

Radio-TV "Equal Time" Rule Imperiled

Democrats, Republicans Seek Total Monopoly of Free Broadcast Time

By Harry Ring

JULY 1 — A deliberately fraudulent interpretation of a recent FCC ruling is being used as the smokescreen for a high-powered propaganda drive to destroy the "equal-time" provision of the Federal Communications Act.

Republican and Democratic leaders have joined with the broadcasting industry and the FCC itself in a Congressional drive to deprive independent and minor party candidates of their present minimum access to TV and radio and assure the major parties a total monopoly of these channels to the public.

The barrage against the equal-time regulation is centered around a recent FCC ruling in favor of Lar Daly, a candidate for Mayor of Chicago in 1958 who demanded TV time on the basis of several appearances by the incumbent on news programs. News accounts and indignant editorials have almost universally presented the ruling as a decision that broadcasters must now assume the "impossible" task of providing equal news coverage to all candidates.

But the FCC merely did in the Daly case what it should have done a long time ago. It ruled that when a station gives a candidate free time in the

guise of a news program it must give equal time to his opponents.

There is strong evidence, however, that the FCC regarded the Daly case as a weak one, deliberately selected it for its long overdue decision and then elaborated its ruling in order to hold the law itself up to public ridicule.

Backed up by the manufactured "furo" around the Daly decision, House and Senate committees will soon report out anti-equal-time bills. Among others, Senator Holland (D-Fla.) and Rep. Cunningham (R-Neb.) have introduced amendments to Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act to exempt news broadcasts from the section's equal-time proviso and to permit the broadcasters rather than the FCC to determine what constitutes a newscast.

An even more sweeping attack on equal time is contained in a bill introduced by Senator Vance Hartke, an Indiana Democrat who is being short-changed if he isn't on the broadcasters' payroll.

Among other things, his bill would deny equal time to presidential and vice-presidential candidates who polled less than four per cent of the popular vote in the previous election or filed nominating petitions representing less than one per cent of the vote in the previous election. Approximately 62 million votes were cast in 1956.

In addition to newscasts, Hartke would also exempt "bona fide news, debate or similar type program." Judgement of what is "bona fide" would rest with the broadcasters.

Hearings on the various bills were completed in the Senate Communications Subcommittee June 25. (See extracts from testimony by William A. Price of the New York United Independent-Socialist Committee page 4.) The House Commerce committee opened its hearings yesterday.

At these hearings, the broadcasters and other opponents of equal time gleefully flayed the Daly decision with hypocritical claims that it means an end to radio and TV coverage of elec-

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Harbor Strike In Ceylon Shakes Govt.

COLOMBO, CEYLON, June 6 — A harbor strike here has brought work in the entire port to a standstill and has raised the possibility of a general strike.

The port strike was initiated by the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samajist Party-led United Port Workers' Union over the issue of a monthly wage. The other port unions have also come out.

The Government has ordered the Army and Navy to work in the port and representatives of 11 unions met today to decide on the steps to take. These unions, with a million members, struck on March 3 against the Public Security amendment.

The Bandaranaike government has a bare majority in the lower House in the face of unprecedented labor unrest. It might collapse any day.

Durban Negroes Fight Poverty and Jim Crow

What was behind the incredibly savage South African police attack on the Negro residents of the Cato Manor ghetto in the city of Durban June 19 and 20?

The pitched battle between 500 cops armed with sub-machine guns, revolvers and clubs and the 23,000 unarmed Africans in Cato Manor erupted when the police swooped down on the area to destroy home-made stills operated by the women there to add a few cents to their substandard incomes. The infuriated women responded to the police action by marching fearlessly to shut down state-operated beer halls. Five African men were killed by the police and 24 African men and women injured.

The move to destroy the stills was just one injury too many to the people of Cato Manor who have long suffered hunger, disease and brutal repressions as a result of tyrannical white rule.

AVERAGE WAGE

Poverty is general in Cato Manor. The average wage is less than \$10 a week. A continuing rise in the cost of living has reduced the people to near-starvation levels.

Although reports of the police assault at Cato Manor in the major American dailies are prejudiced against the Negroes, living conditions at Cato Manor are so shocking that the most biased correspondent could not help but report some of the facts.

The people of Cato Manor "live in crowded squalor," reported the June 22 New York Times. "Their shacks are of tin and tied together with wire. Refuse litters the streets and a stench hangs over the area."

"African women scream at their children as they tend their cooking pots. The children, themselves, naked or half-naked, are often rickety-legged and pot-bellied. There is little for them to eat. Tuberculosis is rife.

"This poverty was at the heart of the rioting..."

In a similar vein, the June 23 New York Herald-Tribune reported: "The Cato Manor eruption... shows that many of the urbanized Africans have been driven to extremes of frustration and aggravation—partly from causes of their own making, largely from the injustices of the white-dominated racial caste system which pervades South Africa."

"Although it was the destruction of their illicit liquor stills that angered some of the women into starting the riots, this is but one of dozens of African grievances..."

"The disabilities from which those in Cato Manor suffer under South African law are multitudinous. Here are just a few of them: "Africans in the 'locations' can own their own shacks but cannot own the land on which the shacks stand. There is no privacy. Police can enter their premises day or night, without a warrant."

"Every male African must be in possession of a 'reference book' containing his personal record and credentials. To be caught without it means arrest. This 'pass' system is being gradually extended to women, causing considerable resentment..."

"The extent of this 'resentment' is described in the New York Times dispatch. 'No white ventures into Cato Manor on foot at night. Even during the day, the deeper a white gets into the area the more sullenly and grudgingly do the Africans make way for him. The police warn whites who are driving that if by chance they are involved in an accident, or knock anybody down, they must not stop, but should report the accident to the nearest police station.'"

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Two Parties Knife Hopes For Stiff Civil Rights Law

Few Schools To Integrate Next Fall

Little change in Southern school integration is expected next fall. The sixth year of integration under the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954 order will still see 2.5 million Negro pupils in segregated school districts and only a half million in "integrated situations." Of this half million only a small percentage will actually attend classes together with whites. (Even if only one Negro student is going to a former lily-white school, the entire school district is called "integrated.")

There will be several key contests next fall nevertheless. In Little Rock, on June 25, the new school board officially announced plans to desegregate the schools according to the July 6 U.S. News and World Report. This announcement came after a three-judge federal court voided the state law which Governor Faubus used last fall to close the schools and block integration.

THREATENS VIOLENCE

Faubus, however, continued to threaten that violence would attend the reopening of the Little Rock schools. "If forced integration does come," he declared, "it will also bring bomb scares, trouble in the schools, incidents of various kinds, a great deal of friction outside the schools." In 1957, Faubus' similar "warnings" about violence were the screen behind which racists organized to forcibly prevent nine Negro children from attending Little Rock's Central High School. Intervention of federal troops enabled integration to take place that year.

Elsewhere in the South, new tests are expected in Virginia. In Texas, the NAACP is suing for integration in the big cities, all of whose school districts are still lily-white. In Florida, Dade County school board has assigned four Negroes to enter a white elementary school in Miami next September. There will be no integration whatever next fall in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi or South Carolina. In Georgia, a federal court has ordered the Atlanta school board to submit a desegregation plan, but this is not expected to go into effect this fall.

Do the Union Officials Oppose Gov't Control?

