hour instead of 85 cents and the 30-hour week instead of 48.

From the start the strike was waged with great militancy. Frederick J. Lang, in his book, *Maritime: A History and Program* (Pioneer Publishers), wrote: "It was a real rank and file strike, with the leaders swept along in the flood. It encountered every weapon then in the arsenal of the employers. The shipowners hired their own thugs who tried to work the docks and man the ships. The city police of every port on the Coast were mobilized on the waterfronts to hunt down the strikers. The newspapers, launching a slander campaign against the strikers, called on the citizenry to form vigilante committees to raid strike headquarters, the actual organization of this dirty work being entrusted to the American Legion and other 'patriotic' societies."

ILA President Joseph Ryan hastily flew into San Francisco from New York in an effort to squelch the strike. Over the heads of the strikers and their local leaders, he signed an agreement giving up the main demand — the union-controlled hiring hall. He was repudiated by the strikers in a coast-wide poll.

The chief strike leader was the then unknown Harry Bridges. He was under Stalinist influence but fortunately did not then adhere so closely to Communist Party policies as to carry out its line of not working inside "social fascist" AFL unions. While Stalinist-led workers played an important part in the strike battles, members of the Communist League of America (Trotskyists) and the IWW also were in the front lines of the fight.

Ryan — a consort of shipowners, stevedore bosses, gangsters and Tammany politicians who 20 years later was to be dumped by these elements when he was no longer useful to them — tried to split the strike by making separate settlements in each port. He succeeded only in Seattle. AFL President William Green joined in denouncing the strike and yelling "reds" and "communists."

On July 5, the bosses tried to smash the militant center of the strike, in San Francisco, with the means they understand best — force and violence. At the "Battle of Rincon Hill," the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shot-guns at the waterfront pickets. They killed Howard Sperry and Nick Borsoise and wounded 109 others. As in the third Minneapolis strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite battle, the deliberate massacres perpetrated by the police were the signal for sending in the National Guards.

The murder and wounding of strikers did not crush the workers. Instead, San Francisco labor answered with a tremendous counter-attack—a general strike.

For two days, the working class paralyzed the city. The workers took over many city functions, directing traffic and assuming other municipal tasks. On the third and fourth days, the general strike petered out when the AFL leaders, who were swept along in the first spontaneous protest against the killings, ordered an end to the stoppage.

The bosses and police, with the aid of organized vigilantes, vented their fear and hatred of the workers on the small radical organizations, not daring to hit directly at the unions. Thirty-five gangs of vigilantes, heavily armed, raided headquarters of Communist, IWW and Socialist groups. They smashed furniture, hurled typewriters and literature out of windows, beat up many defenseless workers. In some instances, the police who arrived after the vigilantes left completed the work of destruction.

They jailed more than 300 persons. After 11 weeks, the longshore strike was ended on July 31 with an agreement to arbitrate. It was a poor settlement — but the workers returned to the job in an organized body. Within a year, in job action after job action, they won the union hiring hall up and down the coast. Their struggle gave impetus to maritime organization on the East Coast and opened the way for organization of West Coast industrial labor.

Too little credit has been given to the Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco strikes for their effect on the subsequent industrial union movement, the CIO. But had these magnificent examples of labor struggle not occurred, in all likelihood the CIO might have been delayed or taken a different and less militant course.

It was these gigantic battles — all led by radicals — that convinced John L. Lewis that the American workers were determined to be organized and would follow the leadership that showed it meant business.

"Lewis watched the unrest and flareups of violence through the summer of 1934. He saw the Dunne brothers of Minneapolis lead a general strike of truck drivers into a virtual civil war. Blood ran in Minneapolis," wrote Alinsky in his *John L. Lewis — An Unauthorized Biography*.

"In San Francisco a general strike spearheaded by Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union paralyzed the great Western city for four days.

"Before that year was out, seven hundred thousand workers had struck. Lewis could read the revolutionary handwriting on the walls of American industry. He knew that the workers were seething and aching to be organized so they could strike back. Everyone wanted to hit out, employer against worker and worker against employer and anyone else whom they felt was not in their class. America was becoming more class con-

scious than at any time in its history. . . ."

