

SEATO Parley Proves Dud for Western Powers

By Joseph Keller

The much-ballyhooed Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty Organization (SEATO) Conference, held Feb. 23-24 in Bangkok, Thailand, served mainly to debunk

the claims of the western imperialist powers, particularly the United States, to speak or act in any way for the Asian people. Five of the eight participating countries — the U.S., Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand — were non-Asian. The conference was a virtual fiasco from the standpoint of Washington, which could not get agreement on its major proposals. As the Feb. 27 N.Y. Times delicately put it: "The meeting took no momentous decisions."

If Thailand had not permitted the SEATO Conference on her soil, the conferees would have been hard put to find a place to meet on the Southeast Asian mainland. Pakistan, one of three Asian participants, is carved out of northwest India and, besides, was considered a politically "unhealthy" spot for an imperialist-dominated "Southeast Asia" conference. The Philippines are off the mainland and, in any case, are almost completely under the

economic and military thumb of Wall Street.

Malaya and South Vietnam are on the Southeast Asian mainland but were "represented" at the conference by white Europeans, the spokesmen of the British and French governments.

A dead giveaway as to the real character of the conference was the failure to invite Chiang Kai-shek's government on the island of Formosa. The reason for this omission was indicated in the refusal of the other participating countries to go along with U.S. Secretary of State Dulles' scheme to link America's warlike moves around Formosa to the "defense" of Southeast Asia. Not even the pensioners of Washington, who had been assembled in Bangkok could go along with the Wall Street attempt to continue the

farce of "recognizing" Chiang's gang as the "Republic of China."

The three Asian members of SEATO, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, have a total land area of 680,000 square miles and around 117 million people. India, Burma and Indonesia, which did not sign the Manila pact last September and do not belong to SEATO, have twice the land area and four times the population of the Asian countries in SEATO.

THE REAL CONFERENCE

One purpose of the Bangkok conference was to counteract in advance the forthcoming Asian-African conference to which 30 countries have been invited by the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon. Among the countries invited are China and North Vietnam.

This real Asian conference, to be held in April at Bandung, Indonesia, will include countries containing well over half the world's population. Excluded from the conference will be the western imperialist countries, as well as white-dominated countries like Australia, New Zealand and racist South Africa.



DULLES

Tax-Cut Issue Turned Into Political Football

Congressional Republicans and Democrats are yelling "Politics!" and "Vote-buying!" at each other in the current debate over the Democratic-sponsored tax-bill rider to

give a \$20-per-year tax cut for each taxpayer and dependent. The Republicans are screaming the loudest because, naturally, no one is going to object to having his income tax cut, even if the savings are only a tiny fraction of the many hundreds of dollars the average worker pays each year in direct and indirect taxes.

The Democrats have the Republicans somewhat over a barrel insofar as any propaganda advantage is concerned. It is true, as the Democrats claim, that the much-vaunted Republican tax law last year benefited mainly the corporations and higher-income

brackets. Moreover, the Republicans themselves had countered a Democratic proposal to increase personal exemptions from \$600 to \$700 with a proposition to reduce incomes taxes \$20 per taxpayer and \$40 for couples. Both were defeated.

WAR SPENDING

But it remains a big question whether the Democrats really want their present tax-cut proposal to go through. They can confidently expect that it will meet stiffer opposition in the Senate than in the House, where it was passed by a vote of 210 to 205. Moreover, Eisenhower is expected to veto the cut if it passes both houses.

If the Democrats really are anxious to slash taxes, they would direct their attention first of all to the war-swollen federal budget that has forced the Eisenhower administration to continue the former Democratic regime's policy of deficit spending. But here we find the Democrats in a strange contradiction. They complain only that the monstrous military allocations of the GOP administration are not enough and that the country's "defense" is being "weakened."

Moreover, the Democrats have shown no reluctance to increased government spending (which means higher taxes) when it comes to demanding higher Congressional pay. The Congressmen have just voted themselves a fat 50% salary boost.

WHO ENACTED TAXES

Virtually all the taxes now levied on the workers by the federal government were enacted when the Democrats were in control. Tens of millions of wage-earners, including those with incomes ranging from \$600 a year, have been made subject to income taxes since 1940. The Democrats introduced the infamous withholding tax and most of the excise taxes which take a slice out of every dollar you spend.

Real tax cutting means cutting out the war spending, slicing the fat off the incomes of the rich and the monopoly corporations, and eliminating taxes on incomes of less than \$5,000 a year.

Detroit -- What's Happening to the Auto Workers

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

DETROIT, Feb. 21 — Every 48 seconds a new car rolls off the assembly line here at Ford's giant Rouge plant in the current production race between the Big Three in auto. Total weekly production for the industry rose above 190,000 last week, coming within 6,000 of the all-time high set in 1950.

Speedup pressures are terrific as the greedy corporations push for maximum labor productivity in an effort to wring record profits from the present boom. March production is expected to hit 200,000 vehicles weekly, setting a new all-time high, with much of the step-up taken out of the workers' hides.

Despite the peak output in auto, unemployment is rising in this area. January figures show a jobless increase of 3,000 over December with a total of 88,000 Detroiters on the unemployment compensation lists. At present

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 10

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1955

PRICE: 10 Cents

Congressmen Hike Own Pay, Bury Higher Minimum Wage

West German Labor Fights Rearmament

By Fred Hart

Brushing aside the strong protests of the German labor movement, the West German capitalist class through its parliamentary majority in the Bundestag (lower house of Parliament) cast its vote for the Paris Accords providing for German rearmament. By a vote of 315 to 153, the supporters of the Adenauer government did the bidding of the U.S. State Department which wants to organize all Europe into an armed camp for eventual war against the Soviet bloc.

But the West German workers don't want any part of these prospects. Since last August they have engaged in a series of militant strike actions and demonstrations. Nearly one out of four workers last summer was either on strike or preparing to go on strike. In Munich and Nuernberg, workers fought pitched battles with the police.

Then on Jan. 22, nearly one million industrial workers in the Ruhr waged a one-day general strike to protest employer violations of co-determination agreements which grant the unions a voice in the policies of management.

On Feb. 23, 200,000 workers in the Saar went on a 24-hour general strike to protest police measures against a steelworkers' demonstration. Thus during the last six months the West German workers have been demonstrating their power for the first time since Hitler crushed their organizations over 20 years ago.

DON'T WANT BOSS ARMY

Although these class actions began as economic battles, the issue of rearmament was intimately involved. Because German rearmament means first of all to give the employing class armed forces to use against the labor movement.

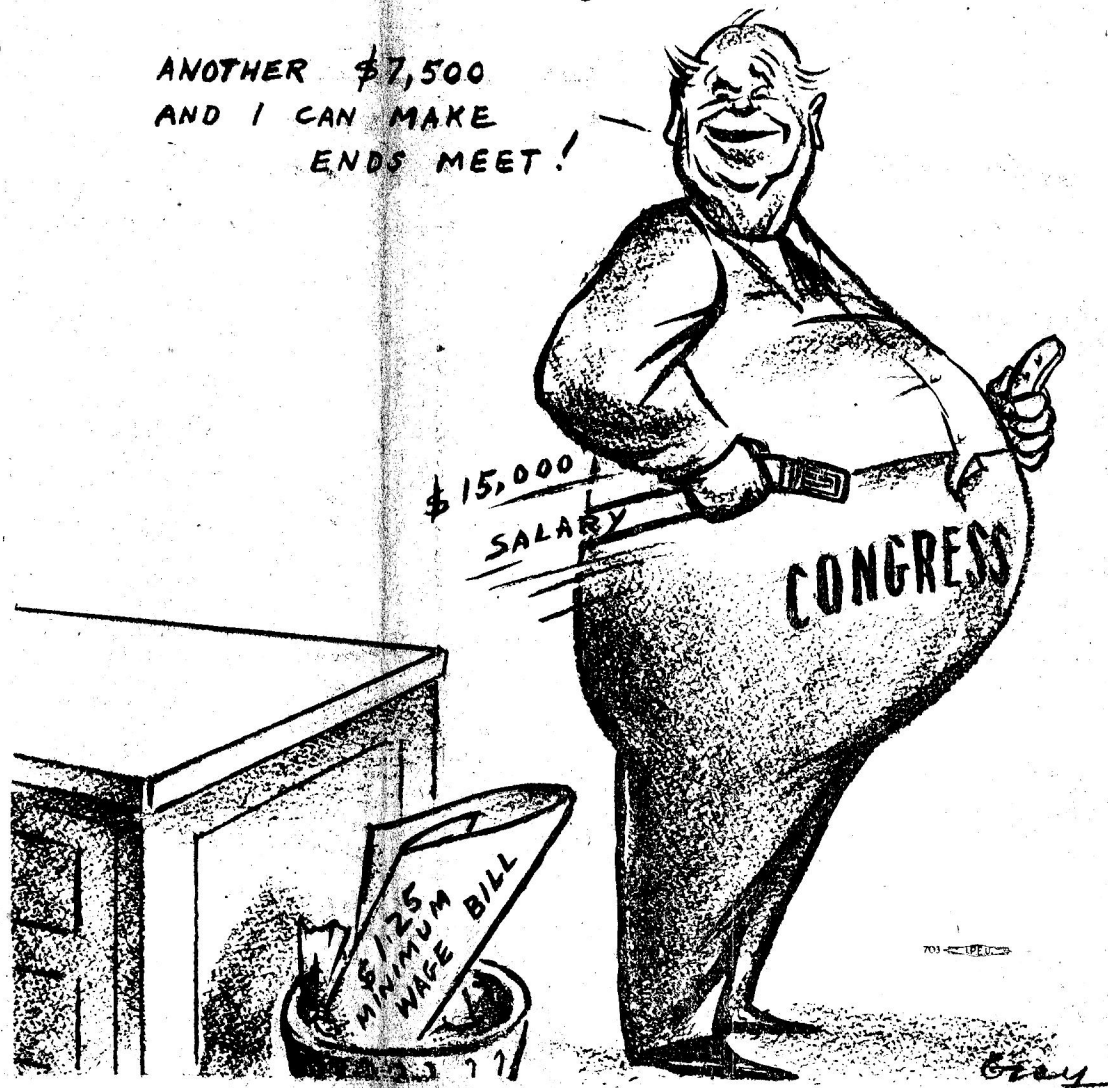
A resolution against the rearmament plans adopted on Oct. 9 by the six-million strong West German Trade Union Congress states: "For the internal development of the Federal German Republic, the rearmament and organization of a German Army (as laid down in the Paris Accords) would bring the danger of the creation of a militaristic, authoritarian state."

