

# CP Heads Vote to End Daily Paper

By Herman Chauka

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 — In a move that may now split the sharply divided Communist Party, its national executive committee voted this past weekend to end publication

of the Daily Worker as of next week. Refusing to accept this decision as binding, Daily Worker editor John Gates issued a statement yesterday which said: "In the 34-year history of the Daily Worker there have been many predictions of its death, but it has proved to have more lives than the proverbial cat. I am opposed to the suspension of the Daily Worker and intend to fight for its continued existence. In any case, the Daily Worker will cease to exist when it alone says so."

Gates was the only one on the 20-member committee to vote against discontinuing the paper. The initiative for the action came from William Z. Foster, who heads the wing of the party leadership which has been fighting to silence or drive out all dissenting voices in the organization.

In a document now being circulated in the party ranks, and published in part in the December Political Affairs, Foster brands the Gates group as responsible for the party crisis and pointedly declares, "Its main strength is that it controls and uses the Daily Worker as its special mouthpiece."

Supporters of party secretary Eugene Dennis, who has tried to straddle between Gates and Foster are said to have voted for the decision to discontinue the Daily Worker on the grounds that its present extreme financial difficulties make continued publication unfeasible. Whatever supporters Gates may still have in the committee apparently went along with such a view.

The decision applies only to the Daily Worker, which now appears in reduced size four times a week. Unaffected is the weekend Worker of which Gates was recently replaced as editor.

A statement by the party's national administrative committee is expected early next week on the matter.

Within the framework of the Communist Party, Gates has the recourse of appealing the decision to the national committee, of which the N.E.C. is a sub-committee. Meanwhile, from his public statement and from the special stress now being given in the paper to the need for financial aid, it would appear that he is determined to keep it alive regardless of the final decision arrived at in the party hierarchy.

In a further development, the Dec. 26 New York Times reported that the same meeting of the N.E.C. refused to endorse the declaration issued in Moscow last month by twelve "Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries." That declaration asserted that within the world Communist parties, "the main danger at present is revisionism" which "reject(s) the principles of proletarian internationalism." This was a demand for an end to any efforts in parties abroad to formulate policy "independently of the Kremlin or to express any criticism of it."

Rejection of the declaration by the N.E.C. reversed an earlier 4-3 endorsement by the national administrative committee. The reversal appears to have been decided by the vote of the Dennis group.

Opposition by Gates to endorsing the declaration was reported to have been on the ground that such endorsement would constitute repudiation of the "independence" mandate of the past national convention. The N.E.C. decision can still be overturned by the 60-member national committee which is slated to meet in February.

Dec. 27—A statement in the weekend Worker by the CP national administrative committee today charges John Gates with giving information to the press about the decision to suspend the Daily Worker and branded it a violation of "organization principles." The charge was denied by Gates. The N.A.C. also said the national committee would be polled before giving up the Daily Worker.

## Socialist Workers Party Fund Drive Tops 100%

By Constance Farr  
National Campaign Director

The Press and Publications Fund campaign to raise \$18,111 comes to a successful finish with the publication of the final scorecard in this issue.

Contributions from cities all over the United States total \$175 more than was originally pledged. This is all the more impressive because fund drives by other radical organizations have had difficulty in making their quotas. The campaign went over the top in spite of the recession that has hit some cities very hard.

Works made possible by this fund which are now in process include Where Is Britain Going? (Whither Britain) a long out-of-print work by Leon Trotsky, with a new introduction that relates it to present events; Number Two of The Bulletin of Marxist Studies, consisting of a manuscript by W. F. Ward on The Long View of History; The Socialist Workers Party—What It Is—What It Stands For, a completely new edition of a basic pamphlet (the number of requests received in the mail for information about the SWP has increased tenfold since the Khrushchev revelations); Notebook of an Agitator, by James P. Cannon.

Such is the impact of this publishing program that not only do orders come in from libraries, universities and book-sellers in the U.S., but large orders from South Africa, South-east Asia, Europe and South America have been received.

In a few cities the fund gained momentum towards the end, making it possible for Philadelphia and Boston to make their quotas in spite of the fears of the campaign directors. In New York, a contributor who had previously given \$100, offered to give another hundred if the \$225 deficit in pledges was made up by others. So many hands were raised with additional donations that it was hard to keep up with the tally. Over \$300 was raised in the course of ten minutes from the enthusiastic assemblage.

While the Los Angeles quota was met with less drama at the

deadline, it was outstanding for careful organization. E. Reed, the director, wrote that they set their sights to secure a margin over and above the fund total, and then took special measures to make sure it would be realized, such as their very successful Christmas bazaar. Cleveland, with a top score of 125% deserves special recognition for outstanding success.

Thanks are extended to the supporters of the fund for the sacrifices that put the campaign over. Their best reward, we are confident, are the publications made possible by their efforts.