Of course, "civil war" was going on in towns and cities from coast to coast and blood was being spilled in scores of other places besides Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco. These latter cities were unique, however, in this: they showed how the workers could fight and WIN; they gave heart and hope to labor everywhere for the climatic struggle that was to build the CIO.

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New Renewal

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

A Criticism of Some Leaders

One of the crucial problems of the Negro struggle in this period, as in the class struggle as a whole, is what socialists refer to as "the crisis in leadership." The problems of the masses require militant, principled and far-seeing leadership with a revolutionary program and perspective, but the mass organizations and movements today are headed by short-sighted opportunists, faint-hearts, or outright traitors to the interests of the masses they misrepresent.

This week we wish to reprint excerpts from one of the sharpest attacks on some present day leaders we have seen in the Negro press in recent years. It is from the column "Thinking Out Loud," by Ralph Matthews, a writer of national repute in Negro circles, and appeared in the *Cleveland Call and Post* of May 21. We reserve our own comment on Mr. Matthews views for the next issue of *The Militant*. Matthews writes:

"By the time this reaches the public print the historic Asian-African conference will be but a horrible memory that the so-called white world will be trying to forget.

"With the exception of the sour notes injected by our own braying young donkey, the Honorable Adam Clayton Powell (D. New York) the meeting was a fair to middling success. . .

"The most significant thing about this conference was the realization among the sponsors that color and not nationality is the first line of cleavage, manifest by the fact that throughout the world, the crummiest white man believes that he is something superior to and allied against every other race on earth.

"By inviting the Africans to parley, the yellow and brown peoples, who are beginning to feel their oats, thanks to military

and other sociological successes, displayed rare good sense.

"Our Mr. Powell, who had no understanding of the problems of Negroes either at home or abroad, missed the point when he turned up uninvited and attempted to defend America's treatment of Negroes, prating about the wonderful progress we have made and how satisfied we colored folk are with the crumbs we receive from the white man's table which are small and grudgingly given.

"It seems we never had much success with the handpicked or self appointed envoys we send into the bored forums. Edith Sampson, our representative at the United Nations, put on such a Mammy act before the court of world opinion that she made Aunt Jemina look like a crusading Joan of Arc. Both Adam and Edith are the spokesmen for the Negro Cadillac set, who believe that because they have achieved a measure of personal success the economic and social amalgamation of whites and blacks is an accomplished fact and nothing more need be done.

"They confuse the opportunity to buy the white man's gadgets with the opportunity to earn enough to pay for them which is still far removed from the reach of millions of Negroes still crammed in America's slums and plantations. . .

"When an alleged West Indian leader committed suicide because he was not invited to luncheon by the little royal parasite, Princess Margaret Rose when she visited his island, you get some idea of how depraved their leadership can be. Ours is not much better.

"If anything comes of this meet toward improving the lot of yellow, black and brown people, the sponsors will have to go it alone. . ."

Churchill's Idea of Fun

By Walt Newsome

Do you collect stories about Winston Churchill? If you do, here is your chance to load up. The May 15 This Week Magazine has an article called the Churchill Legend by David Schoenbrum, CBS Paris correspondent.

The subhead says: "His (Churchill's) resignation last month brought out a flood of fascinating stories. Here are some you've probably never heard from a foreign correspondent's notebook."

I read the stories and was "fascinated" all right. Especially by the account of a dinner conversation that Eve Curie, described as a "wartime Lieutenant of General de Gaulle," had with Churchill and a "few friends."

At one point, it seems, she turned to Churchill and said: "Mr. Churchill, you who were so magnificent during the truly darkest hour, after the fall of France, when Britain stood alone. You who never lost faith or courage in public, you must have had your bad moments. Tell us, what was your private darkest hour?"

"The grand old man lowered his head," says Schoenbrum, "and thought quietly of the past. Then he faced Eve Curie and started to grin.

"Frankly, my dear," he said, "now that I look back on the war, and try to find my darkest moment, I am obliged to confess that I enjoyed every minute of it."