Commenting on a more militant declaration by the union's youth movement, the Manchester Guardian wrote on Oct. 14, "The resolution was inspired not by pacifism or by an isolationist

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"Hardship" Case

ANOTHER \$7,500 AND I CAN MAKE ENDS MEET!



American Workers Pay Through the Nose for Anti-Labor Politicians

By Lewis Peterson

Don't say the capitalist politicians have no heart. They have just moved with great dispatch to give "relief" to 531 pitiful "hardship cases." On March 1, Congress sped to Eisenhower for his signature a bill to raise Congressional salaries from a mere \$15,000 a year to \$22,500, a pay increase of 50%.

Originally, the Representatives had approved a bill providing a raise to \$25,000. But the Senators decided it might look a bit indecent to raise their own pay \$10,000 at one clip. So they compromised on a \$7,500 hike. The Representatives bit their lips, squared their shoulders and manfully went along.

A DISMAL PICTURE

In arguing to move themselves several notches higher in the income brackets, Representatives and Senators painted a bleak and dismal picture of their terrible hardships in trying to exist on \$15,000 a year. Some of their stories about having to maintain two residences and the high cost of entertainment would bring tears to the eyes of a rattlesnake.

WHERE THEY DRAW LINE

But, naturally, the members of Congress don't believe in carrying this "hardship case" business too far. Most of them get downright indignant, in fact, when they discuss organized labor's demand for an increase in the present 75-cent hourly minimum wage to \$1.25. Even Eisenhower's proposal for a miserly 90-cent minimum has Southern Democrats snarling. Now that the pressing business of raising their own pay 50% is out of the way, Congressmen are moving cautiously on raising minimum wages for workers now making \$30 for a full week's work.

It should make every worker boil to think of this anti-labor,

A Production Loss They Don't Mention

We frequently hear the capitalist propagandists howl about man-hours of production lost due to strikes. But we don't hear a whisper from them about the following production loss: Total unemployment in 1954 (Federal Bureau of Census figures) plus short work weeks accounted for at least 71 billion man-hours lost, while strikes accounted for only 22 million lost man-hours. This means unemployment caused a 34.18% greater loss to production than strikes.

anti-Negro gang in Congress dipping their sticky fingers into the public till for a salary increase twice as big as an average wage-earner's total income for a year. There isn't a member of either House — not one — worth \$22,500 to the American people, or even one this dime. Virtually all are hand-picked agents of wealthy special interests. A majority are corporation lawyers, editors of capitalist newspapers or rich businessmen in their own right.

The workers will go on paying through the nose for Congressmen and Senators who protect the billionaires and strip the toilers until labor organizes its own party and kicks out the political pickpockets. They will be replaced by real labor and farmer representatives who will be glad and proud to serve for incomes on the level of union men and women.

NEGRO VICTIM OF POLICE ASSAULT GETS STIFFER SENTENCE ON APPEAL

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, March 1 — Nine months in the penitentiary for being beaten by the cops and protesting! This was the sentence Judge Alexander P. Waugh imposed yesterday on Charles E. Taylor.

Last August Mr. Taylor, New Jersey Negro Labor Council Organizer, was severely beaten by Patrolmen Ferranti and Di Orto. They broke his nose in the police wagon on the way to the station, then placed trumped up charges of assault and battery and use of indecent language against Taylor. They also charged him with carrying a concealed weapon, an ordinary pocket knife, which Taylor says they planted on him.

Taylor placed charges of atrocious assault against the cops. A protest movement was organized, and the members of the Citizens Against Police Brutality circulated petitions to the mayor demanding punishment for brutal cops. Several thousand people signed the petitions.

Last December, Municipal Judge Pine found Taylor guilty of the policemen's charges and fined him \$150. He also placed him on probation for a year. Taylor appealed, and according to law, was tried all over again in the Essex County Court before Judge Waugh.

WAS COPS' STORY TRUE?

Cross-examination of the cops by Taylor's attorney, J. Mercer Burrell, brought out contradictions between their latest testimony and their story in the first trial.

But in handing down his verdict, Waugh stated that the testimony of Di Orto and Ferranti "had the ring of candor and truth."

On the other hand, he found that Taylor's five witnesses, all colored, were "ill at ease" in giving testimony.

They all bore out his account that he had simply slowed down to watch officers questioning people in a car, that Ferranti pushed Taylor, and that the cops arrested Taylor when he protested this treatment in a dignified way.

In passing sentence, Waugh disregarded the plea of Mr. Burrell that he should not go beyond Pine's sentence in the municipal court. Burrell pointed out that even the cops had not alleged that Taylor had struck deliberate blows.

But Waugh declared, "I take a very serious view of disobedience to policemen and a very serious view of assault," and handed down his vindictive sentence. After which he refused to let Taylor out on bond pending appeal.

Smith Act Victims Put In Double Jeopardy

MARCH 2 — Five of the six Communist Party leaders who were released March 1 from federal penitentiaries were immediately rearrested under the same Smith

"Gag" Act which had been originally used to railroad them to prison. The six had served 40 months or their five-year sentences.

The new charge leveled at John B. Williamson, Jacob A. Stachel, John Gates, Eugene Dennis and Carl Winter is under the provision of the Smith Act recently used to convict Claude Lightfoot, Communist Party leader in Chicago. This provision makes membership in the Communist Party, while "knowing" its alleged purposes, a criminal offense.

Rearrest of the Stalinist leaders violates a provision of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution which provides that no person shall "be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb." Their original conviction under the Smith Act was itself a violation of the Constitution's First Amendment which provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech."

The CP leaders were railroaded to prison on the false evidence of paid informers who "testified" that the accused had conspired to advocate the forcible overthrow of the U.S. government and were teaching "Marxism-Leninism" for that purpose.

COHN'S HANDWRITING

This is the kind of evidence that Harvey Matusow — once a paid informer — is now repudiating before various courts and Congressional investigating committees. Matusow testified in Judge Dim-

mock's court two weeks ago that Roy Cohn, McCarthy's assistant who was then working for the "Justice" Department, coached him in lies Matusow gave in the 1953 trial of 13 second string CP leaders. They are now seeking reversal of their conviction on the strength of his recantation.

Yesterday, Harry Sacher, attorney for the 13, introduced handwritten notes to bear out Matusow's contention that he lied in the trial of the 13. Albert Blinder, another assistant prosecutor in that trial, admitted under cross-examination that the notes were in Cohn's handwriting. Sacher's cross-examination showed that matters which Matusow said he lied about were listed one after another by Cohn in the sheets prepared for Matusow.

MATUSOW PUTS CONGRESSMEN ON SPOT

Appearing before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Matusow posed embarrassing questions to witch-hunting Congressmen, who are trying to discredit his account of having lied for pay for the Committee and the Justice Department. "Why did you ever believe me in the first place?" he asked.

He insisted the committee should have known better than to have believed him after he made absurd statements that there were 126 communists on the Sunday staff of the N. Y. Times (the total staff of the Sunday Times is 90)," he said.

What Program for United Labor?

By Art Preis

With the AFL leadership's acceptance of the industrial union principle which split the CIO from the AFL 20 years ago, the major obstacle to reunification of the two great bodies of organized labor has been removed. It is pretty likely that the agreement for an AFL-CIO merger will go through according to schedule, although not without friction at some points. The CIO Executive Board on Feb. 24 voted 12 to 2 to affirm the agreement over the objections of Transport Workers Union President Michael Quill. By next year, we can expect a united labor federation of some 15,000,000 members.

Since the main question of principle is no longer at issue, there is no basis for serious objection to the proposed merger. Moreover, both the ranks and the leaders of the unions generally agree that the merger is a requirement of the times and that labor unity is a requisite for the ultimate solution of labor's basic problems.

But is labor unity in itself, divorced from policy and program, a guarantee that the American working class will now achieve greater gains or successfully fend off the repeated offensives of the employers and their government? Will organized numbers alone assure the dynamic power to solve the crucial problems facing labor?

The rise of the CIO is a striking example of how a split can sometimes, achieve far more for labor than a unity which stifles the growth of the unions and keeps them from an essential course of struggle. But now a new set of circumstances confronts American labor — circumstances that put unity in the forefront of the needs of the American labor movement.

PRESSURE FOR UNITY

Although there are far more unorganized than organized workers, the labor movement seems to have reached a halt in expansion and give rise to an incipient fascist movement in the form of McCarthyism. Despite their size

growing mainly through raids on other unions.

Many unions are feeling terrific employer pressure for wage cuts and sacrifice of union conditions. Dramatic examples of this have been the wage-cuts imposed on Studebaker workers in South Bend and Otis Elevator workers in Yonkers. In both cases, leading CIO unions are involved.

AFL President Meany and CIO President Reuther have both stressed the difficulties imposed on unionism by federal and state laws, the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law passed by Congress in 1947 and the increasing number of state "right-to-work" laws designed to infiltrate non-union and anti-union elements into the plants and to protect scabs in strikes.

Moreover, there is the overwhelming fact that, after 20 years of the "New Deal" and "Fair Deal," reaction was able to ride so high that it carried the Republicans back into power and gave rise to an incipient fascist movement in the form of McCarthyism. Despite their size

today, the unions see that much if not all of their rights can be taken away by legislation and government executive action.

A SERIOUS CHALLENGE

The past two years have seen a growth in unemployment, a production decline and the introduction of automation. There is a growing awareness that the economic system retains its instability and continues to be propped up only through the extraordinary government military expenditures. The feeling of economic insecurity has been strongly revived since the end of the Korean war.

It takes no great power of analysis to see that organized labor is approaching what may be the most serious challenge to its existence. The union leaders, never known for great foresight, nevertheless sense great dangers ahead. They are particularly concerned over political developments and are anxious for their own preservation, to halt the political reaction. The AFL-CIO merger represents for them a greater

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The American Way of Life

Grim Humor from Southern Mills

Whenever the South Carolina newspapers carry come-on photographs for Northern manufacturers of happy and contented mill workers, the CIO Textile Workers Union in Greenville, S. C. is flooded with letters from these same workers. The following, including the comments, is reprinted from Textile Labor (Jan. 8), official organ of the TWUA-CIO:

"The Greenville Piedmont," says one letter, "has printed a lot of pictures of us textile workers to fool the public about working conditions here in these mills. We did not want our pictures in this paper but when the boss says pose we know we got to pose or be fired."