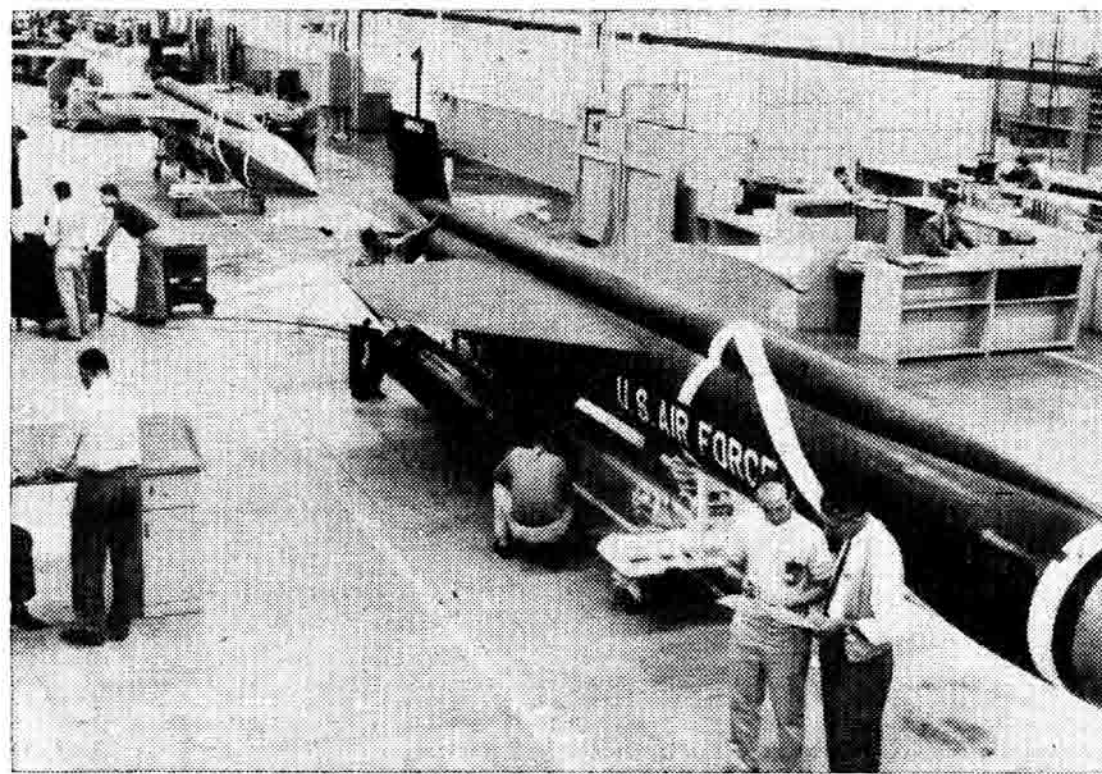
By Murry Weiss

After the sad experience of the labor movement with the consequences of supporting the "mild" Kennedy-Ervin "labor reform" bill, one would expect that the union officials would hesitate a long time before again venturing to back legislation that is supposed to do a "moderate" job of strangling the independence of the unions.

The fact is, however, that the AFL-CIO leadership is once again putting its head in the noose and asking for legislation that can only increase the already ominous control of the big business government over the internal affairs of the unions.

The Teamsters Union, for a while, had organized a head-on struggle against all government control-of-unions legislation. Teamsters hailed the stand of National Maritime Union president Joseph Curran, and United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis, that "you cannot compromise with the headsman's axe" when it comes to government interference in the unions. Now they have shifted their position and are proposing amendments to the Kennedy-Ervin bill

Biggest Boondoggle



Bomarc IM-99A missiles roll down assembly line at the Boeing Pilotless Aircraft Division Plant in Seattle. The Bomarc program, estimated at \$7½ billion, has been scored in Congress as a "billion dollar boondoggle" put over by high-pressure salesmanship. (See story page 3.)

Supreme Court Deals Rebuff To Witch Hunt in Industry

The U.S. Supreme Court, 8 to 1, on June 29 declared the federal government's witch-hunt program against three million industrial workers illegal. Unfortunately the basis of the ruling is technical rather than constitutional, so that a redrafted "loyalty" order by Eisenhower, couched in different terms but achieving the same end, may subsequently be accepted by the high court.

A ray of hope that the court may later adhere to the Bill of Rights is seen by some people in the fact that five justices joined in an opinion implying that the whole procedure of firing employees on secret denunciations would be unconstitutional anyhow. But these fine words count for nothing now. The legal content of the present decision is that neither Congress nor the President authorized those running the program to deny victims the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Since both Congress and Eisenhower are notorious supporters

of such procedure, the specific authorization may be expected forthwith.

The N. Y. Times dispatch of June 29 explains: "This constitutional question has been pressed on the court for a decade, but it has avoided the issue by deciding every case on some other ground. The court did so again today..." In the ten years the court has dodged the issue, thousands of workers in plants with defense orders have been fired, harassed and intimidated; moreover, the FBI has been permitted to set up a network of labor spies in the nation's plants and unions. Despite the present Supreme Court ruling, all this will continue.

The particular case ruled on was that of W. L. Greene, an aeronautical engineer and executive with enough patience and finances to fight his screening. He was fired on Navy orders from a plant whose main defense contract was for a device designed by him. It took him a year just to get a statement of charges. These proved to be al-

legations by faceless informers that his former wife, Jean, divorced eight years before, had bought books, associated with people and gone to a dinner — all of a suspected, unorthodox political nature. Moreover, over his denials, it was asserted that Greene secretly agreed with "Jean's wild theories." Without letting Greene question his secret accusers, or indeed without ever being able to question them himself, the board found him guilty.

Whether Greene will get his old job back with back pay or whether he will be immediately re-fired on the basis of a new executive order or law, is not yet certain.

Federal loyalty officials expressed confidence that most of their program will weather the high court's ruling.

RICH GET RICHER

A New York Times article reports that in 1956 about 200 persons in the United States reported a taxable income of one million dollars or more.

Congressmen Consider Token Gesture as Race Opens for 1960 Votes

By George Lavan

The biennial sham battle on civil rights is underway in Congress. As in 1957 there is a good likelihood something bearing the label "civil rights" will be passed. That

it will be worth much more than the paper it is written on is far from likely in view of the composition of Congress and the motives of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

The Negro people's agitation and pressure for their rights, which are being violated wholesale throughout the South, is the central issue of U.S. domestic politics. But none of the bills introduced in Congress attempt to cope with the situation — all are designed to get the issue out of the way of the 1960 conventions and presidential elections.

Bills have been introduced by administration forces, the Southern overseer of the Senate — Lyndon Johnson, and the ineffectual Northern liberals. All bills are extremely weak and limited with the liberals' bills slightly less weak than the others — as is to be expected in view of their large Negro and labor constituencies.

The administration and Johnson bills would extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for another two years and would give it power to inspect state election records. But it would give this window-dressing committee no more power than to investigate and report.

To date it has been a marvel of impotence — its first year was spent in getting organized, its second in being defied with impunity by racist officials.

Other inoffensive provisions nibbling at the edges of civil rights are found in both bills — a "conciliation" service for areas beset by integration disputes, penalties for interstate hate bombers, etc.

The Douglas and Celler bills, backed by the Northern liberals, differ from the others mainly in including the Part III compromised out of the 1957 Civil Rights Law. This would permit the U.S. Attorney General to ask for court injunctions against state officials threatening to violate civil rights. At present the aggrieved individuals themselves must in-

First Death Penalty For White Rapist Of Negro Woman?

A 19-year-old Marine in South Carolina may be the first white man ever to be given a death sentence in the South for raping a Negro woman. The death penalty for rape has always been used exclusively against Negroes charged with rape of white women.

An all-white jury in Beaufort, S.C., last week, however, brought in a guilty verdict against Private Fred Davis accused of raping a local Negro woman.

No recommendation of mercy was made by the jury. This makes a sentence of death mandatory by South Carolina law. Davis has a record of previous assaults against white women and children.

itate and pay for such legal action.

The Douglas bill could be a help to Negroes in the South if the Attorney General aggressively exercised the power. But the Douglas bill severely limits the chances by providing (1) that aggrieved parties must first send in signed complaints — which many Negroes fear to do; and (2) that the Attorney General may act only in cases where he establishes that the aggrieved individual is too poor to go to court himself and is under force and duress.

Though the Democratic and Republican politicians hope to clear the civil-rights issue out of the 1960 campaign, and though the Negro-labor-liberal leadership will hold up a crumb as "half-a-loaf," the Negro masses and their allies will not be placated with a rotten compromise. Their anger will continue to make civil rights the key issue.

and have drafted their own "bill of rights" in place of the one introduced by Senator McClellan. (See June Teamster magazine.)

The immediate motive behind these moves appears to be the estimate of the union leaders that there is no immediate danger of this session of Congress passing any labor control legislation. The labor officials are therefore trying to get themselves into what they regard as a position of strength for the propaganda battle over the issue of corruption in the unions.

In accordance with their whole mentality the union bureaucrats think only in terms of how the government of the capitalists shall exercise its control over the organization of the workers and not whether it should be allowed to do so. By arguing the "how," the bureaucrats imagine they will appear more reasonable and this will appease the anti-union crusaders.

This is a first-class blunder. The moment the union busters get the debate on the ground of how the government shall control the unions they have won

the main point and the struggle for union independence suffers accordingly.

After the Kennedy-Ervin bill passed the Senate 90-to-1 with the McClellan "bill of rights" amendments included, the AFL-CIO officials felt the noose tightening around their necks. This was a frightening experience for them. After a period of squirming they came out in sharp opposition to the bill in its amended form. In the first period of their belated opposition the AFL-CIO leaders confined themselves to exposing the anti-union features of the bill (and arguing, of course, that it would weaken the fight against Communism). Now they have adopted a "positive" position in favor of a "moderate" labor control measure of the original Kennedy-Ervin type.