Notes from the News

MIGRANT WORKERS' living and working conditions have broken into the news in Colorado following a terrible tragedy. An ordinary farm truck recently skidded, turned over and rolled into a deep ditch about 65 miles southeast of Denver. Standing, closely packed together, in the truck were 55 people — Spanish-speaking agricultural workers. They were being transported from Texas to the sugar-beet fields of Wyoming. The Colorado Department of Employment Security had issued a permit for their transportation through Colorado. One of the injured — an 11-month old boy — has already died. Rigid sanitary and humanitarian regulations apply to the transport of animals in U.S. interstate commerce. Migrant workers, however, are shipped thousands of miles in dangerously overloaded trucks without even room to sit down.

A UNITED LABOR COMMITTEE, headed by the president of the AFL Central Labor Union, is aiding Local 207 of the independent United Electrical Workers in its strike against the Landers, Frary and Clark Co. of New Britain, Connecticut. The mayor and other city officials are playing a strike-breaking role.

ECHOES OF 1929. Harold Stassen, retiring as foreign aid director to become "Secretary of Peace" in Eisenhower's cabinet, declares: "The fact is that the United States has changed capitalism. The conservative, 19th Century capitalism has evolved into a people's capitalism. . ."

MORE ON ARKANSAS PICKETS IN WISCONSIN. The following is the text of a full-page ad of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the May 11 issue of *Racine* (Wisconsin) Labor: "Here are the reasons for the Picket Line at Rainfair. Since Monday afternoon, May 2, four Rainfair workers from Wynne, Arkansas, have been picketing the *Racine* plant of Rainfair, Inc., advising all that Rainfair refuses to recognize and bargain with the union they have chosen: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The May 4th issue of *Racine* Labor described some of the illegal coercion and intimidation that

have forced the Arkansas workers to go out on strike for their rights! Rainfair pants are made in a scab shop at 75c an hour and distributed from *Racine*! How long will the company keep its plant in *Racine* when it can get away with sweatshop wages and conditions in the South? You can help keep Rainfair in *Racine*, by supporting the Arkansas workers in their brave fight for a union! Don't buy Rainfair scab pants!"

A NEW ANTI-LABOR LAW has been passed by the Wisconsin legislature and signed by Governor Walter J. Kohler. It makes it illegal for labor unions to contribute to political campaigns. The CIO will test its constitutionality.

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" section of the South Carolina constitution has been challenged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Case involves Jim Crow street cars and busses. In 1954 Mrs. Sarah Fleming of Columbia, S. C. was abused and assaulted by a white bus driver. She sued. Mrs. Fleming was standing in a crowded city bus. While the majority of people on the bus were Negro, no white passengers were standing. When a seat became vacant, she took it. Immediately the driver abusively ordered her to the rear. Intimidated, she left the seat. At the next corner she attempted to leave the bus by the front door, following a white passenger. The driver ordered her to leave by the back door and struck her in the stomach. South Carolina courts have ruled against Mrs. Fleming, maintaining that the Supreme Court's outlawing of "separate but equal" in the school segregation cases does not apply.

PROGRESS. The Army's Chemical Warfare branch reveals that there is now a nerve gas so deadly that a single drop in a person's eye will kill him.

BOY SCOUTS. Girl Scouts and Campfire girls will have to take loyalty oaths before they are permitted to use New York City school buildings for meetings, if a measure introduced by City Councilman Barnes is passed.

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THE MILITANT

Ford Unionist Victimized by Witch Hunt

DETROIT, May 23 — The latest victim of witch hunt persecution is a prominent union member and fighter against Jim Crow, Vincent Mitchell, a lieutenant in the Air Force reserve whose commission is threatened because he refused to become an informer for the FBI.

Mitchell was given a "hearing" last Wednesday at Selfridge Air Force Base. Accused of being a "poor security risk," he was told he could not face his accusers. Nor could he even learn their names. In fact, the seven-man hearing board admitted that none of them knew who his accusers are.

Mitchell was a decorated flyer in World War II. Since then he has worked at Ford. He is chairman of Ford Local 600's FEPC and pension committees and a member of its bargaining committee. He is an NAACP member and former commander of American Legion and Amvet posts in Mt. Clemens.