So workers pose and counter with a long string of "underground jokes."

On labor-saving devices:

"The latest wrinkle is a portable commode and drinking fountain combined — for Southern textile workers only. This machine will be operated by a trained monkey that does not come under the wage and hour law. . . This will be a great help to textile workers as they are not given time to leave their machines anyway."

On job security:

"A Southern worker need no longer be afraid of being fired or blackballed; there is always an opening on the chain gang and that's better than these cotton-mill jobs."

On the stretchout:

"Our treatment in these mills makes us think of what we read in the papers about Russia. We Southern textile workers are not planning on going communist but we wouldn't have much to lose. We would like for someone to float us some freedom balloons."

And so it goes.

Many an unorganized South Carolina worker's feelings are summed up by this letter from Anderson, S. C., the no-man's land of unionism:

"That word 'freedom' don't mean anything to a Southern textile worker. The Greenville Piedmont didn't print about the whip they used on textile workers years ago. Some of us old-timers were whipped by our bosses and then robbed by the company store."

"For years they have put the spy system to work; they pay some workers to spy on others. Now we're afraid of each other."

"This paper don't print about the thousands laid off by the double-machine load, about how many thousands don't have time to get a drink or use a rest room in eight hours, about how many thousands of women were taking nerve-shots because of overwork."

"They don't print about these mills robbing workers by selling mill-village barns for houses."

"We are hollered at all day to 'do more work or get out — there are plenty at the gate wanting your job.' We would like to write our Senators but we have been warned that would happen to us if we did. We are afraid to sign our names to a letter; if the big brass ever found out, that would mark the end to our jobs."

"These papers don't print about these mills that pay just 75c. an hour, about how they demand the same quality and production out of 300 that 600 workers were doing five years ago."

Happy and willing workers? Don't ask Governor Byrnes, the writer advises.

"Just come around where we textile workers hang out and see for yourself."

The School Crisis and Labor

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT — The trouble with the Republican and Democratic parties' plans to "resolve the crisis in education" is that their authors are concerned with other problems. The two capitalist parties put expenditures for war preparations first. Next they are concerned with maintaining a witch hunt atmosphere — a necessary part of war preparations. Then they are concerned with tying with one another for political power.

The problem of education interests the Republican and Democratic parties only from these standpoints. If they are making gestures and loud noises about the plight of our educational system it is only because political expediency forces them to do so; words are cheap and there is an election approaching.

SOLUTION FOR WEALTHY

Throughout the U.S. parents and working teachers are de-

manding more and better schools. In the districts where the wealthy live the issue is not so acute, although even in such communities the school system is far from adequate. But the wealthy solve the problem by sending their children to private schools. The number of these private schools is growing as if in direct proportion to the decline of the public school system.

Working class parents however, cannot afford to send their children to private schools. Their children are stuck with half-day classes, high prices for text books, overcrowded class rooms, underpaid teachers, and the stifling atmosphere of thought-control.

These acute problems demand a solution. The question is: where will a solution come from? There is no organized social force in the U.S. today capable of getting at the source of the trouble and finding the answer except the union movement.

In its early days the union movement played a decisive role in creating a free public school

system. Free public schools didn't come from the goodness of heart of the rich and powerful in government. They had to be fought for. And the fight was won because the organized workers raised the demand for free public education and would not rest until it was granted.

"... FREE AS AIR"

A typical resolution adopted by the Workingmen's Union in Trenton, N. J., in 1858, expressed the sentiments of the working people of that day. It declared: "As education is a primary want of a free people, these schools should be extended until knowledge shall be as free as the air we breathe."

The big demand of the unions at that time was that all revenue from government land grants be used to build public schools. It was raised by union bodies in every section of the country. The unions refused to support candidates of the Whig and Democratic parties because those candidates reneged on their promises

of free schools. Labor parties were formed in several cities and states to carry on the fight in government for free public education.

The present generation of labor leaders would do well to take a leaf from the book of the early union leaders who knew how to fight for schools.

By its very nature as a mass organization of workers the modern union movement today must give voice to the needs of working class families for more school buildings, for full-day supervision to keep children off the streets, and for free text books and lunches.

Unfortunately the union leaders present these demands halfheartedly. And they have a ready alibi for failure to win the demands. They say, "Of course we know the Republican Party will oppose these measures; we must be careful not to ask for too much, otherwise we will put the Democratic Party on the spot; and we are not yet strong enough to force the government to grant these demands, so we will do the best we can . . ."

LABOR'S POWER

The labor officials are dead wrong when they say the labor movement is not yet strong enough to enforce its demands for better schools and other social legislation. The organized labor movement, 17-million strong and united as never before, is potentially the most powerful political force in America. What is lacking is a recognition of that power. What is lacking is an independent political organization of labor — a Labor Party — to fight for these demands.

A Labor Party would fight for the needs of the working people. That would come first. A Labor Party in control of Congress would have no difficulty finding money for social legislation. Wall Street's war to save capitalism at all costs would not be served by a party of the working people. Such a party would quickly come to terms with people of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America.

Instead of organizing a war to force them to live under the domination of landlords, usurers, capitalists and imperialists we would open a new era of economic relations with them to raise the standard of living of the working class of the whole world. Liberated from the staggering burden of a war economy, America would surge forward precisely in the fields of research, education, health, housing, transportation and all endeavors that would assure an abundant and happy life for all the people.

... What Policy for United Labor?

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power to influence political events.

But how will they use this power? That is the nub of the matter. Both the AFL and CIO leaders see nothing ahead but a continuation of a political policy that has proved its bankruptcy over and over again. Before, the CIO and AFL supported the Democratic Party and its candidates as separate organizations. Now, after the merger, they will back the Democrats as a single organization.

NO FRIENDS OF LABOR

Was it a lack of labor unity and of Democratic rule that led to the current evils besetting organized labor? Reuther himself said at the last CIO convention that Congress had not passed a single new piece of progressive legislation since 1938. He might have added that the Taft-Hartley Act was passed with the favorable vote of a majority of Democrats in both houses of Congress. Between 1948 and 1952, Truman used the Taft-Hartley injunctions and broke more strikes than all other presidents in U.S. history combined. Eleven of the 17 states with "right to work" laws are in the Solid Democratic South, whose representatives and Senators comprise a majority of all Democrats in both houses of Congress.

The Democratic South is the greatest anti-labor bulwark in America. It offers a haven to an ever greater number of runaway shops and factories seeking low-pay non-union labor. It is the chief breeding ground for anti-union laws that have begun to



GEORGE MEANY

spread to states in the north and west. It is the plague center of racial division that constantly threatens to pit worker against worker, undermine unionism and degrade wages and working conditions everywhere.

How do the union leaders hope to organize the South, to defeat the Southern political reaction if they are part of the same political machine as the Southern Democrats and are committed to supporting the Southern politicians in order to keep the machine intact? The truth is that the union leaders' political program can only lead to capitulation to the Dixiecrats in order to maintain a political alliance indispensable for the preservation of their common political machine. Labor unity on such a program can be perverted to strengthening the strongest bastion of the open-shop in America, the Democratic South.

WHAT KIND OF POLITICS

But if labor unity were used to fuel a new independent class political party in America, the merger of 15,000,000 American workers into a new union federation would be the greatest possible blow to political reaction today. With a labor party based on such a mighty united union movement, there is no goal labor could not achieve.

The union leaders fear the prospect of labor leading the country. Meany said at the recent AFL Executive Council meeting: "After all, we're no politicians, and we make no pretense of being politicians. We don't want to run the country or its policy." In other words, leave politics to the agents of the billionaires, the tiny handful of financiers, industrialists, and real estate interests who own America.

This is only the reverse side of the conception that the workers in America don't need a party of their own because they don't really constitute a separate and exploited class in our society. Thus, at the CIO convention last December, Reuther denied the need for a labor party on the grounds that "unlike Europe with its rigid class groups, America is a place where social groups are in flux, without a rigid class structure." And Meany, discussing the merger, said: "We must not think of ourselves as a group apart; there is no such thing as a proletarian in America."

Yet, Meany is soon to head an organization made up of some 15,000,000 proletarians — that is, people whose sole or main source of livelihood is the sale of their labor power for wages to the capitalist owners who exploit them for profits. Reuther and Meany deny the existence of classes precisely in the country where there is the widest gulf between the rich and the poor, the owners and the workers.

WHAT IS DECISIVE

From the height of the bureaucratic summits the union leaders, with their not inconsiderable salaries and their opportunities

to rub elbows with the bosses, may see no vast gulf between themselves and the ruling class. But every attempt to reconcile the contending classes in American society has failed and been followed by bigger battles. The future will offer no exceptions.

Labor unity without a fighting class program on the economic and political fields will not win for labor. But the consciousness of power that will come with the fusion of the AFL and CIO will inspire the workers to demand and expect more than in the days of divided organizations. Will they tolerate anti-labor laws, new attacks on their living standards, knowing the strength they can wield?

Meany himself said recently: "I think the American worker will go as far down the road as necessary to see that his political aims are carried out. That may eventually take him to his own Labor Party."

Meany hopes and plans for a different course. But he spoke truer than he knows. A new labor federation of 15,000,000 members will tend to invite a program commensurate with its power and with the class it represents. The labor bureaucrats will yet come to learn that there is an American proletariat even if the bureaucrats find out only when the organized workers shake them off their backs and build a new militant leadership.

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20,000 people here are receiving government surplus food as a relief measure and the Detroit Welfare Department expects this figure to go up to 80,000 in the near future.

At the present production rate the total 1955 output forecast by the auto corporations will be completed rather early in the year. The lay-offs that can then be expected bring into view the possibility of yet another new record for Detroit: a rise in 1955 unemployment above the 200,000 peak reached last year.

Existing unemployment in the city is due in part to an expanding labor force. Young people graduating from school and veterans who have finished their hitch in the armed forces enter the labor market looking for jobs. Workers drift into Detroit from other regions, especially the south, seeking employment in auto.

To get rid of those who drift into the city the Welfare Department last year offered applicants for public relief one-way tickets back to wherever they came from. Recently the local capitalist press has campaigned for the denial of public assistance to people who have lived in the state less than three years.