But what if this new "moderate" measure is again amended to beef up the government intervention and control clauses? And what is supposed to prevent the so-called friends of labor in Congress from again voting for such amendments as every single one of them did the last time? The union officials

have no answers to these questions.

Two fundamental aspects of the class struggle between labor and capital are reflected by this legislative struggle. First, it shows the powerful pressure emanating from the top bracket of monopoly capital to curb, cripple and ultimately smash the unions. Second, it discloses the real policy and character of the present leadership of the labor movement.

The fact is that the labor bureaucracy does not really oppose government control of the unions — it only wants to be included as a partner in the exercise of that control. The labor bureaucracy accommodated itself in every way to the inexorable encroachments of the government against union independence during the Roosevelt "New Deal" and the Truman "Fair Deal."

POLICED UNIONS

During World War II the labor bureaucracy policed the unions for the capitalist war government. In return for the no-strike pledge that they gave to the government, the union

bureaucrats received "maintenance of membership" clauses and other devices designed to insure them against a rank and file union upsurge.

The big business government and the union officials were satisfied with this arrangement. The government never dreamed of complaining that the union officials were crushing union democracy in the course of carrying out their bargain, and the union officials never complained about government interference so long as this interference served to strengthen their positions and assure their dictatorship over the unions. Only the coal miners in 1943, along with hundreds of thousands of other workers didn't like the arrangement and broke through the no-strike pledge with massive struggles. Despite this the war witnessed a deepening of the process of intermeshing of the union bureaucracy and the capitalist government.

With the beginning of the cold war the union officials again put themselves at the service of the imperialist ruling class. Under the pressure of the U.S. State

Department, the union officials lined up behind the fight against the "red menace." And again they used this intervention of the government into the unions to beat down all opposition to the consolidation of their rule. With the government witch hunt raging, the union officials picked up the anti-communist club and went after all opponents or potential opponents and drove them out of the movement.

Thus, during World War II and during the cold war, two interrelated processes took place: (1) the bureaucracy fell increasingly into the embrace of the capitalist government and the government gained a firmer grip on the top echelons of the union movement; (2) the crushing of union democracy proceeded alongside the curtailment of labor's independence from the capitalist government.

BOSSSES WANT MORE

From the point of view of the capitalist class, the basic contradiction in this set-up is as follows: As the world and domestic crisis of capitalism sharpens, the capitalist class

(Continued on Page 4)

Pacifism and China

By Leon Trotsky

Is it possible to prevent a nuclear war in any other way than by overhauling our economy and converting it from a capitalist to a socialist structure? Many well-intentioned people would say yes. In their opinion another war is so horrible to contemplate that it cannot be permitted to occur. At the same time, they believe that it is utopian to seek a socialist victory in America and the other major capitalist powers. Consequently they confine their "peace" efforts to pacifist demonstrations and propaganda against war in general.

To many people, the issues in this debate may seem to be fresh. Actually they are very old. The same arguments were used on the eve of World War I and again on the eve of World War II.

The following brief presentation of Trotsky's views on the subject are, therefore, of timely interest. In response to questions from a journalist, Trotsky gave his opinion on the value of the peace propaganda that was being pushed in 1937 primarily by the Communist International (Comintern).

He also indicated his attitude toward the war raging at the time between Japan and China, and the role of the Chinese Communist Party which was supporting Chiang Kai-shek. The reader can judge for himself how closely Trotsky's forecasts, dated Sept. 25, 1937, were confirmed by events.

For a fuller treatment of this entire subject see "Three Wars in One" by Daniel Roberts in the current International Socialist Review. —Editor.

The so-called peace organizations, including the working class organizations, do not in the least constitute an obstacle to the war. The numerous peace conferences, organized mainly by the Comintern, are purely theatrical enterprises without the least effectiveness; in time of war all these peace leaders, all these pious and humanitarian ladies and gentlemen, will return to their governments to support them in the war as they did in 1914-1918.

The only political factor which today hinders the outbreak of war is the fear, on the part of the governments, of the social revolution. Hitler himself has said it many times. We must draw the logical conclusions from this: the more revolutionary the working class, the more are these latter prevented from carrying out their designs to make a new division of the world by armed force.

At the same time we must carefully distinguish between the imperialist countries and the backward countries, colonial and semi-colonial. The attitude of the working class organizations in and toward these two groupings cannot be the same. The present war between China and Japan is a classic example. It is absolutely indisputable that on the part of Japan, it is a war of rapine and that, on the part of China, it is a war of national defense. Only conscious or unconscious agents of Japanese imperialism can put the two countries on the same plane.

That is why we can only feel pity or hatred for those who, in the face of the Sino-Japanese war declare that they are opposed to all wars, to wars altogether.

The war is already a fact. The working-class movement cannot remain neutral in a struggle between those who wish to enslave and those who are enslaved. The working-class movement in China, Japan and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army.

This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang Kai-shek. In the past, above all in 1925-27, the general was already dependent upon working-class organizations in his military struggle against the Chinese generals of the North, agents of foreign imperialism. In the end, he crushed the working-class organizations by armed force in 1927-28. We must learn the lessons from this experience which resulted from the fatal policies of the Comintern in participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working-class organizations must preserve their entire political independence of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The Communist Party of China again, as in 1924-25, is making violent efforts to turn over the Chinese working-class movement politically to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. It is a crime all the more horrible because it is being committed for the second time.

At the same time, the remedy does not lie in the working-class organizations declaring themselves "against all wars" and folding their arms in an attitude of passive treason, but rather in participating in the war, aiding the Chinese people materially and morally, and simultaneously educating the masses of peasants and workers in the spirit of total independence of the Kuomintang and its government. We do not attack Chiang Kai-shek for conducting the war. Oh, no. We attack him for doing it badly, without sufficient energy, without confidence in the people and especially in the workers.

A pacifist who has the same attitude towards China as towards Japan in this terrible conflict is like one who would identify a lockout with a strike. The working-class movement is against a lockout of the exploiters and for a strike of the exploited. At the same time, strikes are often led by misleaders who are capable of betraying the working-class movement during the strike. This is no reason for workers to refuse to participate in the strike but it is reason for mobilizing the working masses against the defections and the treason of the leadership. It often happens that during or after a strike the organized masses change their leadership. This can very well happen in China. But this change can be favorable for the people only if the Chinese and international working-class organizations support China against Japan.

The Struggle Against Racism in London

(Attacks on colored people in Notting Hill in London have become as notorious throughout the world as racist outrages in Little Rock or Poplarville, United States, or in Durban, South Africa. The following article, dealing with the source of racism in London and with how to combat it, is by Gerry Healy, general secretary of the Socialist Labor League. It is reprinted from the May 30 Newsletter, weekly publication of the League. — Ed.)

I. Fascism Offers a Scapegoat

Fifteen years after the horrors of Belsen, Buchenwald and the other fascist concentration camps, the menace of fascism is once again raising its head in western Europe.

De Gaulle's victory in France a year ago, and the brutal atrocities against colonial peoples in Algeria, Cyprus, Kenya and Nyasaland, have strengthened the fascist demagogues in their belief that the hour is approaching.

Notting Hill is a training ground for the fascists. In this district, inhabited by some of the poorest of the white population of the metropolis, and by 10,000 colored immigrants, the fascists have for months been active, trying to whip up racial tension.

Notting Hill is a slum landlord's paradise. Many of its buildings are old; whole streets are in decay; yet exorbitant rents are charged and overcrowding is rife.

Nobody has bothered about the people who live in Notting Hill. To the official leaders of the Labor Party they are "backward" people. To the capitalist press they are "rowdies." To sociologists they are subjects for high-powered "investigations."

Yet there is nothing unusual about Notting Hill. When poor whites living a hand to mouth existence look around for a way out of their difficult conditions they do not turn to history books.

They provide ready-made material for the fascist demagogues who tell them that the cause of their troubles is the "niggers" or the "spades."

But in reality the fascists care nothing about color. In Spain, in 1936, the fascist General Franco was quick to use Moorish troops against the working people of Spain.

For the fascists the color bar is the same sort of pretext that anti-Semitism was in East London in the thirties. It is simply a means of dividing working people on racial lines, and so preventing them from organizing in common action to improve their conditions.

TWO VOICES OF FASCISM

Fascism takes root primarily among the lower middle class and among the less skilled and less advanced sections of the working class. And in Notting Hill fascism speaks with two voices.