(See scorecard on page 2)

# THE MILITANT

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## Secret Report to Eisenhower Urges 'Preventive War' Plan

### New Crisis Looms in N.Y. Transit

Transport Workers Union President Michael J. Quill has called for a subway-bus strike by 40,000 New York City transit workers if agreements are not reached by Jan. 1. The TWU is demanding a 65-cent per hour "package."

The TWU three-year contract with the city-state Transit Authority covering 32,000 hourly-paid subway workers expires Dec. 31 as does an extension of the contract covering 8,000 bus workers on privately-owned lines.

The subway-operating Transit Authority at first refused to negotiate with the TWU, claiming that proposed state legislation might invalidate a system wide-contract, but the T.A. has now agreed to negotiate for a one-year "memorandum of agreement" covering wages and conditions. The proposed legislation — favoring craft unionism on the subway system — results from Republican promises to the Motormen's Benevolent Association during its recent eight-day strike for craft recognition.



## 90,000 Lay-Offs in Auto; Living Costs Mark New Rise

By Art Sharon

While "goofnik" didn't rise more than four feet off its pad down at Cape Canaveral, Florida, two things did rise and continue to rise throughout the country — namely, unemployment and the cost of living.

New reports coming in this week tell of increased layoffs by leading American industries. Chrysler and Ford head the parade with announcements that they are closing down their Detroit assembly lines for "temporary layoff" of two weeks.

This lets out 90,000 workers there. Three steel plants in the Baltimore area are adding 1,400 more workers to those already laid off, and some towns in the New England textile centers report more unemployed than employed. These are layoffs publicized in the national press; others are only known in the localities where they occur.

5 MILLION IN 1958  
The business economists are revising their estimate of unemployment for 1958 from the "optimistic" figure of 3½ million they projected in October to

a figure of five million or more that they are talking about now.

Prices likewise are showing a steady rise. The Labor Department's Consumer Price Index shows a rise of 0.4% from mid-October to mid-November for a new record high. This brings a rise during one year to 3.2%.

Workers not protected by escalator clauses in their union contracts have their wages cut that much in effect.

Against this background of rising unemployment and rising prices a new threat to working class living standards comes from the projected program of "increased sacrifice" demanded by the White House and the Pentagon to pay for increased military expenditures.

Big Business editorial writers are pointing out to management

that spreading unemployment gives them an excellent bargaining position. Professor Backman of New York University, a principal wage expert for management in negotiations, put it more bluntly last week when he declared in a public address that the changed economic situation should stiffen the backs of industry to "resist the excessive wage and fringe demands" of powerful unions.

In the same speech he predicted "labor strife" for 1958. This professor is a vigorous defender of the thesis that the inflation has been caused by wage rises and that these wage gains are way out of line with the increase in productivity.

No report would be complete without mentioning that profiting by the major sections of American industry remains good and in many instances continues to rise. The jammed Florida luxury hotels this winter season seem to indicate that "goofnik," unemployment and price rises have not dampened the enthusiasm or appetite of America's capitalist parasites for enjoying the "good life."

## Would Impose Back-Breaking Arms Spending

By Joseph Keller

Powerful Big-Business interests, panicked and infuriated by the rapid scientific, industrial and military advances of the non-capitalist Soviet Union, are pressing for back-breaking increases in U.S. arms expenditures and for a "preventive" war policy. Unleashing of such "preventive" attack on the USSR would inevitably invite swift nuclear retaliation that could wipe out 50,000,000 Americans within the first day.

"Preventive" war is implicit in the "Gaither Report," the "top secret" recommendations given the National Security Council on Nov. 7 by a committee of corporation mouth pieces selected by Eisenhower to "review the nation's defense posture," as the N. Y. Times puts it.

Initial chairman of the group was H. Rowan Gaither Jr., chairman of the board of the Ford Foundation. Because of his illness, Robert C. Sprague of the Sprague Electrical Co. and William C. Foster of the Olin-Mathieson Chemical corporation became acting co-chairmen.

REPORT "LEAKED"  
Although Eisenhower has persistently refused to reveal so much as a comma of the report, the nature of its highly-charged contents was "leaked" to the press during the period of the NATO conference. This was designed to stiffen Eisenhower's resistance to any realistic "postures" of peace.

Drew Pearson, in his Dec. 17 column, revealed that "an extremely hush-hush dinner" was held at the home of William C. Foster, one of the Gaither Committee's co-chairmen and former Deputy Undersecretary of Defense. At this dinner, some of the nature of the report was indicated.

According to Pearson, the report concluded that "the United States is on the way to becoming a second-class power because of the missile lag" and "also hints in guarded terms that the United States may have to desert its traditional policy of never going to war unless first attacked." Pearson also said that the report recommends boosts in "defense" spending that would add \$20-billion annually to the war budget within five years.