AUTOMATION

Also contributing to current unemployment are the runaway plants, the geographical dispersal of formerly centralized operations and the corporation mergers leading to consolidation of plant facilities. In the single case of the removal to Wisconsin of Hudson operations after the recent merger with Nash some 4,300 local workers lost their jobs.

Technological change is biting into auto employment. Three years ago it took 2,700 workers at the Rouge casting plant and another 10,000 at the motor plant to turn out 338 motors per hour. Today these two stages of production are combined within a single engine plant where automation has made possible a comparable rate of production with only 6,100 workers, about one-half the previous labor force.

A new plastic body is now being used for production of sports

model cars. The whole body is stamped out in one stroke, after which the doors are sawed out. This process removes almost entirely the need for dies, jigs and fixtures for body work. Tool and die workers thus become hit like their brothers on the production lines by technological change.

Skilled workers such as millwrights, electricians and carpenters are being thinned out in the plants through the use of outside contractors who introduce special methods to attain higher labor productivity. Technological trends in this sphere are steadily reducing the need for skilled workers and putting their work on more of a straight production basis.

"NO WOMEN HIRED"

Women workers are being denied jobs in the auto plants. They are usually turned away from the employment offices with a blunt "No women hired." Those now in the plants are often thrust into impossible job conditions in an effort to force them out. At one plant a woman in her late fifties was deliberately assigned to unloading box cars.

Propaganda against "working wives" appears in various forms but the decisive word is spoken by the family budget. One wage earner in the family is seldom enough. Women barred from auto still need jobs. So they seek employment as food workers, sales people, office help, whatever they can get, usually at wages below those paid in auto. Discrimination against women in auto thus operates to impair the family budget.

Negro workers, both men and women are hard hit by discrimination in auto employment. They often comprise well over half the long lines of applicants at the corporation employment offices. Few are hired. They must therefore take what they can get in such lines as the hotel and restaurant trade where they are generally compelled to work for wages below the union scale. About two-thirds of those presently on relief in the city are reported to be Negroes.

The auto workers seem to have little faith that the current production boom will last beyond spring. They are out to earn

\$15,000 Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|---------|
| Pittsburgh | \$ 150 | 155 | 104 |
| Seattle | 175 | 166 | 95 |
| Detroit | 750 | 695 | 79 |
| Newark | 275 | 188.50 | 69 |
| Cleveland | 250 | 165 | 66 |
| Chicago | 1,600 | 1,095 | 65 |
| Philadelphia | 400 | 258 | 65 |
| Allentown | 75 | 48 | 64 |
| San Francisco | 800 | 478 | 60 |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul | 1,200 | 690 | 58 |
| Boston | 600 | 336 | 56 |
| Milwaukee | 250 | 125 | 50 |
| Los Angeles | 3,000 | 1,397.33 | 47 |
| New York | 3,200 | 1,490 | 47 |
| St. Louis | 75 | 32.50 | 43 |
| Buffalo | 1,600 | 675 | 42 |
| Youngstown | 200 | 75 | 38 |
| Oakland | 300 | 59 | 20 |
| Akron | 125 | 25 | 20 |
| General | — | 3.50 | — |
| Total through March 2 | \$15,025 | \$8,056.83 | 54 |

PITTSBURGH GOES OVER THE TOP IN FUND DRIVE

By Constance Farr
Campaign Manager

The most exciting thing that can happen to a Campaign Manager is to open a letter, take out a check and a note that says that this payment brings a city to over 100% of its quota. It is especially exhilarating when the campaign has still five weeks to go.

Pittsburgh has the honor of being the first city to go over 100%. Last week, Pittsburgh was listed in 15th place. This week it is first. John Black, the Press Fund Director, writes: "This means that all the pledges in Pittsburgh are paid in full and well ahead of the end of the fund drive."

"You can imagine that it is not easy and is a credit to the little group of readers that we have here." We are sure that the group of readers in Pittsburgh is very proud to be at the top of the \$15,000 Press Fund Scoreboard. For those readers who are new to The Militant, this amount of money has been pledged by readers in cities all over the country to support this workers paper.

"Fan mail continues to come in. 'Bravo, Myra Tanner!' writes Snow from Chicago. 'More articles like the last one — Letter to GM Workers.' They pack a punch that can be used to good effect. Good for a laugh too, even though you're rubbing salt in the wound."

From Detroit: "No other paper (than The Militant) is promoting the cause of the class struggle in American politics; all other papers are tainted or corrupted to one degree or another by the labor bureaucracy's policy of class collaboration in politics. That is why every fighter for the Labor Party and socialism should regard it as a duty to contribute money toward the present fund-raising drive to sustain The Militant."

In New York, Pete Nicholas reports that he has been going over the paper systematically with a new reader. They both were extremely interested in and grateful for the "excellent article by John G. Wright and M. Stein on the reasons for Malenkov's resignation and the crisis in the Soviet Union. This article could only appear in a paper like The Militant because the Marxist analysis which was presented made what seemed like a hopeless puzzle fall into a clear and understandable pattern of present-day history."

"We're both looking forward to the next article on the Soviet Union."

We are happy to be able to put Akron on the Scoreboard this week. Eight cities are either over, or right on schedule. The national total is lagging a bit behind the 62% mark. All of our contributors should try to have 69% of their quota by next week.

... Detroit's Auto Workers

model cars. The whole body is stamped out in one stroke, after which the doors are sawed out. This process removes almost entirely the need for dies, jigs and fixtures for body work. Tool and die workers thus become hit like their brothers on the production lines by technological change.

Skilled workers such as millwrights, electricians and carpenters are being thinned out in the plants through the use of outside contractors who introduce special methods to attain higher labor productivity. Technological trends in this sphere are steadily reducing the need for skilled workers and putting their work on more of a straight production basis.

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what they can while the jobs last and generally welcome whatever overtime they can get. Installation buying has picked up. The workers are apparently disposed to let the merchants worry about whether or not future payments can be met.

SENIORITY CHANGES

The gradual undermining of job security in auto is reflected in changing seniority rules. In times past a worker off the job over a year usually lost his seniority and could get back only as a new employee. Today this rule is being changed to protect seniority beyond a one-year period of lay-off. A shift is also taking place away from departmental seniority toward company-wide seniority. These changes record the fact that lay-offs are of longer duration than they used to be, that unemployment is becoming transformed from a seasonal into a chronic problem.

Such is the general situation facing the membership of the UAW-CIO as the five-year contracts with the auto corporations finally near expiration. Next month the Reuther leadership will present its answer to the workers' problems at the union's Cleveland convention. That answer is expected to take the form of a guaranteed annual wage demand in contract negotiations and a political line of all-out support to the Democratic party.

WORKERS' ATTITUDE

If a strike should occur in the contract fight the workers will unquestionably support it. But they seem to expect little from the next contract that would assure them steady pay throughout the year. A general feeling appears to exist that Reuther will settle on most any terms enabling him to claim establishment "in principle" of the guaranteed annual wage concept. This expectation leaves little room for confidence that any effective action will be taken to cope with the unemployment problem.

Important sentiment exists for a 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay to reduce unemployment. It is quite strong among Rouge workers whose local union leaders have been advocating such a demand. Support for 30-40 is sim-

ilarly manifested among workers at the big Dodge plant where 20,000 of the total working force of 30,000 were laid off during the greater part of last year. Comparable trends of 30-40 sentiment are found here among those sections of the UAW membership who were struck the hardest by the 1954 slump.

Last month the National Ford Conference of the UAW adopted a resolution calling on the coming national convention to make a shorter work week an official UAW goal in contract negotiations two years from now. Lack of objection from the Reuther lieutenants present indicates the possibility that some such declaration may be officially planned for the convention. If so, it would appear to be intended both as a face-saving device for leading advocates of 30-40 who are yielding to Reuther's line and as a gesture of appeasement toward 30-40 sentiment in the ranks.

On the question of political action the auto workers generally remain under the illusion that a solution of their problems can be found through labor's participation in Democratic party politics. Reuther's pro-Democratic line will thus easily prevail at the union convention. At the same time quite a few workers show a developing interest in the Labor Party question. If these elements are reached through discussion of the Labor Party perspective, recruits can be found among them for a class-struggle left wing.

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New York Friday Forum

Speaker: Marvel Scholl

"Argentina — Peron's Struggle With the Catholic Church"

Fri., March 18, 8 P. M.

116 University Place

Contribution 25c.

NEW BOOK-A-MONTH PLAN

Workers building personal libraries can now get important books, that heretofore were out of their price range, through a new book plan launched by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

Beginning now Pioneer Book Service will select each month an important book published in the past few years and offer it for \$1.00 (plus 15c. for postage and packing). The offer will hold only for orders received during that month.

Important books on social subjects as well as literary works will be selected. The book chosen will be reviewed in the first issue of the Militant for that month. Unlike other book plans, there is nothing to join. There is no minimum of books to be ordered in a year. Anyone may order the monthly selection. All orders must be accompanied with check or money order.

All books will be new copies and will be cloth bound unless it is specifically stated that they are paper covered. The selection for March is Reunion and Reaction by C. Vann Woodward.

Pioneer Pocket Library

1. The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International

This basic document was drafted by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International. 64 pages, 25c.

2. The Suppressed Testament of Lenin, by Leon Trotsky. This document reprints Lenin's last advice to his party and explains why Stalin suppressed it. 48 pages, 25c.

Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 116 University Place, 3, N. Y.

REUNION AND REACTION.—The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. Vann Woodward. Boston: Little Brown 1951. 263 pp. \$4.00. (\$1.00 plus 15c. postage through Pioneer Publishers).

This is one of the few important books on U.S. history to appear in the past few years. It is an original contribution that sheds much light on a very important and hitherto enigmatic political crisis.

The date 1877 is well known to students of Negro history as the year that the weakened policy of Reconstruction in the South was completely abandoned and federal occupation troops withdrawn. On the heels of the retreating federal troops the Ku Klux bands took over and annihilated what remained of the democratic achievements won by the poor whites and Negro freedmen in the preceding 12 years.

The year 1877 was also the year in which the Democratic Party won the presidential election — although in the barefaced vote stealing engaged in by both parties after election day the Republicans claimed to have won. When the electoral college met to count the vote it found that both the Democrats and Republicans claimed South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida. It was unable to resolve the constitutional crisis. Inauguration day approached with both Hayes and Tilden claiming to be president.