To the lower middle class it says: "We love peace and hate violence. All we want is for the colored people to go back to their own countries."

In the slum streets it says to the young people: "Have a go at the niggers."

Among the middle class, the fascists try to create the feeling that prosperity will return if the colored people are not allowed to enter Britain.

Among the poor people, the fascists are busy spreading all kinds of lies to inflame their passions and to divert their quite justified indignation against racketeer landlords, employers and Tories into indignation against a scapegoat: the man with a differently colored skin.

That was exactly Hitler's propaganda method in the late twenties and early thirties.

Notting Hill today is a breeding ground for future British Hitlers. That is why all serious workers must understand what is going on there, and what can be done to put matters right.

II. The Meaning of Notting Hill

There are nearly half a million unemployed in Britain, and unemployment is rising among young people. Unskilled workers are the worst affected.

The Tory government helps the employing class in its offensive against the trade unions, and hopes that unemployment will provide a means of weakening organized labor.

The employers and the Tory government want a "show-down" with the trade unions. And the same type of industrialist who supported Hitler in Germany — there are many of them in this country — understands very well that a show-down with the unions raises the question of the destruction of the unions as an organized force.

These industrialists think along exactly the same lines as the fascists are thinking. If we were permitted to see

British Labor Hits Tests



Part of crowd of 12,000 that demonstrated last year in London's Trafalgar Square against nuclear tests. The rally was called by the British Labor Party. Currently, left-wingers in the party are agitating for Britain's complete unilateral nuclear disarmament. A conservative union, the General and Municipal Workers Union, has also demanded recently that Britain stop the manufacture of nuclear weapons and bar them from British territory.

Never in a million years. The Tory government is the agency by which the big business men of the City of London rule this country.

When this agency becomes inadequate and the employers can no longer rule through parliament they will do what they did in Italy and Germany: they will pour millions of pounds into the building of fascist movements.

Fascism and parliamentary democracy are two ways in which the employers rule. And you cannot expect a government which defends the employers' interests to do anything serious about stopping the fascists, who seek to serve the employers.

TORY INSTRUMENT
The police force is the instrument of the Tory government, and is open to fascist ideas and fascist influences.

Only recently a young colored worker nearly lost his life while cleaning windows at Scotland Yard itself. Over 100 policemen were interrogated, in an effort to find out who cut the ropes of his platform. But, so far as is known, it was never discovered who did it.

Inside the police force there does exist sympathy with fascist ideas. The Committee for African Organizations says colored citizens in Britain have lost confidence in the ability of the police to protect them.

This does not mean that the police cannot and will not on occasion prosecute individual thugs who attack colored people. But what they cannot and will not do is deal with fascism as a mortal enemy of organized labor.

To crush fascism an iron hand is needed. Only the organized Labor movement has that iron hand. What is needed is the will to use it.

IV. Self-Defense Against Fascism

In line with their general policy of betrayal of the workers' interests, the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party do their utmost to prevent the Labor movement from understanding what is involved in the racial disturbances, and from taking any effective action.

"Leave it to the police," they cry. "Law and order," echo the "liberal" press and the Tory press, regardless of the fact that if colored people are frightened to walk the streets, that is fascist "order."

Under the eyes of the police things go from bad to worse in Notting Hill. Knifings and beatings are commonplace, night after night.

The Right-wing Labor leaders want to immobilize the working-class movement.

III. Can the Police Do the Job?

Can the Tory government and its police fight the fascist menace?

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The Socialist Labor League wants to see the working-class movement swing into action against the thugs.

The Socialist Labor League has proposed the setting-up of workers' defense committees and defense squads, consisting of white and colored trade unionists.

The job of these committees and defense squads would be to protect the persons, lives, property, homes and civil liberties of all victims of the fascists and their dupes.

They would by their mere presence make it impossible for the racists to show their faces or distribute their inflammatory propaganda.

The defense committees would carry out a widespread publicity campaign, explaining to white youth the falsity and bad faith of fascist propaganda, answering the lies about immigration and immigrants, pointing out that only a united working class can resist the employers' offensive against jobs, wages and conditions.

The defense committees would make themselves responsible for providing material and financial aid to colored people who had been attacked, replacing spoiled furniture and clothing and broken windows, not as an act of charity, but as a means of demonstrating in practice the solidarity of white and colored workers.

PRESS ATTACKS LEAGUE'S PROPOSALS

The capitalist press is howling about the Socialist Labor League's proposal for the establishment of workers' defense squads. It is seeking to turn attention away from the fascists' brutality.

The Socialist Labor League makes it absolutely clear that these proposed defense committees and defense squads would not be for the purpose of attacking anyone.

They would simply be a means of self-defense for the workers against fascist provocation and fascist thuggery.

If the fascists stop knocking people about and the thugs stop knifing people, then there will be no need whatever for the formation of workers' defense squads.

Those responsible for unleashing violence must take the consequences of their actions. The British Labor movement traditionally abhors violence — but it will be making a big mistake if it imagines that by ignoring

what is going on at Notting Hill it can avoid violence.

For every colored worker assaulted — or murdered — on the streets of North Kensington today, thousands of white trade unionists will be assaulted in days to come, unless we put a stop to this business now.

It is in the interests of white trade unionists to join forces with colored trade unionists in all areas where there is an immigrant population, so that a powerful united front can be built to defend the workers' traditional liberties.

How can workers' defense committees and defense squads be formed? First of all, London Labor must rally to the defense of the colored people of Notting Hill.

The Socialist Labor League proposes that there be held a conference of local Labor Parties, Communist Party branches, trades councils, shop stewards' committees and other working-class organizations, together with colored people's organizations.

Such a conference could consider all practical details, and could organize demonstrations and public meetings to carry forward the campaign.

Shop stewards' committees in the large factories should organize deputations of their members to visit Notting Hill and pledge support to the colored people.

Let Labor break down the intolerable isolation of colored people from the Labor movement.

The capitalist press says workers' defense squads would be "strong-arm squads." We say: Let the strong arm of the organized working class protect the colored people in our midst from fascist violence.

Let us prove in deeds to the colored workers in our midst that British Labor is a mighty force, which has the strength and the determination to sweep the fascists off the streets.

A united front of the working class, colored and white, beginning through the whole Labor movement, is the only effective answer to fascism in Notting Hill.

The Socialist Labor League pledges that it will fight as hard as it can to make the proposals in this article a living reality.

DEMAND TEST BAN

A petition demanding a halt to nuclear tests has been presented to the United Nations by 2,000 American social workers.

Study of Jewish Life in U.S. Is Aug. Book-a-Month Choice

ADVENTURE IN FREEDOM. 300 Years of Jewish Life in America. By Oscar Handlin. New York: McGraw-Hill, 282 pp., 1954. (original price \$3.75. Book-a-month price \$1.25 including mailing charge.) Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

This survey of the history of the Jewish people in the United States is an excellent general introduction.

Whereas the armies of the French Revolution, marching into Germany, uprooted feudal relations and among other things conferred citizenship and civil rights upon Jews there, Jews in America had been possessed of such rights for almost 150 years. It was only in the latter part of the 19th Century that social conditions produced an American anti-Semitism which marked off Jewish immigrants and their descendants from other immi-

grants, such as the Germans, to whom they had previously been popularly likened.

A great influx of East European Jews, lasting from the end of the 19th Century till just after World War I, created the ghettos, such as New York's famous Lower East Side, where masses of impoverished Jews were crowded together in slums. So poor they had to go to work in the sweatshops practically the morning after getting off the ship, these Jews produced almost all that is unique and valuable in the Jewish contribution to American culture. But to the well-established and Americanized German Jews they were a source of embarrassment and fear. Would not their poverty, foreignness and more rigid religious practices feed the fires of anti-Semitism which was already arising on the American scene?

Paradoxically, American anti-

Semitism received its first major expression in the Populist movement. Borrowing largely from European Jew-haters, many Populist leaders professed to see in the Jewish banker the arch-conspirator behind the gold standard, the thwarter of the panacea of the free coinage of silver. But American Jews never questioned their physical security in this country till the Great Depression and the example of Hitler in Germany produced the really dangerous anti-Semitic movement led by Father Coughlin.

This book has a few faults. For example, the author refers to the deleterious role of the Communist Party in the women's garment union, without explaining what it was, as if to denigrate it. Communist were sufficient proof. Among sins of omission is failure to consider whether another great depression might again produce an anti-Semitic movement like that cut short by World War II.

Despite such shortcomings, this is a very useful book for readers both of Jewish and non-Jewish backgrounds because of its comprehensive information and its relating of the Jews in America to their social environment. G. L.