PEARSON CONFIRMED  
According to a copyrighted account in the Dec. 20 Washington Post and Times Herald that tends to confirm Pearson's report, Eisenhower "has begun to change his thinking." He told the security council "he would like to do the things called for in the report" but had a "nagging fear" the American people would balk at the appalling perspective it held forth.

An unnamed member of the Gaither Committee is said in a Dec. 21 N. Y. Times story to have "emphatically denied" the committee "had suggested the possibility of an eventual resort to preventive war." But the same Times report does say that "some higher officials" had found that the committee "tended to become stampeded, and was carried away by too alarmist conclusions." The precise sense of these "alarmist conclusions" is left to the imagination.

KROCK'S REVELATION  
However, Arthur Krock, chief Washington commentator of the Times and a man reputed to have excellent pipelines into the White House and the topmost political circles, in his Dec. 20 column gives weighty support to the original revelations by Pearson. Krock relates that William C. Foster, of the Gaither Committee, spoke to "an Army contingent known as SCUSA IX" on the same matters as the

(Continued on page 2)

## Subwaymen Want Union That Workers Control

By Fred Halstead

Like many another subway rider, I first became aware of something brewing in the Transport Workers Union, headed by Michael J. Quill, from reading the terse notes chalked on the sides of subway cars after the three-cents raise the workers got last July. The raise resulted from a three-year contract signed in 1955 by Quill and the Transit Authority. The contract embodied a loss of conditions, and small raises staggered over the three-year period. After the agreement and each of the piddling raises, the chalkings screamed out things such as "Rat Quill!"

That contract gave birth to the Motormen's Benevolent Association, which led the recent eight-day subway strike.

Two weeks ago, I stood in a blocked-off side street outside a hall in Lower-East-Side Manhattan. Five hundred subway workers, mostly motormen, stood there too, listening over loud speakers to an MBA strike meeting going on inside. I asked one of the men if he'd ever belonged

to the TWU. He said he had, for ten years.

"Why didn't you build an opposition within the union instead of joining the MBA?" "We tried," he said. "We tried and tried, but a lot of us just got thrown out."

"That's right," said a man with an MBA button and a combat infantryman's badge pinned to his overalls. "Votes don't mean anything to Quill. He counts 'em the way he wants 'em."

A letter from a TWU member printed in the Dec. 20 New York Post says: "... At the last TWU meeting I attended he [Quill] said: 'We have found that many delegates appointed by the members were not doing their jobs. ... Therefore, the Executive Board has voted to appoint all future delegates as we can see better if they are doing their jobs.'"

"Only ten people raised their hands in favor of the above motion. About a thousand were up opposed to the measure. Yet Quill stated the ayes had it and, amidst boos and jeers, the reso-

lution was passed. ... Anyone who successfully opposes Quill is branded a Communist and kicked out of the union. Mike Quill cannot be unseated by the members and his officials obey orders."

Most TWU members I have spoken to have a similar tale to tell about the Quill machine. I attended two MBA strike meetings. They were jam-packed with wide-eyed, enthusiastic men. An older reporter told me he hadn't seen such union meetings since the 1930's.

CHALLENGE FROM FLOOR  
At one of them, a young man, surrounded by about 20 followers, rose and shouted at the platform: "How do we know you guys aren't going to get paid off and sell us out again?" No one seemed to object to the question. The chairman said he was willing to go to jail, and didn't know what other guarantees he could offer.

The full impact of the motormen's strike, which directly involved only two to three thousand workers came on its last

day. The TWU, which was the only established union on the ballot in a subway-wide representation election on Dec. 16 received less than one third of the 32,000 possible votes. In 1954 it got three fourths.

The New York Post did a survey of subway workers, excluding motormen, after the vote.

"I voted for the TWU out of loyalty," said a conductor, "but Mike better stop playing ball with all those Mayors. The guys that stayed home have a legitimate gripe."

"He sold us out," said a change clerk, an unskilled worker, "and like everybody else I wanted to protest. I still pay dues, but he's no good."

The results of the revolt have hit the entire TWU. A bus driver, unconnected with the subway system, reported that at a bus workers' meeting "Quill had the worst time I've ever seen in 20 years. ... he lost control of the meeting." Another, reporting the same thing, said: "We don't want a strike and we don't want to be just another splinter group off the TWU. What we do want

is an honest vote and a little democracy in our union."

CRAFT UNION ISSUE  
This is also what the subway motormen want. Their strike has been represented as a movement of skilled workers for divisive craft unionism. But that was not the underlying motivation. "Quill does not speak for us!" I heard many strikers say at MBA meetings. "He won't listen to the workers and he doesn't have the right to negotiate for us." When one of the strike leaders said "We must pull out of the morass of industrial unionism" and made a straight craft-union pitch, he received only scattered applause. The motormen have a take-home pay ranging from \$67 to \$80 a week. It is ridiculous to think that they are motivated by the narrow craft spirit of the labor aristocracy.