THE CHARGES

Six charges were made against him, including membership in the Communist Party, which he flatly denies. He is also accused of sending a birthday greeting to a member of Local 600 who protested Smith Act indictments, of supporting the election campaign of a man the government is now trying to deport, and of attending a convention of the Negro Labor Council as a delegate from his union.

The FBI, Mitchell says, "asked me to become an informer — and to turn over the names of persons that they suspected to be subversives. They indicated that I and my family would suffer adverse publicity and social embarrassment if I did not cooperate.

"They repeatedly referred to my Reserve commission and my position in the union and implied that lack of cooperation on my part would jeopardize me in both positions. . .

"I refused to become an informer, although I felt that these implied threats were not idly made and, of course, I now know that my refusal to cooperate with them has probably brought about the filing of these charges against me."

At the "hearing" a statement by Local 600 president Carl Stellato and several other officers was introduced into the record. It said:

"It seems impossible to believe that he could be considered a security risk. . .

"It would appear that he should be given an opportunity to face his accuser."

From Detroit

A 'Thrift-Plan' Settlement?

MAY 23 — With secrecy still shrouding the United Auto Workers' negotiation with General Motors and Ford, the auto workers here are being treated to plenty of rumors, but only a few facts.

One rumor had it that the corporations have prepared or already offered proposals for a "modified" GAW. According to one version, GM is willing to give four cents an hour per employe for that purpose, plus another six cents an hour in cash. Another version says GM is proposing a so-called "thrift plan," amounting to about a nickel an hour.

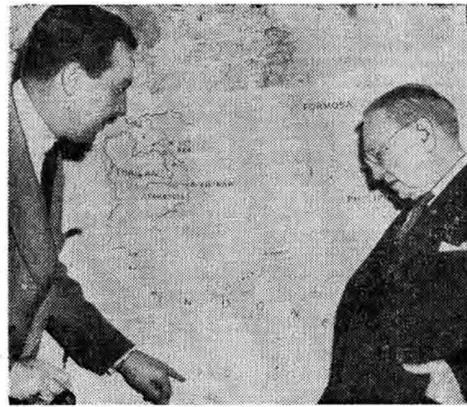
The duPonts, who have the controlling interest in GM, have just announced a "thrift plan" for duPont workers. Under this the corporation would pay its employees 2 cents toward the purchase of duPont stock for every dollar they invest in U.S. savings bonds.

Rumors that an agreement is in the making are also frequent. One reporter bases this on his impression that UAW president Walter Reuther looked "elated" after leaving a bargaining session. Another deduces harmony because Reuther said last week that "mediation is not needed" at this time. And so on.

About the only report you could count on this past week was that the strike votes now being concluded in Ford and GM locals throughout the country, show majorities of at least ten to one in favor of strike, if necessary.

Gov. Williams is complaining bitterly because his demand for 150 more state police has been

Reports on Bandung



Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (left), who attended Afro-Asian conference at Bandung, Indonesia, as an unofficial observer, points to southeast Asia as he talks with Sen. Walter F. George (D-Ga.) before testifying at Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing. (See Negro Struggle column on this page for comment on Powell's recent statements.)

Our Readers Take the Floor

What People Are Saying Down South

Editor:

I would like to give personal confirmation to the Militant's excellent reporting on the "new climate in the South" as regards unionism. I have just returned from a two-month stay with my farmer folk in the heart of Louisiana, and heard quite a bit about the telephone strike, which wasn't settled when I left.

It is "farming country" but with a difference. For now, though they still live on the land, nobody can afford to farm since it costs more to raise a mess of turnip greens than they can buy them for in the towns around. All the former farmers are now commuting — and in fine cars, yet! — to construction jobs and the like. And they belong to unions.

As recently as five years ago I heard no pro-union sentiments when I went home. And time was when I had to combat such statements as "union organizers should be shot at dawn." But there's a different climate even on the farms now! When reports came over the radio of telephone cables cut by union "saboteurs," it was automatically assumed by my brothers-in-law, who are union carpenters, that the radio was spouting lies. If sabotage did occur, they said, it was done by management gangsters in a

deliberate effort to discredit the unions.