Text of a Debate

Send for the full text of a debate on "Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?"

Carl Haessler, former editor of the Federated Press, says, "Yes!"

George Breitman, former editor of the Militant, says, "No!"

25 cents a copy, 18 cents a copy for orders of 10 or more. Postpaid. Friday Night Socialist Forum 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.

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Three Wars in One

What course is the most effective one to prevent World War III?

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Does the correct answer lie in the direction of socialist struggle; or is there a more effective way?

Study of the sharp dispute over the character of World War II, and of the different policies advocated then, offers illumination on this key issue facing all those today who want a world of peace.

Read "Three Wars in One" by Daniel Roberts in the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Take part of your vacation to catch up on those books and pamphlets you've meant to read. Here is our recommended list, including several new publications that deserve consideration for your permanent library.

Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, by Karl Marx. You may have heard of these rare productions by the 26-year-old genius and wished you could read them. Now they have finally been translated into English. 209 pp. \$1.

Principles of Communism, by Frederick Engels. One of the best introductions to the Marxist outlook. 18 pp. 15 cents.

The Irregular Movement of History, by William F. Warde. A highly readable explanation of the laws of uneven and combined development, with striking examples of how they work out. 51 pp. 25 cents.

Introduction to the Logic of Marxism, by William F. Warde. Lectures on dialectical materialism that make it easier to understand a difficult subject. 73 pp. \$1.

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The Wall Between, by Anne Braden. The absorbing story of what happened when the Bradens helped buy a home for a Negro family in a white neighborhood. 306 pp. \$3. (Regularly \$5.)

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Trotsky's Diary in Exile: 1935. From Erich Fromm's review: "This is a modest man; proud of his cause, proud of the truth he discovers, but not vain or self-centered. . . . Just as was the case with Marx, here was the concern, understanding and sharing of a deeply loving man which shines through Trotsky's diary." 218 pp. \$4.

Literature and Revolution. A Marxist classic of the relation between proletarian politics and art. 256 pp. \$1.98.

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By James P. Cannon

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The History of American Trotskyism. The story of the difficult struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in the heartland of world capitalism. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75; paper \$2.

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Merchants of Nuclear Death

If you want to make a quick piece of change, get yourself an armaments contract. That is one of the conspicuous lessons that can be drawn from the two-day discussion in the House of Representatives over the \$40-billion war budget.

Alfred E. Santangelo (D-N.Y.) cited the examples of three companies:

"Boeing from 1952 to 1958 was able to increase its capital investment on the basis of profits made almost entirely from Government contracts from \$34 million to \$145 million. In 1958, Boeing made \$29 million profits after taxes. . . .

"Douglas Aircraft in 1953 had a private capital investment of \$53 million. In 1957, Douglas had a private capital investment of \$111 million and made a profit of \$30,665,000 after taxes. . . .

"Lockheed in 1953 had a private capital investment of \$57 million. Today it has a private capital investment of \$129 million. In 1958, after taxes, they made a profit of \$18,556,000."

Santangelo's complaint was directed only at what he called "excessive profits," not profits in general made by these merchants of death.

And his complaint comes from what one suspects is a tainted source: ". . . it seems that most of these contracts are going to companies who have their plants out West. Eastern contractors are losing their work and the loss of contracts is depressing areas in the East, in New York and Maryland."

Through an amendment he offered, Santangelo sought to "give all companies an equal chance. . . ." If the companies he represents were to get that equal chance, would this Democrat still oppose "excessive profits"?

Santangelo confined his exposure to ten companies handling negotiated contracts (where no bidding is involved) for the government. The amount involved in the fiscal year of 1958 amounted to \$6,672,791,430. What the "excessive profits" might amount to in the rest of the budget was not indicated by this spokesman of East-

ern capitalists interested specifically in aircraft, missile and radar contracts.

How did such companies as Boeing, Douglas and Lockheed succeed in negotiating contracts that enabled them to double and even quadruple their capital in a few years? They did it by retaining "retired military or naval officers at inordinate salaries."

Such salaries help accomplish two objectives. First of all, military figures who are still employed by the government but "who may be looking forward to possible employment within a certain organization after retirement can display partiality and favoritism without ever realizing it." (Santangelo doesn't explain why they don't realize it.) Secondly, "prominent military figures in retirement can have a great influence over their former subordinates who are still in the Department."

Santangelo's proposed reform was to bar the military brass from accepting retainers or employment with contractors for government orders within five years of retirement.

This proposal, mild and ineffective as it was, lost 147 to 125.

Santangelo's objective, of course, was to get a more sympathetic hearing in the negotiation of contracts for companies unwilling or unable to pay "inordinate salaries" to retired military figures. That was why he did not even whisper about cutting out armaments profits altogether.

The merchants of nuclear death proclaim their patriotism in all the multitudinous ways the Madison Avenue advertising experts can devise. Their patriotism, however, never extends to giving up profits. They would sooner give up patriotism.

America's real patriots, the patriots concerned about saving our country from nuclear war, thus press the demand: TAKE THE PROFITS OUT OF ARMAMENTS CONTRACTS!

Judging from what Santangelo revealed, it would seem high time to expatriate Boeing, Douglas, Lockheed and the others to accomplish this.

Wages, Prices and Thievery

Since the beginning of World War II in 1939 there has been an almost steady rise in prices. From the first, this rise has been blamed on the workers. Their struggle for higher wages to try to keep abreast of soaring living costs has been used as the whipping boy for the price gouging by the manufacturers, merchants and landlords. Whenever the steel workers, for instance, have managed to catch up a bit on rocketing living costs, the steel barons have used this as a pretext to hike their prices. For every additional dollar they have had to pay out in wages they have snatched three dollars more in price rises.

The steel industry has once more launched a propaganda campaign claiming that a steel wage increase at this time, when the steel moguls are enjoying their biggest profits of all time, must lead to a "new round of inflation." In full-page advertisements, in widely headlined statements to the nation's newspapers, in editorials based on industry press handouts, in the columns of the financial pundits, we are being told that any wage increase in the steel industry will inevitably force that industry to raise prices; this rise will spread through all industries using steel and finally force a general rise in prices.

There are going to be widespread rises in manufacturing prices, all right. But the decision to raise these prices has already been made and will be carried out whether or not the steel workers win higher wages or the steel corporations raise the price of steel. This is the startling fact revealed by no less authority than the Wall Street Journal. This informed and sober organ of the business and financial interests in its June 29 front-page lead article states:

"Manufacturers in a growing list of industries are planning to increase prices shortly — even if the steel industry's current labor negotiations do not produce a settlement leading to higher prices for that key commodity."

These manufacturers are prepared, of course, to immediately pass on to the consumer any possible steel price hike, reports the Wall Street Journal. In fact — and note this especially — some hard goods manufacturers, says the Journal, "have 'escalator clauses' in their sales contracts with customers which make the passing on of any sizable increase in costs almost automatic."

Our readers, who are pretty sharp on

economics, will really sit up at this point. The monopolists have been telling us for decades that the rises in productivity and the improvements in mass production guarantee a decline in prices. Now we are informed that manufacturers — and we presume they are the ones big enough to make it stick — have built-in guarantees of price increases regardless of improvements in productivity.

The truth is, as the Journal further admits, "some executives frankly say a steel price increase would offer a good peg on which to hang higher price tags that would recoup even more than any additional steel costs."

These manufacturers are praying for a steel price rise, in other words, so they can make bigger profits and yet hold the steel workers responsible, if the latter are compelled to strike and if the steel corporations use this as a pretext for upping the prices of basic steel.

"A steel price increase is something we can peg a boost on since everybody understands that," the Journal quotes an executive of an Ohio appliance firm. "A steel increase can get us all from under since we can boost prices to make up for the higher steel costs and also get some of our other costs back that we have been absorbing. If steel prices are raised you are going to see the darndest rash of price increases you ever saw."

This is not simply the view of one or two manufacturers. These preparations for new price steals, which industrialists hope to be able to blame on the steel workers, were revealed as the result of the Journal's direct survey of 150 leading manufacturers. Even the Journal sounds a bit startled by these "frank" admissions that the nation's manufacturers are planning to rape the consumers once more and aren't even going to wait to hide behind the back of the steel industry. . . .

If anyone is still inclined to believe that there is something to this claim that "wages drive up prices," the Journal, which does not include many workers among its subscribers, adds a clincher:

"In the past, for each penny added to mills' hourly employment costs after a strike settlement, steel prices have increased roughly from 26 cents to 60 cents a ton. Of course, there also have been increases in steel prices in years when there were no strikes."