Out of this political struggle came a deal by which Southern Democrats double-crossed their Northern colleagues and helped set up an Electoral Commission which gave the presidency to Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate.

For only \$1.25 you can get a one-year subscription to the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

It has been well-known to students of history that in return for the presidency the Republicans abandoned what remained of the Reconstruction policy and withdrew the federal troops from the last two Southern States.

The mystery was this. Why should Southern Democrats give the presidency to Hayes for this when they would have got it anyway from Tilden, their own candidate, who had been elected? Obviously the deal involved more than the mere withdrawal of the troops from the South.

It is to this problem that C. Vann Woodward dedicates himself. His book reads like a historical detective story since the deal was made in the dark and the items exchanged were made in secret.

Since this isn't a whodunnit, though it often reads like one, it isn't unethical to reveal that a most key element was a deal between the ex-Confederate ruling class and the Northern railroad interests — then the most aggressive section of the capitalist class. Also projected was the construction of a new class alliance of the former slavery class and the Northern capitalists in one party. This merging of the two owning classes, who had been opponents in a great Civil War a dozen years before, did not come off. However the Populist movement and the railway strikes later in 1877 showed the rising class forces in America which caused consideration of such a political alliance.

C. Vann Woodward is a professor of history at Johns Hopkins University and is one of the few scholars doing original research on the South. He is a disciple of Charles Beard, which means that his book is an economic materialist interpretation. All those interested in this vital turning point in American history should read Reunion and Reaction.

G. L.

1. The Brigitte Gerland Series

With this issue the Militant brings to a close the series of articles by Brigitte Gerland on the Soviet Union. These are undoubtedly the most informative and important articles on the Soviet Union to reach the outside world since World War II. They are also the most encouraging.

Those who have read the articles know from internal evidence that Brigitte Gerland is an extraordinarily acute social and political observer. At the age of 16 she was imprisoned by Hitler's Gestapo for underground activity. When Hitler's regime crashed she immediately joined the Communist Party. Because of her splendid anti-Nazi record she was appointed political editor of the Soviet Information Agency for East Germany. There she soon learned the true nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Abandoning her career as a journalist for Stalinism, she fled the Soviet zone.

One night, while visiting Dresden, her

home town, she was kidnapped by the Soviet secret police. She was deported to the Soviet Arctic where she spent almost eight years in over 20 camps. Four of these years were in camps in the Vorkuta region where the great strike, involving a quarter of a million forced laborers, took place in the summer and fall of 1953.

She was transferred out of Vorkuta during the strike and was later among the foreign prisoners amnestied by the Malenkov regime. Instead of breaking her spirit the eight years in Stalin's and Malenkov's forced labor camps confirmed her Marxist convictions. She emerged with confidence in the future of the revolutionary movement in the USSR because she had met the courageous young revolutionists who are building it. She has done them and the revolutionary socialists all over the world an inestimable service by describing social conditions and revolutionary currents in the Soviet Union so faithfully.

2. Function of Forced Labor

Gerland's articles finish once and for all the legends and speculations about the role of forced labor in Soviet economy. It is not a question of arguing about the number of forced laborers. She accepts as a working hypothesis the figure of 15 million revealed by a former top GPU official who became a prisoner in the camps.

She shows that the regime's main concern with prisoners is to isolate them from the rest of the population; that they are imprisoned because they are suspected of criticizing the bureaucratic ruling caste and because it is feared they might build an opposition movement. As a labor force, Gerland demonstrates, the forced labor camps are a liability. To isolate them from the population means keeping about one third in areas where no productive work can be accomplished. Another third is physically incapable of productive work. The remaining third are actually engaged in productive labor — mainly in the metal mines of the Far East and in the coal mines of the Vorkuta region.

These workers, however, produce less than what it costs to keep them and their guards. The forced labor prisoners have

brought to perfection the slave's age-old slow-down so that their production is one-tenth to one-twentieth that of free laborers.

Another important point brought out by the series is the difference between the Kremlin's forced labor camps and the extermination camps of the Nazi regime. Bad as the camps in the USSR are, there is no comparison with the Nazi camps. In the Soviet camps there is no attempt to exterminate the prisoners, but rather to isolate them from the rest of Soviet society and get some work out of them.

Medical care is available. The aged and sick are cared for. The successful attempts of the prisoners to regulate the pace of work prevents physical exhaustion. Moreover the free foremen (civilian wage workers) and the guards — be they GPU or army — are not comparable to the Gestapo and SS troops in Hitler's camps. These are drafted workers and peasants. Like most of the Soviet population they hate the Stalinist regime and are sympathetic to the prisoners. Indeed, when the great strike came at Vorkuta they played an important role in carrying messages from one camp to another.

3. Opposition Forces in USSR

The primary division of the labor camp prisoners is into categories of criminals and political "offenders." The criminals, however, are not merely anti-social individual lawbreakers. Hundreds of thousands in this category are children, war orphans, condemned by bureaucratic chaos and indifference to shift for themselves. The children's gangs and the organizations of "bandits" manifest a form of social protest unique to Soviet society.

The next opposition grouping in the Soviet Union is one whose existence was unknown before Gerland wrote her articles. It is a religious-oppositional movement. But it does not spring from the old discredited Orthodox Church which Stalinism tried to refurbish. The old church has no following among the masses. The religious opposition, scornful of all priests and churches, has a pacifist, Christian-communist ideology. Like the Quakers, this movement has adopted the mocking title, Monashki (little monks, nuns) bestowed upon it. Uncompromising foes of the regime, they have distinguished themselves in the camps by the militancy of their passive-resistance tactics. Part of their "religion" is the boycott and strike; their millennium is a general strike that will topple the regime. They

have apparently made significant conversions among the peasantry.

The most significant opposition group, whose emergence is of world-historic importance, is the movement of the Young Leninists. This is a political party which came into existence in the Soviet universities. These revolutionary students had no contact or theoretical guidance from former opposition movements or from abroad. They elaborated their program from the writings of Marx and Lenin, and from their own experience.

Originating in Moscow, the movement spread to Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa. It was active for nearly two years, before the police detected it. It proved that though the cost is high, an underground opposition can operate in the USSR.

This is the party that planned, organized and led the great strike at Vorkuta — the first mass strike since Stalinism usurped power in the USSR. This is the movement, which in the camps, has spread its influence to other layers of the population: the free wage workers, the soldiers, the other prisoners. This is the movement that will lead the coming political revolution in the USSR and re-establish Soviet democracy and internationalism. This is the great regenerating force of the Russian Revolution.

4. The Vindication of Trotskyism

A promise that in the coming revolution the young revolutionists will know how to win the confidence and support of the oppressed nationalities not only of the USSR but of the new satellite countries is given by its success in winning to the Vorkuta strike the fiercely nationalist Western Ukrainians and Baltic nationalities. These oppressed peasants torn from their homes by the Stalinist bureaucrats came into the camps with a hatred of all Russians — bureaucrats and prisoners alike. Their education by the Leninists in the heat of action was a revolutionary triumph.

The political program of the Leninist Youth is in all its basic points in agreement with the position of Trotskyism.

It firmly defends the nationalized economy and planning. (It is noteworthy that none of the opposition movements in the USSR have the slightest tendency toward favoring the restoration of capitalism.) It aims to restore the control of the economy and planning to the Soviet workers and peasants by a restoration of Soviet democracy; political revolution; free elections to the Soviets; recall of delegates at any time.

This movement cherished no illusions whatsoever about a possible "liberalization" of the regime after Stalin's death or a self-reform of the bureaucracy. Because of this realism it was able to

utilize the post-Stalin developments and upon the fall of Beria launch the great strike. This same mistrust of the bureaucracy enabled it to conduct strike negotiations with the Kremlin in a fashion that did not sow illusions in the strikers' ranks.

A basic tenet of the Young Leninists is internationalism and the perspective of world socialist revolution. One of the last leaflets that Gerland saw in the Vorkuta region declared: "The international bourgeoisie will far more easily reach an agreement with the Kremlin bureaucracy to oppress the workers and crush their revolution with the Kremlin's cooperation, than it would agree to get along with a Communist Soviet State, ready to fight unsparingly for the oppressed and exploited of all nationalities. Our only hope lies in the revolution."

This is the program of Trotskyism. It comprises all the basic programmatic points of Trotsky on the USSR: that the existence of its nationalized, planned economy means it is still a workers state, though much degenerated; that this socialist base must be defended against imperialist attack; that the usurping bureaucracy must be overthrown and power returned to the masses by a political revolution; and, that the great task of preparation, organization, and leadership in struggle required the building of a revolutionary party of the Soviet working class.

My Life in Stalin's Prison Camps

The Great Labor Camp Strike at Vorkuta

By Brigitte Gerland

When Beria fell unexpectedly from the pinnacle of power into the bottomless pit, the scale swung decisively in favor of those prisoners who were ready for action. Everybody took it for granted that Beria's downfall caused great disarray in the ranks of the political police. Most prisoners even looked forward to a whole series of palace overthrows, hoping that the bureaucratic oligarchs would devour one another. A hope which was, unfortunately, not realized in life.

It is easy, after the event, to see how exaggerated was the optimism evoked by Beria's fall, but at the time none could have foretold the consequences; and the event itself came as a powerful stimulus to the march of events at Vorkuta.

Many who had opposed the movement until then, particularly among the "Zapadniki" (Westerners), now realized that the hour for action was at hand. They started joining the strike committees, as yet, to be sure, only in the camps under the leadership of the Marxists and the Monashki. So tense became the atmosphere that everyone was electrified. Committees of Pits No. 1 and No. 7, where the Leninists and the anarchists exercised the strongest influence, decided — with the unanimous support of forced laborers at these camps, totalling some 6,000 — to strike until the government

agreed to dissolve the camps and grant to all prisoners the status of free colonists. That is to say, to treat them as free laborers, and to sign 3 to 5-year contracts with them.

JULY 20, 1953

This compromise program of action was needed to win over those prisoners who still hesitated and who would have never accepted the slogan of a strike for unconditional liberation. Work was to stop on the evening of July 20, but that same morning the Pit No. 1 Strike Committee, recognized by the forced laborers of Vorkuta region as the central leadership of the strike, was arrested. This was done by deploying large contingents of troops who surrounded the pit suddenly and who withdrew just as suddenly two hours later, taking their prisoners along to the Vorkuta penitentiary. They were kept there for a few days and then removed to Moscow. The prisoners of Pit No. 1, however, quickly overcame their initial consternation; they elected a new Strike Committee. The military operation carried out by the authorities merely postponed the strike for a space of 12 hours.