The gas truck came out to fill the tank that keeps the deep freeze, washing machine, etc., going (all this made possible by union wages, and they know it!) and the driver spoke philosophically about the folly of anti-unionism: "You pay union prices for everything you buy. You got to get union wages."

He spoke of the Elizabeth (Louisiana) paper mill strike, reported in the Militant a year or so ago. "Sure, the paper mill bosses hired scabs," he said, "but they gave their foremen orders to get rid of them as fast as they could after the strike was settled. They were all fired and the old workers taken back on." The driver's explanation of this was that if the scabs would betray their own kinkfolk by taking their jobs, what loyalty could management expect from them.

When that paper mill strike was in its tenth bloody month, with even "Yankee" radio announcers taking note of it and national magazines featuring layouts on its sensational violence, I wrote my sister down there for a personal account, since people we knew were involved in it. She wrote with sorrow about the violence: a striker's house was set afire, a scab was shot, a sheriff was waylaid, a bomb thrown in a worker's car injured both father and baby. And she ended her account by saying, "If this keeps up much longer, I'm afraid there's going to be trouble around here."

Now, my sister is a farm girl, a mother and a grandmother, and a God-fearing pacifist, but Southern style. So let all concerned take notice: if this new Southern climate lasts much longer, there is liable to be trouble down there.

D. S.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Calls for Pamphlet On Youth Problems

Editor:

After observing the long lines of St. Paul teen-agers waiting to see "Blackboard Jungle" and reading the many articles on juvenile delinquency appearing in the newspapers, I believe we have just reached a peak of public interest in the problems of the youth.

I have paged through the Militants of the last two years and find a very large increase this year in the number of articles dealing with this problem. Very fine articles, I must add.

But if we had had a pamphlet presenting the socialist analysis and program for the youth, I am sure we could have taken full political advantage of this present intense interest. A pamphlet somewhat like the one, "Stop McCarthyism," is what I have in mind, but with articles that would not become outdated too quickly.

Even though the present opportunity has been lost, I suggest that the Militant run a series of such articles for publication in pamphlet form when another opportunity like "Blackboard Jungle" comes, as it surely will with the intensifying decay of capitalism.

S. J.

St. Paul, Minn.

California Court Rules Wiretap Evidence Illegal

By Roy Gale

"Today one of the foremost public concerns is the police state. And recent history has demonstrated all too clearly how short the step is from lawless, although efficient enforcement of the law to

the stamping out of human rights." This opinion was expressed by four out of seven Justices of the California Supreme Court on April 27.

They also held that "the contention that unreasonable searches and seizures are justified by the necessity of bringing criminals to justice cannot be accepted."

COPS FURIOUS

The four-to-three ruling said that evidence illegally obtained, no matter how damning it may be, cannot be used in any California trial. It brought howls of fury from the "peace officers" and district attorneys. Clarence Linn, Chief Assistant Attorney General, said: "This is the Magna Carta of the criminal. In this electronic age it is equivalent to a law disarming police officers, saying they cannot carry guns."

On May 4, Supreme Court Justice Jesse W. Carter expressed amazement that Linn had called the ruling "a Magna Carta of the criminal."

"I am glad that the attorney general's office has discovered the Magna Carta," he said, "I hope now that they will soon discover the Bill of Rights."

The police, in two cases, flagrantly trampled on the rights of suspected criminals. In the case of Charles H. Cahan, alleged bookmaker, the police broke into his home and "bugged" it. They then listened in on the "bug" (hidden microphone) for a month to secure evidence for his trial.

In the other case, that of Alfred Berger, the police seized evidence on the strength of improper warrant. When the cases were appealed to the high court it reversed the lower court decisions and ruled that evidence, illegally obtained could not be used.

With this decision California fell in line with federal court procedures banning illegally ob-

tained evidence. The common-law rule, used up to now in California, says that evidence is not matter how obtained.

About 30 other states still use the common-law rule.