Who could ask for anything more?

Congress Paves the Road to Nuclear War

By Alex Harte

While the world was watching the diplomatic show put on by the Foreign Ministers at Geneva and speculating on whether or not a "summit" conference might be staged this summer that could possibly pave the way to peace, the bipartisan coalition of Democrats and Republicans in Washington went ahead with the real business at hand — preparing for nuclear war.

The House of Representatives took only two days to earmark well over \$40 billion of public funds for the armed forces, with the proviso that if they need more it's OK to charge it.

The first day of debate June 2, which we reported in the June 22 Militant, showed how utopian it is to hope that these political representatives of big business might be reasoned into abandoning their drive toward the catastrophe of war.

The June 3 debate provided further illuminating indications of the thinking of the American capitalist class on the ominous path it is now following.

Daniel J. Flood, Democrat from Wilkes-Barre, Penn., contended that the astronomical expenditures for the armed forces are utterly inadequate.

"... you talk about your great retaliatory Air Force, the bombers," he said contemptuously; "that we are going to destroy the world with our bombers. What bombers?"

According to this Democrat "three-quarters" of the bombers are "obsolescent."

"How do you like that? But we have got to have them. We are going to have a mixed retaliatory power with missiles. Do not worry about what we can do to them [the Russians]. Anything they can do we can do better, if that makes you feel any better. They will kill a hundred million of you and we will kill a hundred million of them. Now, is that not ducky, especially if you are one of the hundred million?"

NAVY WEARING OUT

The Navy is likewise being short-changed, according to Flood. "It will wear out in one big chunk at the same time. . . . But, in this bill you do not have the money to replace the wear-out. You cannot replace the annual wear-out of your fleet. So, your fleet is going down, down, down; not literally but figuratively."

The Army and the Marines are also falling to pieces for lack of money. Is this because there will be no more Lebanonos? "Well, there will be; God forbid. . . . all over the world, and you will want marines to hit the beaches."

This advocate of a big navy and army suggested why such emphasis is now being placed on missile production:

"What is the matter with you? Nobody is going to fight a missile war. Snap out of that, Khrushchev and the sputnik scared you to death. What is the matter with you? He scared you to death."

Flood thinks that America is now "two or three years behind" the Soviet Union in missile production, "but you will catch up. . . . you will have missiles coming out of your ears." Then what? Will missiles loaded with H-bombs streak through the stratosphere between the continents? ". . . I believe the only kind of war we will fight will be a limited war. . . ."

That is the sole comforting thought this Democratic politician could offer. He remained vague, however, on what could ever stop his limited war from becoming general. He was not vague in his demand that the rate of spending for war be lifted far beyond the present astronomical level.

BIGGEST BOONDOGGLE

William E. Minshall, Jr., Republican from Cleveland, Ohio, touched briefly on the business side of America's war preparations:

"The Bomarc program, by the Air Force's own estimate, already has cost approximately \$2 billion. It is expected to cost between \$3 and \$4 billion more by 1962." This does not include other related expenditures bringing the total to \$7½ billion.

"Never have the Congress and the public been subjected to a more professional sales and promotion campaign than has been characterized by this billion dollar boondoggle. . . ."

"These high-pressure salesmen in and out of uniform have parlayed an unproved — and as yet unavailable — weapon into a \$2 billion operation. They have every intention of doubling that figure if we in Congress do not call a halt."

One of the most interesting speeches was made by Clarence Cannon, Democrat from Elsberry, Mo. His theme was that if the appropriations bill under



consideration "fails in its objective they will shortly be no need to pass further bills of any character or spend more money for any purpose."

Similar bills, he said, have been passed each year "since 1945" and all of them "failed to achieve the purpose for which they were enacted."

(The date mentioned by Cannon is significant, for it shows how conscious this Democrat is that the cold war was really started by the Truman administration — not the Soviet government — shortly after V-J Day.)

"SLIPPING"

"Every year we have been slipping. Every year we have fallen further behind; further behind in world leadership; further behind in our race with Russia; further behind in our capability and capacity for national defense, and further behind in the security of world civilization." (In the interest of accuracy, Cannon should have replaced the word "civilization" with "capitalism.")

The Missouri Democrat expressed amazement at the contrast between America's position today and at the close of World War II when "upon the deck of a great battleship, we summoned the representatives of Japan and Germany, the two greatest military powers of their day; we said, 'You sign on the dotted line.' And they signed."

"We did not negotiate with them. We did not go through all this rigamarole we have been going through over in Korea and Geneva. We said, 'Sign,' and they signed."

Why could America do this? With refreshing lack of references to being right, or representative "democracy" or "four freedoms," Cannon explained: "Because we were at that time the greatest military power the world had ever seen."

What caused America to drop behind the military potential of the Soviet bloc? Cannon sees no profound reasons lodged in the differing economic structures. He blames it all on "high-ranking officers" who did not keep up with technology, and who kept repeating, "We are perfectly safe; we can win any war; we can destroy any nation."

"They have lulled us to sleep with that sort of sedative, and they got away with it until the Russians put their sputnik into orbit. They couldn't deny that. That set them back on their heels. They could not explain that away. We had been trying to put a missile through the stratosphere over a long period and we had not been able to do it, and for more than a year after we were not able to do it. But they did it."

"And it is still there. It is still there for the world to see — our allies, our enemies and the neutrals. . . ."

"And we are still earthbound. Of course there are the monkeys. But the Russians made monkeys of us long ago."

So how is the lag in the arms race with the Soviet Union to be overcome? "Will this bill do the work? Will it retrieve the situation? If not, then we are nearing the end of everything. . . . It could be the last war bill we will have opportunity to consider."

It is Cannon's opinion that the colossal sums of money spent on armaments since 1945 have been spent in the wrong way. "And as a result the United States is today a second-rate power. All we have is the chance of redemption — that is a mere chance. It is later — much later — than many of us think. We have been sleeping."

NO ALLIES

Looking gloomily at the war he sees at the end of the road, Cannon predicted that America would have no allies. "The truth of the matter is that we might as well concede now that when we finally fight, if fight we must, we will have to fight alone."

America's isolation will not result from ill-will on the part of England and France but from their incapacity to do anything. "There is no longer any ally anywhere who can protect us for one day, one hour or one minute."

Moreover, the war will cost America heavily. "A high official in the Armed Forces of the United States said just the other day that if we are attacked by missiles or by bombers, we might be able to knock down 10 per cent or 20 per cent of them. Maybe by good luck, we could knock down a few more. But he said that the rest were coming through. When they start from Russia do not entertain any misapprehension about that — more than half of them will hit the target."

This would "mean the wreckage of every American city. There would be no vestige of this Capitol remaining, and you who are here would go with it. Do not entertain any illusions about that."

Against Flood's concept of a "limited" war, Cannon replied: "There will never be another war with rifles. Absurd. We will never send another expeditionary force to Europe. If war came the first big problem would be how to get out of Germany the men we already have there."

As a loyal adherent of the bipartisan coalition that has envisaged Germany as a bridgehead for attack on the Soviet Union, Cannon did not, of course, suggest that American troops be withdrawn from Germany now.

HOW COME?

Returning to the reasons for the rise of the Soviet Union to world power, Cannon expressed what must be in the mind of many a capitalist:

"One of the greatest enigmas of all time is the fact that the United States in 1945 was the undisputed master of the world, with the greatest force ever mo-

bilized in the history of mankind, yet in the short time that has elapsed, since, we are hopelessly behind. We invented the submarine, we invented the airplane, we invented the atomic bomb. Then the Russians came in, took them away from us, and went us one better. Today they have more planes than we have, they have more submarines, they have more ground troops, and they are better armed. They are superior to us in every branch of the service."

"How did it happen that in this bill every year, with the advice of the Pentagon, we have allowed Russia to outstrip us in every phase of warfare when we had the start and every advantage? How has it happened? Who can answer that? I ask any man here to tell us how it happened."

"The Russians had hardly emerged from barbarism. They had no mechanics, no industry, no inventive geniuses, no scientists. And we had everything. We had it all. We were the most scientific, the most advanced, the most progressive Nation in the world. How has it happened that we have passed this bill every year to defend the Nation, and it has not defended the Nation? We have dropped steadily behind every year, every bill."

Cannon offered a "very simple" explanation. "The admirals are 'not interested in submarines' and 'do not want to go down in pig boats.' So they went for carriers."

To catch up with the Soviet Union, Cannon proposed a method as simple as his explanation. This is to build a fleet of "nuclear-powered, missile firing submarines" that "can rise through the Arctic ice cap at any selected spot and blow any Russian city off the map."