In the early hours of July 21 the "konvoi" (escorting guards) stood waiting with their watchdogs alongside the high fence gates, but there was no movement of any kind, absolutely nothing, inside the concentration city. The prisoners sat silently

in their barracks, without the remotest intention of starting work. At first, the "dezhurni" (sentries on duty) made their appearance to urge the recalcitrants to line up at the camp gates. And in their wake came a few officers of the camp administration and, finally, the camp chief himself. But their efforts availed nothing, except a declaration to the effect that the strikers would not present their demands to any person other than the commandant of all the Vorkuta camps, Gen. Derevyanko.

STRIKE SPREADS

This dignitary put in his appearance two days later, only after ten pits inside the city and on the outskirts joined the strike (involving by then some 30,000). After the Strike Committee Delegates put forward their demands, the General made a long speech, larded with vague promises and threats which were not so vague. But he was butting his head against a wall of hostile silence. For one week this feat of oratory remained the sole reaction of the MVD (secret police).

There was an unheard-of confusion at Vorkuta's central administration offices; the telephone lines to Moscow kept buzzing, but the replies that Moscow gave them were worthy of the Delphic oracle. No clear-cut directives. The local authorities dared not act, because one thing was self-evident. Moscow wanted no scandals, no calamities, no bloody repressions. And so they waited.

Each day at the hour for changing work shifts, an officer was sent into the barracks by the camp chiefs to inquire politely whether anybody wished to go to work? No one did. Apart from that, the prisoners were left in peace.

To display its generosity the administration announced that it would continue to provide food for the strikers so long as provisions lasted. As for bringing in new provisions, this was absolutely out of the question, because the financial losses suffered on account of the strike had put the administration into the red for months to come.

STRIKE LEAFLET

The strikers did not waste their time. They requisitioned all the available stocks of paper in order to run off many thousand copies of a leaflet. The text follows:

"Fellow prisoners, you have nothing to lose but your chains! Don't expect to gain your freedom through anyone's efforts but your own. No one will help you; no one will save you; only you yourselves can change your lot. Down tools! The strike is our only weapon!"

It proved possible to spread these leaflets every place where forced laborers were not yet on strike. And this was accomplished in the main thanks to the aid of soldiers who sympathized with the strikers and therefore incurred the risk of maintaining the contacts which had been broken by the work stoppage. As a result, within ten days, 20 big pits inside the city and its environs were shut down tight.

MOSCOW ACTS

Only then did Moscow stir into action. Hastily withdrawn were the Russian and Ukrainian troops who had established close ties with the prisoners during their long stay at Vorkuta; and who felt much closer to those whom they guarded than to those who ordered them about. They were replaced by new regiments composed largely of soldiers from Far-East tribes, who often spoke no Russian and were thus unable to communicate with the prisoners.

The steady buildup of heavily armed troops did not at all succeed in intimidating the strikers. Only here and there was a voice raised to suggest: "We might as well give up."

In the first days of August, when the strike reached its peak and when even some among the MVD officers were sure the prisoners had carried the day, the State Prosecutor, with his retinue of generals, landed at the tiny Vorkuta airfield. He set up his headquarters in the city for several days, in order, he declared, to negotiate and reach a worthwhile agreement.

In an imposing briefcase he had brought with him a number of concessions which were promptly broadcast through all the camps:

- 1) Every prisoner in special "government camps" is granted permission, effective immediately, to write letters home twice a month, instead of twice a year;
- 2) each prisoner may receive, once a year a visit from his family;
- 3) identification numbers shall be removed at once from trousers and jackets;
- 4) iron bars shall be removed from barracks windows.

THE KREMLIN'S WILES

These concessions, however, left the strikers cold. In an open letter to the State Prosecutor, the strike leadership gave its answer:

TEXT OF VORKUTA OPEN LETTER

"We are proud of our identification numbers, because they publicly distinguish us from common criminals and thieves; and that is why we have no desire to do away with them. Our families will not be able to visit us, not even with the kind permission of the MVD, be-

cause they haven't enough money to buy railroad tickets for trips of 4,000 miles and more.

"Writing letters is a superfluous occupation for those who are dead, and that's what we are, condemned to stay here for 25 years. We can do without writing letters unless we are granted through revised regulations, the possibility of returning to our families in the not too distant future."

But the State Prosecutor chose to ignore this open letter; and Gen. Derevyanko traveled from camp to camp promising better food, higher pay, shorter work shifts. His skill of persuasion had some effect on weaker and less politically active elements; but the influence of the Strike Committee remained much stronger than capitulationist moods. The Comrade State Prosecutor knew it as well as everybody else at Vorkuta. And he also knew that a forceful measure taken against the "ring leaders" would touch off a revolt of despair, a truly sanguinary calamity which was to be avoided at all costs.

MVD RUSE

He then resorted to a ruse. Members of the Strike Committee and of the central strike leadership were politely invited to an interview at the headquarters, an invitation they, naturally, accepted. They were cordially met at the camp gate by orderlies, who accompanied them to the city; but not a single one of them returned from this talk.

That was how matters stood, when I was, without any advance notice, hurried off to an unknown destination. This journey, which was to end in my being set free several months later, kept me from witnessing the end of the Vorkuta strike. But I did learn from German prisoners, released a few weeks later, that some pits stayed out on strike until November, for more than three months, that is.

They finally returned to work only because the supply of food and, what is even more vital in polar regions, the supplies of coal gave out. Assuredly, they had not attained their goal — not yet.

But the material improvements to which the MVD was forced to agree under the strike pressure proved to be considerable. And more important by far: although there were many signs of exhaustion, there was not a hint of discouragement or demoralization.

The forced laborers were worn down, but they did not succumb in despair. Their aim was to rally new forces; they wished to draw carefully the lessons from their experiences in order to make better use of them in the future — and they were resolved to continue the struggle. (End of Series)

Senators Read H-Bomb Report



Three members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy shown looking over a statement by AEC Chairman Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, who confirmed that the H-bomb exploded in the March, 1954, test contaminated a 7,000-square-mile area with lethal radioactive fallout. In the group (l. to r.) are Senators Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.) and John Pastore (D-R.I.).

World Events

A 35% REDUCTION IN WAGES provoked a strike of railroad workers in Cuba on Feb. 5. After arresting many strikers, the government called for a 100-day truce.

WEST GERMANY HAS CAPTURED second place in European auto production, thanks primarily to expanded output of Germany's Big Three: Volkswagen, G.M.'s Opel, and the German division of the Ford Motor Company.

HUNDREDS OF BUSINESS MEN from all over the Western hemisphere are gathering this week in New Orleans to figure out how more U.S. capital can be invested profitably in Latin America. Present U.S. investments total \$7½ billion. Eisenhower will deliver an opening address to the gathering over a closed TV circuit.

BRAZIL IS UNDER PRESSURE to abandon its government monopoly of oil resources as a crisis is developing over the fall in coffee prices. A bill to open oil development to private capital is before the Brazilian congress.

PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN IN COLUMBIA, South America, have negotiated a \$14 million trade agreement with East Germany. Coffee and bananas are to be exchanged for machinery, chemicals and optical equipment.

BOOM BUT NOT FOR WORKERS is taking place in West Germany. There the average factory worker puts in a 50-hour week and earns \$22 including overtime (48 hours is the legal work week).

CHINA ACCELERATES COLLECTIVIZATION of farms according to the Soviet paper Komsomolskaya. With 100,000 collectives last September, the Pe-

king government plans the formation of 400,000 new collectives in 1955 to be formed by 8 million families. By the end of the second Five Year Plan (1962) collectivization for the total 100 million peasant farms is planned.

MALAYAN TRADE UNIONIST Vethanuthu David travelled to London for a conference with Laborite members of the House of Commons. He pleaded for help in easing restrictions in Malaya on unionism and a curbing of the anti-labor bias of the British officials in that colony.

JAPANESE ELECTIONS dealt a stunning blow to ex-premier Yoshida's pro-U.S. Liberal Party. It dropped from 180 representatives in Parliament to 112. Most of these seats were picked up by the Democrats, Japan's other capitalist party. Its leader, Ichiro Hatoyama, who became Premier when Yoshida's government fell, will continue as Premier. His main campaign planks were re-establishment of normal diplomatic and trade relations with China and the Soviet Union and less stooging for the U.S. State Department. Most significant was the increased vote for the Left Socialist Party. It raised its parliamentary representation from 74 to 89. The Right Socialists went from 61 to 67. The Communist Party from one to two. A Farmer-Labor Party won four seats. If the left wing votes together it can prevent Hatoyama's declared intention of amending the Japanese Constitution so that Japan can be re-militarized. Amending the constitution requires a two-thirds vote.

SOME 55,000 AFRICANS in Kenya concentration camps have been "screened" for Mau Mau sympathies. Only 7,350 have been released either directly or after passing through "work camps."

... German Labor Fights Rearming

(Continued from page 1)
complex but rather by a distrust of ex-officers who were certain to gain control of a new German Army and by disapproval of the hectic activities of ex-soldiers' associations.

In short, the German working people want nothing that will strengthen their former Nazi tormentors, whose brutal dictatorship was exercised in the service of German Big Business, and who would head the revived West German army.

Besides, the majority of the German people simply don't want any part of Wall Street's war plans. They are at one on this question with the working people of the rest of Western Europe, who are also being dragged into their respective capitalist wars by armed forces at the service of Wall Street imperialism.

EAST-WEST UNITY

What the West German workers want is reunification of the German working class into one entity. They oppose the division of Germany into East and West and also the permanent detachment of the Saar industrial area from Germany provided for in the Paris Accords.

The demand for unification is common to the whole German working class. The East German workers in their great rising of June 17, 1953, which brought nearly 2 million out on general strike and in conflict with Kremlin troops, raised the slogan of

a united Germany. This did not mean sympathy for the West German capitalist government. What they fought for was a united workers' Germany.

The striving of the West German workers to be united with their East German brothers and sisters was denounced by Chancellor Adenauer in the debates over rearmament as narrow nationalism. He, it seems, is an international-minded man, because he puts entry of West Germany's capitalist class in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization ahead of a united Germany.