Experience all over the country shows that ruling illegally-obtained evidence from the courts doesn't prevent the police, either local or federal, from using illegal wiretapping unwarranted searches and seizures, and associated techniques.

The FBI and the police continue to break the law with impunity whether the courts admit the evidence or not. They use wiretapping, etc., to get leads that give them "admissible" evidence — and they continue to fight for legalization of their secret Police practices.

"BETTER CLIMATE"

Plans are already being hatched to reverse the court's ruling. Thus state Assemblyman Charles Chapel, who pigeonholed his bill to legalize wiretapping shortly after the ruling explained that he could not muster enough votes at this time to pass the bill, so he will wait for a "better climate."

We can be sure that the police will do everything in their power to induce such a "better climate." And Big Business interests will provide heavy cash to infest the privacy of homes, offices, union halls, and even factory rest rooms with their "bugs."

The court ruling is a step in the correct direction. That's why it has aroused the ire of the police states. What is needed is a follow up step. The daily law-breaking by the cops, the FBI in particular, must be halted and punished. Until such measures are taken the "public concern" with a "police state," cited by the California Supreme Court, is completely justified.

... Aim of Big 4 Moves

(Continued from page 1)

capitalism — nor, for that matter, of the Kremlin.

The concessions offered by the Stalinist bureaucracy have always been there for the imperialists to take whenever they were ready to negotiate. However, until recently the imperialists refused to negotiate. A tactical adjustment has now been made to include negotiations within the old policy of preparing for war.

Why?

The cold war was opened by Wall Street to smash the upsurge of the working class and the colonial people that followed World War II. Big business operated on a short-term perspective. They meant to pass from the "cold" to the "hot" war with a rapid tempo.

But experience demonstrated that the world could not be forced back into the capitalist mold in a matter of a few years. The Korean "police action" became a major military engagement. Working class and colonial pressure blocked the invasion of China.

Over the years, matters did not improve. Bandung was the most recent demonstration of the fact that the colonial world is no longer lying prostrate under the heel of the imperialist powers. The European working class, despite Stalinist and Social Democratic betrayals, has proved its capacity to sustain its anti-capitalist stand for an entire decade. Finally, the loss of Wall Street's monopoly of atomic weapons radically altered the situation.

For these reasons, while the objectives remain the same, the capitalist rulers of the U.S. were forced to slow down the tempo of the conflict. The capitalists were compelled to pause in their drive toward war in the hope of consolidating their positions. In this new strategy was included the possibility of temporary deals with the Kremlin.

Dulles showed the Kremlin the way to deals when he suggested, Feb. 16, that the Kremlin concern itself with its own "national" interests instead of "world communism." He held out the reward: "Then indeed there would be a basis for worthwhile negotiation and practical agreements between the United States and the new Russia."

Dulles could be certain that the invitation of U.S. imperialism would be accepted. The Stalinist bureaucrats have always been ready to make deals with the imperialists — on the terms of the imperialists. They have never put "world communism" ahead of their narrow bureaucratic interests.

The Stalinist and the "left wing" liberals who think that a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union may be dawning in Washington will be quickly disillusioned. And all those who take the diplomatic maneuvers of Big Business as good coin, as an earnest effort to end hostilities, will be rudely awakened by the facts.

Washington has something to gain from Soviet concessions. But disarmament and an end to the cold war — desired so much by the people of the world — are not what they're after.

For the billionaire overlords the fundamental objective remains war against the anti-capitalist colonial people, revolutionary China and the Soviet Union. They will plunge the world into such a war unless prevented by the revolutionary victory of the working class.

Out of its record profits of \$685 million for the first quarter of 1955, General Motors has set aside \$36,239,000 for bonuses to be given to its executives on the first of next year. On a yearly basis this sum would equal a 15.7 cents an hour wage increase for every hourly-rated GM worker.

San Francisco Militant Labor Forum

"What's Happening To Education?"

Hear

Bob Morgan
SWP Candidate for Board of Education in Los Angeles

Sat., June 4, 8:30 P. M.
307 So. Van Ness Ave.
(near 14th St.)

Discussion — Refreshments