That this would mean little more than suicide was readily admitted by this spokesman of the Democratic Party. "We do not want to win a war. We cannot afford to win a war. We cannot afford to have our cities wrecked and millions of our people destroyed even if we win."

COSTLY SUICIDE

Byron L. Johnson, a pacifist-minded Democrat from Denver, Colorado, noted that the armaments budget for the current year amounts to about \$200 for each man, woman and child in the United States.

Calculating the cost on the basis of a world population of

two and a half billion people, he said: "Each year we are spending about \$18 for every man, woman, and child on the face of the globe in preparing for man's destruction. Yet the Congress appropriated last year only \$50,000 for the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament to work on alternatives to the arms race."

Johnson urged the pack of big business politicians to consider "the overwhelming moral reasons" for "ruling out" war. Appealing to the teachings of "the man from Galilee," he reminded whoever might be listening that "you overcome evil with good; that we should not give ourselves up to vengeance; indeed, that we should love our enemies."

None of the Representatives seemed to think that Johnson's admonitions were superior to the prayers of the professional clergymen who open each day's session with an invocation to the Almighty.

ECONOMY-MINDED

Much has been made in the press over differences between Democrats and Republicans on "economy" in relation to the stupendous armaments budget. A lot of this involves nothing more than the jockeying of various corporations for bigger shares of armament contracts. One congressman, however, Thor C. Tollefson, Republican of Tacoma, Wash., did strike what seemed to be a sincere note.

"Mr. Chairman," he said, "this bill contains almost \$40 billion, and I hesitate a little bit to discuss a matter which could mean a saving of only \$10 or \$20 million per year." Nevertheless he ventured to suggest that military personnel who are traveling by air "from one assignment to another" should go by coach instead of first class "wherever possible."

Tollefson argued that this would not work much hardship on America's fighting men because "these coach flights are designations only. They are actually first-class flights."

This suggestion got the brush-off from Mahon, reporter for the majority of the committee that worked up the bill. He admitted that "most people in the military and Government agencies do travel first class whereas many citizens otherwise ride the coach flights." But he doubted that it would be "best procedure" to prohibit the luxury.

Headlines in Other Lands

French Premier Admits, Denies Torture Methods

Admitting in effect that captured Algerian rebels were being tortured, French Premier Michel Debre revealed June 25 that a secret warning had been issued by the government that they will be held "personally responsible" for any mistreatment of Algerian prisoners.

Meanwhile new charges of police torture against Algerians in France were made public this week. The torture charges were made by seven Algerian students arrested while visiting France. The seven wrote a small book entitled "La Gangrene" which outlines the torture they were subjected to. The book was seized by the Government, Premier Debre declaring that the torture charge was a complete fabrication and was "concocted" by two Communist writers. The publisher has denied this and reaffirmed the seven students' authorship.

Several of the students have been on a hunger strike in a French prison since June 18 while their lawyers are trying to get them released. They contend that the Government had brought "inadmissible pressure on the judicial power" by declaring the torture charges false before a judicial inquiry had taken place.

U.S. Reduces Aid to Poland

The third U.S. economic aid agreement with Poland will provide \$44-million of farm surpluses and \$6-million of polio vaccine to be paid for in Polish currency. The amount is half of last year's grant. An editorial comment in the June 12 New York Times said, "We hope that the Poles will understand that the reduction in aid does not signify any diminution in our friendship or our admiration for them as a people."

Italian Seamen Tie Up Ships

Four striking Italian seamen were arrested as 300 pickets clashed with police on a pier last week. The Italian govern-

ment has taken over three ships under the guise of supplying the island of Sardinia and refuses to bargain with the strikers until they return to work. Angelo Jervolino, Minister of Merchant Marine, has threatened to take over more ships.

Ninety Italian ships have been tied up in ports around the world since the strike began three weeks ago. The seamen, hit by the rising cost of living, want a raise in wages.

Cattle Kings Provoke Castro

Provoked by the refusal of big cattlemen to buy cattle from small breeders except at low prices, Prime Minister Castro announced that all cattle lands in excess of 3,300 acres would be seized immediately. The Agrarian Reform Law passed early in June had not been expected to be put into effect until next September. However, Castro called the cattlemen's refusal to cooperate "passive resistance" to the law and therefore "counter-revolutionary."

Argentine Regime Caught Between Labor and Military

President Frondizi's regime in Argentina remained shaky even though the political crisis that racked the country for the past few weeks seems to have subsided. A momentary peace was established between President Frondizi and the military when he took extreme rightists into his cabinet this week. The old cabinet resigned last week except for three military secretaries to prevent a coup by old-line military officers.

They charged that Frondizi had received support from former President Peron in the last election. The N.Y. Times reports that placing representatives of "opposition" parties in the cabinet means that Frondizi "would swing toward the political forces that supported the anti-Peron revolution of 1955 for popular backing for economic policies."

Alvaro C. Alsogaray, the new Minister of the Economy, personifies the new cabinet. He represents "a new entrepreneur class of self-made managers

and technicians without inherited wealth, social position or old-guard political links." His Civic Independent Party received only 60,000 votes in the last elections as against Frondizi's four million. His program called for appealing to foreign capital for development of the country's oil industry — a policy which Frondizi later adopted.

Meanwhile the economic crisis continues. Last year the cost of living rose 30.7% and is still rising. Four general strikes in the last year point to the mounting discontent of the powerful Argentine labor movement. And Bertram B. Johanson notes in the June 26 Christian Science Monitor that a majority of army officers, while still supporting constitutional government, "are not pleased over the fact that Frondizi continually uses troops to quell strikes and thereby generates anti-military feelings in the labor movement."

Portuguese Protest Police Torture

Dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar is ignoring protests against the torture methods of the Portuguese secret police. Reports of brutality have been stifled due to police interference and censorship.

When a signed document was sent to Salazar protesting police torture, government officials labeled the 45 signers as "Leftists" and "crypto-Communists." The group included six priests and many well-known conservatives.

Recently a petition signed by 402 students from Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto universities urged Salazar to retire. The petition complained against obscurantist teaching doctrines, political repressions in university life and inadequate facilities.

Increasing opposition to Salazar's dictatorship comes from several organizations. These include the Christian Democratic movement representing 100,000 members of a Catholic Action group; the Liberal Democrats who unite elderly intellectuals and some younger writers and professional men; the Socialists; and the Communist Party with a reported membership of between 3,000 and 5,000.

Reacts to TV Show On Teamsters Union

Editor: I saw a TV program the other night that was above average. It included films of meetings of the Teamsters Union at which Hoffa spoke. Also interviews with members of the union, both pro and con in regard to Hoffa.

who praise him for bringing home the pork chops. That's what the union is for even if they get Hoffa's leadership mixed up with the power of the union itself in dealing with the truck owners.

my opinion to attacks on the union such as this TV show represented. O. T. Road New York

Few Job Openings In Tennessee Town

Editor: There are plenty of things to be done here in the dear old Southland. The biggest problem is to find work and keep it. Then comes the question of what can be done to oppose the Democratic political machine which runs things.

Here's My Card

By Gordon Bailey My neighbor's door was open. I heard voices. "I'm sorry; I am not interested." "But, lady, with a subscription to Cue you get this unabridged dictionary."

Notes in the News

RAT-BITES — A four-year-old child was taken to a New York hospital June 18 after being bitten on the left hand and ear by a rat while she was sleeping. The next night her parents were again awakened by screams and had to take the child back to the hospital to be treated for new rat bites.

... Radio-TV "Equal Time" Imperiled

(Continued from Page 1)

tion campaigns because the stations could not give equal news coverage to an allegedly vast number of "splinter" and "crackpot" candidates.

Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System reminded the committee that there had been 36 presidential and vice-presidential aspirants in 1956, implying that the stations had given equal time to all of them and that the number would increase as a result of the Daly decision.

Omitted from his testimony was the fact that only a third of these 36 candidates (including the major ones) actually received any air time. This single statistic, typical of every campaign, suffices to demonstrate that there certainly are "grave abuses" of the equal-time law — abuses committed by the broadcasters with the indulgence of the FCC.

To buttress Stanton's case, Rep. Cunningham gravely opined that the Daly decision would bring "at least 5,000 candidates for the Presidency next year." This "problem" is more than adequately handled by discriminatory election laws which bar all but a handful of minority candidates in most states.

The fake claims to Congress and the public that the Daly decision requires equal news coverage of all candidates comes with particularly poor grace from the broadcasters, who have managed to exceed the notorious record of the daily press in blacking out news of minority candidates.