But is it narrow nationalism for the working people to want to unite all their class forces? Certainly not. After the displays of militancy in both parts of Germany such unity would reforge in one whole the most powerful working class on the European continent. This would become the spearhead for the socialist transformation of all Europe, a victory for international socialism.

MAIN PROBLEM

The main problem now confronting the West German working class is that of leadership. The Social Democratic and trade union officials who currently lead the opposition to the Paris Accords are not to be trusted. They only head the movement in order to head it at a later stage.

Although they waged a razzle-dazzle campaign of oratory in and out of the Bundestag against the Paris Accords, they do not oppose NATO on principle. As

the Oct. 5 Manchester Guardian reported, the Social Democratic Party "declares itself altogether on the Western side . . . and it also has accepted the principle of a German defense contribution of some sort if 'freedom' is threatened."

The Social Democratic leaders oppose adoption of the Paris Accords only on the grounds that there should be one more conference with Russia to try to bring about German reunification. "If such effort fails they declare themselves ready to reconsider their policy," says the Feb. 25 N.Y. Times.

Nor can the Stalinist oppressors of the East German workers bring about a united workers' Germany. What the German working people need to achieve this aim is a genuinely revolutionary party independent of both Western imperialism and the Kremlin.

Charles Gutzmer, NY Times columnist made a good suggestion for the improvement of telephone service. In view of the fact that wire-tapping has become so common, he proposed that the telephone company substitute for the dial tone a recording that would say: "Someone may be listening in."

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

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

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

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

The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

Meaning of AFL-CIO Merger for Negro People

It now appears that the unification of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is about to take place. Since the labor movement is the most important ally of the Negro people the question arises: What does the AFL-CIO merger, agreed to in Miami by George Meany and Walter Reuther, mean for the Negro people? Is it good, bad or indifferent?

Everyone knows that many AFL unions have long been guilty of Jim Crow practices. Some have traditionally kept Negro workers out of their ranks and, if possible, out of their crafts or industries. Others have admitted Negro members but have segregated them in Jim Crow locals or otherwise discriminated against them so that they are not full members but second-class members.

Fortunately the struggle for equal rights and progressive trade unionism has made some headway in the past few years, even in the South, against these white-supremacist features of AFL unions.

The picture in the CIO has always been brighter. It was the organization of the basic, mass production industries that brought the Negro workers into the union movement on a large scale. Officially every CIO union is pledged to equal rights and against discrimination. In actuality there are many cases where, despite the convention resolutions, CIO locals and officials don't put up a whole-hearted fight for upgrading of Negro workers, against the segregating of Negro workers in certain departments, or against Jim Crow hiring practices. Yet there are numerous other locals where a steady and militant fight has won job equality for Negro workers. The organizational work of the CIO Packinghouse Union and a few other CIO unions in the South has been exceptional and successful because it has not accommodated itself to Jim Crow but defied it.

One of the main tasks facing the new labor organization will be the organization of the South — that vast home of Jim Crow and the open shop. Successful organization of the South will be a body blow to the present social, economic and political structure of the South. But the South can only be successfully organized if the Negro workers can be organized. They have fought too long now against second-class citizenship to accept second-class union membership.

Unity is fine and every union man is for it. But it is not fine at the expense of principles. Two great principles helped build the CIO despite the cops, scabs, finks, national guards, guns, bombs and spies of Big Business. These principles were: industrial unionism and equal membership for all. Neither of these principles should be surrendered for unity. Indeed one of the most important consequences of the unity will be that the CIO position on Negro equality will not be watered down but that the process of desegregating and integrating the AFL unions will be speeded up.

It is encouraging that AFL President George Meany, who will head the new, unified American labor movement, on Feb. 26 pledged that the merged labor movement will not tolerate racial or religious discrimination.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hailed the proposed AFL-CIO merger, saying: "I look for greater progress in the Negroes' continuous fight for complete equality in every phase of American life. A united, powerful, free trade union movement is a potent ally in the unrelenting fight against bigotry and intolerance. Those of us who are dedicated continuously to the attainment of complete civil rights and civil liberties for all people are gladdened by the merger news."

Sign of the Times

By Carl Goodman

"From Paris . . . a friend sends a request for some paper-backed thriller novels. He is hankering for some good 'strong American reading, and he told me to be sure to choose only male authors."

"But since I'd never get a better chance to stand up for the equality of women, I promptly sent him a parcel of vigorous works written by women."

The author of the foregoing lines is Liberate, the popular entertainer, in his Feb. 27 column, Liberate Speaking, in the N. Y. Sunday Mirror.

Liberate a champion of women's equality? This is an important symptom. A sign of the times. It is another measure of the widespread demand among American women for equal status with men.

For Liberate makes a fortune appealing to women. He has a mass following among them and is sensitive to what they want.

In the factories women want equal pay with men and the right to get jobs or hold on to those they have.

In art, science, politics and all other fields of endeavor women are demanding an end to sex prejudice and recognition on the basis of merit.

Liberate doesn't know it, but he is manipulating with a revolutionary desire, destined to bring great numbers of women in conflict with capitalist society which

promotes male supremacy. This will lead them to socialist conclusions.

How Liberate will act when he finds this out is another question. In the meantime he does a good job arguing the case for women's equality.

Explaining why women have not yet accomplished a great deal in his own field of music "since they have come into competition with men," he says: "There is plenty of excuse for the delay. Until not too long ago, women were supposed to have only a 'pretty' talent for music, just a social asset."

"Anyone who knows the people in music . . . knows them for a positive lot. A man who can't respect his own art has no place in music. There are too many strong egos there ready to devour him unless he develops an ego of his own. Well, for a girl to show any kind of competitive fury a few years ago would have marked her 'vulgar' and 'common,' the two worst things she could be called."

But women have made progress in music, and Liberate documents it. He concludes with an anecdote: "You might be amused to hear the comment of a critic (male) on a concerto for piano and orchestra composed by Miss (Marion) Bauer. This critic found the work so excellent that he found it difficult to believe that it hadn't been written by a man."

Notes from the News

ILLINOIS WITCH-HUNTER Paul W. Broyles got his twice-vetoed "anti-subversive" bill off to a flying start in this session of the state legislature. The State Senate passed the bill 32 to 15, on a test roll-call vote. The proposed law, which provides for 20-year prison sentences, would outlaw the Communist Party, impose a teacher's oath, and establish a political blacklist of some 260 organizations. The American Legion supports the bill. The American Association of University Professors, American Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Congress and other organizations oppose it.

ASSAULT ON THE TEXTILE UNIONS was foreshadowed by the announcement of 48 cotton-rayon mills, employing 50,000 of the 65,000 CIO cotton-rayon workers in the North, that they were cancelling contracts with the TWU-A-CIO as of April 15. The mill owners took this action despite an offer by the union to ask for nothing when the present contracts expired but to renew existing contracts for one year. Average earnings in the mills are \$1.35. There has been no pay increase since 1951 and in 1952 the workers took a wage cut of 8 1/2 cents an hour.

IN KENTUCKY, mainly in the coal-mining counties, 238,000 persons are hardship cases and are being fed with Department of Agriculture surplus foods.

ANTI-SEMITISM in employment is far more widespread than expected, according to the Jewish Labor Committee. Martin Gerber, New York regional director of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, reported on an employment survey made in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The list of biased employers, he said, "reads like a who's who of major American industry and services." Out of 3,700 business concerns that

placed job orders with employment agencies in the last two years, 1,000 excluded Jews. One out of four requests for office workers instructed agencies not to refer Jews. While 16% of all job seekers were Jews, they constituted only 11% of all referrals by the agencies, and 6% of all job placements.

EISENHOWER APPOINTEE to head Wage Hour Division in the Labor Department is Newell Brown who is under investigation by that same department for his lobbying for the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies. Brown is chairman of the Interstate Conference. In his home state, New Hampshire, he was noted for his anti-labor attitude. In Washington he lobbied against proposals to improve unemployment benefits. Union officials have charged that the Interstate Conference which operates with federal funds, has links with Unemployment Benefit Advisers, Inc., a lobby which gets big contributions from Big Business to oppose improvements in the jobless pay laws.

EASY MONEY AMBASSADOR Julius C. Holmes has been appointed U.S. Ambassador to Iran. At the Senate hearing on his qualifications it was brought out that Holmes had been in a government surplus tanker deal with a former Congressman and others that brought him a \$270,000 profit on a \$10,000 investment. Holmes explained that the profit (2,700%) wasn't excessive. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman George (D-Ga.) declared: "I'll vote to approve Holmes. The only thing he did was to make an extremely successful investment."

FARM INCOME SHRANK by \$4,250,000,000 since 1947, according to Senator Anderson, (D-N.M.). In the same period the national income increased more than \$100 billion.

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1955

NUMBER 10

THE MILITANT

"Secret Political Opinions Of Auto Union Members"

By George Breitman

The overwhelming majority of organized American workers, it is agreed, today support the Democratic Party. But do they all support it in the same way, for the same reasons, and to the same extent? And those union members who don't support the Democrats — how numerous are they, and where do their sympathies lie?

Answers to these questions would be of great help to those who want to convince the workers that they should quit supporting the Democratic Party and start building a Labor Party. Full and exact answers are not available, however. Which is all the more reason for studying with care whatever clues, hints and partial answers are at hand.

Partial and tentative answers can be drawn, I think, from an article in the January issue of UAW-CIO Ammunition, monthly publication of the auto union's education department. It was not written to aid or encourage advocates of a Labor Party, but it will be useful to us anyhow, if only as food for thought.

The article is entitled "Secret Political Opinions of UAW Members." It is based on a survey made last summer by Rita Feiler, University of Michigan political scientist, among 400 students at the Michigan UAW-CIO Summer School held at Lakeport, Mich.

Now of course most UAW members don't go to summer schools; students at these schools usually come from that section of the membership that participates in union meetings, holds local office or aspires to hold it, etc. But in other respects — age level, job seniority, length of union membership, sex, education — the 400 students seem to be fairly representative of the auto union's membership.

UNIONS AND POLITICS
As an index to the thinking of UAW members as a whole, the poll may be defective, but I don't think it is deliberately or grossly slanted. For one thing, some of the answers were not the kind that Walter Reuther and Co. were happy to hear. Anyhow, this survey offers something to go on, whatever reservations its limited character may suggest.

The poll showed that it's no longer necessary to convince union members of the need for political action. "Almost unanimously, they believe the union should take an active role in politics. Only two per cent believed the union should not take any part."