The regrettable fact is that neither the Federal Communications Act or the Daly decision requires the broadcasters to exercise even a minimum of impartiality in their election news coverage despite the fact that they are federally licensed and handsomely compensated to use their facilities "in the public interest."

The equal-time law simply provides that when a station permits a candidate to "use" its studio to advance his campaign it must grant the same use to his rivals, whether the original use was initiated by the candidate or the station.

In the Lar Daly case, the FCC voted unanimously that "use" had been extended to incumbent Mayor Richard Daley



Farrell Dobbs, 1956 SWP Presidential candidate, bringing message of socialism to the American people in a broadcast made possible by "equal-time" law. Current moves to kill law are designed to limit air waves to candidates of Big Business.

and Harriman, when they chose to court the vote of ethnic groups were given full publicity when they munched cheese blinzes or Italian salami, but never was there a word of recognition of the program of the Independent-Socialist Party or the statements of its candidates which was considered "news-worthy" by the radio and television stations of New York City.

And yet the Independent-Socialist Party had conducted a successful petition campaign to get on the ballot in New York State against tremendous odds.

But more important than the ballot victory which made history in New York State politics was the opportunity thus provided to present to the New York State electorate real alternatives on the crucial issues of our times.

The fact is that if the voters had relied on radio and television newscasts for information on the ballot alternatives, they never would have known that such alternatives as ours were within their reach in the voting booth. This is not an atypical story, it is frighteningly typical.

It is difficult to get on the ballot in New York State, it is an absolute impossibility for a minor party to surmount the restrictive election laws in such important electoral states as Ohio, Illinois and California. Such laws passed with bi-partisan approval of the two major parties are not only discriminatory against the political groups involved, they are fundamentally an affront to the voters of such states inasmuch as they deny the voter full access to the electoral process by restricting his right of free choice.

Such discrimination pervades the legal election machinery throughout the United States. Even under the equal-time rule, the burden of proof was always on the political group involved. These groups, limited in their resources, were required to devote considerable time and energy to the monitoring of broadcasts, to the sometimes complicated and usually time-consuming negotiations to secure the time.

Minor parties have still never had anything like equal time. They cannot afford the hundreds of thousands and even millions spent by both Republicans and Democrats during a presidential campaign. But Section 315 has guaranteed a bare minimum access to the air for those few minority parties which were able to make the serious effort necessary to place top candidates on the ballot.

It would make more sense for Congress to investigate how many of these election laws violate the Fourteenth Amendment and to ascertain whether there

when a newscast showed him filing his nominating petitions and accepting political endorsements. It correctly held that the news format did not alter the fact of "use."

Employing the same yardstick, the commission voted 4 to 3 that use was extended when newscasts showed the Mayor at the height of his campaign greeting the president of Argentina and making an appeal for the March of Dimes.

The correctness of the interpretation of the Daly decision as applying only to "use" was conceded by FCC member Frederick Ford in a June 28 television panel on the issue. Other participants were William Price of the UI-SC, Senator Hartke and Richard Salant, a CBS official.

During the debate, Ford said: "Well I think we ought to get this in perspective, what we are talking about is not political coverage, or coverage of political news. The only thing this affects is the picture or voice of the candidate."

That was the only objective point Ford made in the discussion. The balance of his performance substantiates the impression that the FCC staged the Daly decision to provide a peg for the clamor against equal time. Only four months before the decision the FCC had ruled that stations don't have to grant time in a similar case.

At the outset of the TV debate, Ford declared: "In my view, the statute enacted by Congress compelled this decision." Later he repeated: "Well, I would like to emphasize that the — that this decision was

compelled by the statute in my view."

On March 9, Rep. Cunningham told the House: "It has been suggested that the Commission's recent ruling is an effort on the part of the Commissioners to force Congress to clarify this section [315]. I have no proof of such a motive, but I do believe Congress should act to clarify this situation."

On June 18 the FCC recommended that Congress exempt newscasts from Section 315. Three days later, Jack Gould, television critic of the New York Times and an opponent of equal time, wrote: "The latter move tended to confirm reports in some quarters that the FCC had purposely stood behind its interpretation of Section 315 in order to convince Congress that it was up to the legislative body to make the necessary revisions."

This conspiracy to snuff out the already flickering right of freedom of the air for minority groups should be energetically resisted both to defend the electoral rights of such groups and the right of the public to hear all views.

In an exchange with Senator Hartke during the TV debate, William Price declared: "We would fight this on our own behalf, but we would fight further for the right . . . of the people and the voters themselves to see. Because without a presentation of alternatives that are real alternatives in terms of policy . . . then it is the voter . . . who is compromised and who is denied. . . . This is the real freedom of the voter which must be protected."

'The Bill Would Stifle All Voices of Dissent'

(The following excerpts are from testimony by William Price, executive secretary of the New York United Independent-Socialist Committee, opposing pending legislation in Congress that would virtually eliminate the "equal time" regulation governing political broadcasts. Under existing rules, if a radio or TV station accords free time to one candidate for public office it must accord equal facilities to all other candidates for that office. Price gave his testimony before the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in Washington on June 25. — Editor.)

This committee has before it proposed legislation which would effectively eliminate the voice of dissent from the political arena in the United States.

We urge this committee and the Congress not to tamper lightly with Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act and the "equal-time" rule which is an outgrowth of the historical aspirations to guarantee freedom in the market place of ideas.

Difficulties envisioned by the broadcasters as the result of the Lar Daly decision should in no way be used to turn the clock back on the centuries old fight to protect and expand the areas of free political discussion. We see an attempt to do this, especially in the Hartke bill, (S. 1858) which would exempt not only newscasts from the equal-time rule, but also panel discussions, debates or similar type programs. The language of this part of the Hartke bill would effectively eliminate minority parties from the protection of the equal-time rule.

The campaign of the Independent-Socialist Party in last year's New York State election illustrates the radio-TV "black-out of silence." Both Rockefeller

... Gov't Control of Unions

(Continued from Page 1) must go beyond exercising control over the unions; it must seek ways to eliminate them. The union-busting drive, to be sure, is a long-range tendency and must pass through some decisive stages of battles before it can realize its objective — but the tendency is a powerful one nevertheless and expresses itself in the employers' continuous proings in the field of more and more crippling anti-union legislation.

This explains why the union bureaucrats respond with such an agonized reflex to menacing attacks of big business. The elimination instead of the curbing of the unions puts their heads on the chopping block, and this they cannot contemplate without flinching. They are even forced to consider (with the utmost trepidation and hesitancy, of course) the mobilization of the union rank and file for combat. But along that road the danger exists that once the ranks are in struggle they won't stop at repelling the capitalist attack on unionism. They will go on to settle accounts with the bureaucrats.

Above all the union officials are filled with indignation when the capitalist politicians use the issue of union democracy to press their attack. This is in-

defe a betrayal! After all the fine cooperation which went into setting up the present state of affairs, to then appeal to the worker rank and file on the issue of union democracy! Is there no limit to the employers' double-crossing propensities?

Union militants and revolutionary socialists view the situation from a completely different standpoint. They see the contradictory relation between the bureaucracy and the capitalist state as a distorted reflection of the basic class conflict in society. They believe in vigorously fighting for union democracy without calling for government intervention and in fighting against government control of the unions without giving in to the bureaucracy's anti-democratic policies. Along this road, the long-range, union-busting tendency of the capitalist class will be defeated.

NON TAXABLE ITEM

A U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago has ruled that strike benefits are not taxable. The ruling was made on an appeal by a Kohler striker. About \$500,000 in taxes has been paid under protest by Kohler strikers since the start of the strike. If this decision stands all this money will have to be refunded.

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY AREA Socialists Societies to enliven your summer. Series of events sponsored by United Independent-Socialist Committee. Keep in touch with other independents and socialists. SAVE THESE DATES: July 12, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum. Watch next week featured speaker. Also William Price, UI-SC Executive Secretary, will report on equal time fight. (All Starlight Forums will take place on Sunday evenings on the Terrace Penthouse, 10A, 59 W. 71 St.) July 17-19 — Weekend at Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, New Jersey. July 26, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum. Aug. 1, 12 noon to 6 P.M. — Picnic, Annette T. Rubinstein's summer place on the Taconic P'kway at Shrub Oak, N.Y. Aug. 9, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum. Aug. 16, 8 P.M. — Starlight Forum. Aug. 22-24 — Weekend, Camp Wingdale, Wingdale, New York. For further information, write to UI-SC, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.; or phone GR 5-0736.

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. DETROIT Eugene V. Daba Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.