"Almost to a man," the article



CIO auto workers join in a coffee-break outside the Studebaker-Packard Corp. plant in Vernon, Calif., after it had been closed down in a dispute over speedup. The 650 workers affected charged the closing was a lockout and a strike vote was authorized. According to the United Auto Workers, current production schedules require 100 more men.

says, "the students questioned considered themselves Democrats. Ninety per cent, for example, said they regarded themselves as Democrats, while only two per cent considered themselves to be Republicans. Five per cent called themselves Independents."

Approximately the same results were reached when "a list of political alternatives that included the Republican Party, the Socialist Party and an independent labor party" was presented for their choice. "82 per cent, more than eight out of ten, said the Democratic Party offered most to them as trade union members. Six per cent thought an independent labor party offered most, while one per cent put their money on the Republican Party."

WHY PRO-DEMOCRATIC?

Let's stick for the time being to the 90 per cent who consider themselves Democrats, or the 82 per cent who think the Democrats have most to offer labor. Are they all pro-Democratic for the same reasons? Another section of the article indicates that they are not:

"Most — four out of ten — want the union to support candidates without respect to their party affiliation on the basis of their records in office.

"The next largest group — three out of ten — want the union to work closely with the Democratic Party."

"The third group — two out of ten — want the union to work with the Democratic Party but to make the Democratic Party over into a Labor Party."

"Fewer than one out of 20 want to organize a Third Party, based on the labor movement. It's evident from this that allegiance to the Democratic Party is not uniform even among the three groups that favor continued support of the Democrats."

The first group, while actually backing the Democrats most of the time, still speaks in terms of "non-partisanship," a la Compters. The second group is apparently pro-Democrat, pure and simple, without reservation. The third group is for the Democrats either because it cannot see any alternative today, or because it has the illusion that the Democratic Party can be captured and transformed into a Labor Party.

The labor bureaucrats straddle these three positions and seek support from all three of these groups. For the benefit of the first group, they solemnly assert that they are not committed to any party, although in practice they support the Democrats 98 percent of the time and the

Democratic bosses lose no sleep worrying about where they will line up in elections. For the benefit of the third group, especially when the Democrats flout their pro-labor election promises, they are fond of explaining that support of the Democratic Party is only a tactic toward the eventual conversion of that party into something else — if not exactly a Labor Party, then at least something that will serve labor's interests.

Temporarily the labor bureaucrats are able to keep all three of these groups together behind a common practical policy. But the three groups are not solid, have different goals in mind and will tend under pressure to pull in different directions. This spells eventual trouble for the labor bureaucrats and their present political line.

CAN LABOR PARTY WIN?

Moreover, present political views are not hardened permanent or unchangeable. Even the Ammunition article takes note of this fact. After showing that 70 per cent (the first and second groups) express no pro-Labor Party orientation whatever, it continues:

"That's for now, however. In days to come, things might be different, they thought. Almost half, 47 per cent, thought that some time in the future it might turn out that a labor party could win the Congress of the United States and elect a president. About three out of ten didn't think this ever would happen, while two out of ten just didn't know."

"They had more hope for the future in Michigan. Sixty per cent thought a labor party might elect a governor of Michigan some time in the future. Twenty-four per cent didn't think this would happen, while the rest said they didn't know."

This surely sheds a lot more light on the subject. Only about five per cent (the fourth group) want to organize a Labor Party now, and only about 25 per cent (the fourth and third groups added together) favor a Labor Party at all (although differing strongly over how it will be created). But almost 50 per cent think that a Labor Party can win power in this country in the future. And in Michigan — which is where this survey was made — 60 per cent think a Labor Party can win power on a state level in the future.

"They overwhelmingly did not feel any urgent need for a labor party," the Ammunition article hastily adds. "By a great majority, they did not think that the union political action program should be based on any labor party strategy, now or in the future."

True, but this poll cannot give unmitigated comfort to the labor bureaucrats. For at the same time that the majority of the workers reject a Labor Party perspective, half or more concede that a Labor Party can come to power in the future. This is directly contrary to, and undermines, the labor bureaucrats' chief argument against a Labor Party — the false claim that it can't come to power.

Deprived of that argument, the bureaucrats will be in real trouble when, under the impact of further disillusioning experience with the Democratic Party, a majority of the workers will again review the Labor Party question. That's "some time in the future," of course, but not necessarily in the remote future.

What does it mean when a majority of workers say simultaneously that they are not for a Labor Party and that a Labor Party can come to power in the future? I won't try to exhaust all the possibilities in answering that question. But it seems pretty clear that while they are denying the need for a Labor Party and expressing their confidence

in the Democrats in one breath, they are unconsciously revealing their own uncertainty over their own pro-Democratic orientation in the next breath. (People who are completely and thoroughly convinced that the Democrats are the answer would be most unlikely to concede the possibility of a Labor Party coming to power. How could it come to power if the Democrats can give the workers exactly what they want and need?)

Perhaps I will be accused of over-optimism, of reading too much into the contradictory opinions expressed by the majority of the workers in the poll. I wouldn't want that to happen, and I don't want to be misunderstood.

Heavy majorities of the workers are in favor of the labor movement's coalition with the Democratic Party. This we know to be a fact independently of the UAW poll and would accept as a fact even if the poll showed something else. We're opposed to the coalition policy and want to convince the workers to abandon it for a Labor Party policy, but we can't deny that most workers support the coalition policy today.

But insofar as the UAW poll reflects the thinking of the workers generally, I think it is reasonable to say that a majority have contradictory feelings about labor's present political policy, and that already in the feelings of this majority is foreshadowed a coming change.

But leaving the majority aside I think there is still good reason for optimism about a Labor Party development — not in 1956, perhaps, but before 1960. For 20 per cent of the workers, according to this poll, are for the Democratic Party only because they want a Labor Party.

CORE OF FUTURE

They're wrong in thinking a capitalist party can be turned into a workers' party. But this is a mistake they will have plenty of opportunity to recognize and do something about as they go through the experience of trying to capture and change the Democratic Party. We shall continue to show them the error of such an attempt, and we can afford to be both patient and confident about the outcome. As a result of either their further experience or our arguments, or both, most of the workers in this group will end up in the Labor Party camp.

And even if we leave aside the workers in this 20 per cent group — which we won't — there is still the hard core of pro-Labor Party workers, estimated in the UAW poll at five or six per cent, who have resisted all the pressures, enticements and phony propaganda, and have stood firm and unshaken under the banner of class independence in politics. Five or six per cent of the labor movement is a relatively small minority, but not a negligible one, since it represents around a million workers. Here is the core of the future Labor Party, and thereby of the coming socialist transformation of America.

Every movement starts as a minority, and the present five per cent minority can become the majority if it's properly organized, mobilized and led. Our job today — and the job of The Militant — is above all to reach this five per cent, to strengthen it in its convictions, to provide it with a long-range perspective of struggle, to arm it with ideas and arguments that will enable it to expand its numbers and influence, to help it select a leadership capable of guiding it to victory.

"Buffalo Should Be Allowed To Volunteer for Suicide . . ."

By Theodore Kovalesky

BUFFALO — A millionaire, protesting against the U.S. Army's invasion of his polo field, has stirred up a hornet's nest in the Buffalo area. And an engineer who felt it was his American right to tell the people the truth is feeling the pressure of the authorities.

The army has been hard at work setting up a ring of Nike (guided missile) bases around Buffalo, and one of the locations they chose was the polo field of the huge Seymour H. Knox estate in the nearby town of Aurora. Now it is all very well to set up anti-aircraft units of one kind or another, but one just doesn't desecrate a millionaire's polo field. One has certain rights, you know, concerning one's polo fields, and this is, well, a bit thick.

It comes out now that the Knox family's protests have held up the project some four months while Washington authorities have been attempting to pacify them by finding some other location. Unfortunately however, the Knox polo field seems to be just smack dab in the middle of the spot where the Army's strategy demands a Nike base to be located.

GAIL'S BOMBHELL

The big news of the controversy, however broke when Albert Gail, a principal engineer at the Cornell Aeronautical laboratory issued an electrifying statement showing the ineffectiveness of the Nike in dealing with the terrible atomic and hydrogen

bombs. Pointing out that the Army has never claimed that the Nike has been able to hit a drone plane at a distance exceeding ten miles, he went on to say that the area of destruction of the hydrogen bomb is much more than that. This means that if the Nike hit a bomber carrying the hydrogen bomb, the bomb would either explode upon contact or when it crashed, wipe out the Nike base and all the surrounding area along with it.

In addition, said Mr. Gail, even if the Nike was not launched, but the Nike radar sent out its probing beams in search of the bomber, the bomber could use those very radar beams as a method of sighting its target. The scientist concluded that the best thing for the Nike base to do would be to shut off its radar and just hope the bomber would not find the city. "Buffalo should be allowed to volunteer for the suicide mission that is being planned for it," said Mr. Gail. Mr. Gail does not own a polo field. But he does have a home not far from the proposed site.

Since the Cornell engineer had the temerity to make his statement (and he appended to it a brief declaration in which he said he considered it the right of any man in a free country to make such a statement, he has been subjected to various forms of official pressure. The newspapers, after carefully explaining that Gail is a native German and a naturalized American citizen since 1937, report that it is being said unofficially that he will be re-investigated for top security clearance because of his public objection to the Aurora Nike site.

PRESSURE ON GAIL

In addition, the Courier-Express of Feb. 15 reported that Gail was called upon "by Ira G. Ross, director of the laboratory, to explain why he had entered the controversy over the location of the Nike site." Ross stated that while Gail said more than he should have he will remain in good standing at the laboratory. The Buffalo Evening News states that "the director added that the laboratory in no way supports what he said." Just how much more undisclosed pressure has been applied to the outspoken scientist we have no way of knowing as yet.

The Army nervously evaded the entire issue by an over-casual statement that Gail's objections could be "easily refuted," but refused to go into the matter because they did not have a copy of Mr. Gail's letter. Later they said they had not requested a copy of his letter and did not plan to request one. And of course they added their usual formula about "top secret information" as the final means of closing the subject.

For the residents of the Buffalo area, however, the subject is not closed. It was just a few days later when they read with horror the newspaper accounts of the range of destruction of hydrogen weapons, the account released to the American press with Eisenhower's sanction. They now know what they may expect if Washington's current crop of War Hawks hurl the world into an atomic war.

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