Like the Dues Protest Movement in the United Steel Workers of America and the rank-and-file opposition in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the motormen's breakaway from Quill is a struggle for union demo-



# What Socialism Is and Is Not

(The following article, "What Is Socialism?" is by the young Polish Communist philosopher Kolakowski. We reprint the translation from the Dec. 14 Newsletter edited by Peter Fryer. Kolakowski is among those whom Gomulka attacked as "revisionist." Since the world Stalinist movement, with Gomulka's approval, has declared "revisionism" to be the main danger within the Communist Parties, it is worthwhile knowing what are some of the ideas attacked under that label. — Editor.)

We will tell you what socialism is. But first of all we must tell you what it is not. On this question we used to have different ideas from those we have today.

## It's Not a Society of Fear

- Well then, socialism is not:
- A society in which somebody who has committed no crime stays at home waiting for the police.
  - A society in which it is a crime to be the brother, the sister, the son or the wife of a criminal.
  - A society in which someone is unhappy because he says what he thinks and someone else is happy because he does not say what he thinks.
  - A society where it is better for people not to think at all.
  - A society in which somebody is unhappy because he is a Jew, and somebody else is better off because he is not a Jew.
  - A state whose soldiers are first to enter another country's territory.
  - A state where anybody who praises the leaders is in a better position.
  - A state where one can be condemned without judgment.
  - A society whose leaders appoint themselves to their posts.
  - A society where ten people live in one single room.
  - A society which has illiteracy and smallpox epidemics.
  - A state which does not allow foreign travel.
  - A state which has more spies than nurses, and more people in prison than in hospital.
  - A state in which the number of civil servants grows more quickly than the number of workers.
  - A state where one is forced to resort to lies.
  - A state where one is obliged to be a thief.
  - A state where one is forced to resort to crime.
  - A state which owns colonies.
  - A state whose geography is cursed by its neighbors.
  - A state which produces excellent jet planes and bad shoes.
  - A state where cowards live better than brave people.
  - A state in which lawyers almost always agree with the public prosecutor.
  - Empire, tyranny, oligarchy, bureaucracy.

## It's Not a Society of Conformity

- A state in which the majority of people seek in God a consolation for their misery.
- A state which bestows prizes on pseudo-authors and knows more about painting than painters do.
- A nation which oppresses other nations.
- A state which demands that all its citizens shall have the same opinion about philosophy, foreign policy, economics, literature and morals.
- A state where the government lays down the rights of the citizens, but where the citizens do not lay down the rights of the government.
- A state where one is responsible for one's ancestors.
- A state where part of the population receives salaries forty times higher than those of the others.
- A single, isolated state.
- A group of backward countries.
- A state which uses nationalist slogans.
- A state whose rulers think there is nothing more important than their own power.
- A state which allies itself with crime and then adapts its ideology to this alliance.
- A state which would like to see the political opinions of the whole of humanity determined by its Foreign Minister.
- A state which finds it difficult to establish a distinction between enslaving and liberating.
- A state where racialist agitators enjoy complete freedom.
- A state where there is private ownership of the means of production.
- A state which does not easily distinguish between social revolution and armed aggression.
- A state which does not believe that people must be happier under socialism than elsewhere.
- A society which is sadness itself.
- A caste system.
- A state which always knows the will of people before it asks them.
- A state which can ill-treat them with impunity.

## It's Not a Society Based on Rank

- A state in which a historical perspective is important.
  - A state in which philosophers and writers always say the same thing as generals and Ministers say, but always after them.
  - A state where the plans of cities are state secrets.
  - A state where election results can always be foreseen.
  - A state where forced labor exists.
  - A state where feudal ties exist.
  - A state which holds a world monopoly of scientific progress.
  - A state where a whole population can be moved elsewhere against its will.
  - A state where workers have no influence on the government.
  - A state which believes that it alone can save humanity.
  - A state which considers that it is always right.
  - A state in which history is subordinated to politics.
  - A state whose citizens cannot read the greatest works of present-day literature, nor see great modern paintings, nor hear great modern music.
  - A state which is always satisfied with itself.
  - A state which declares that the world is very complicated, but in fact thinks that it is very simple.
  - A state where one must be in pain for a long time before one can get a doctor.
  - A society which has beggars.
  - A state which thinks that everyone is in love with it when in reality the opposite is the case.
  - A state which is convinced that nobody in the world can think of anything better.
  - A state which does not realize that it is hated as much as it is feared.
  - A state which decides who can criticize it and how.
  - A state where every day one can deny what one asserted yesterday and still believe that nothing has changed.
  - A state which does not like to see its citizens read too many newspapers.
  - A state where some donkeys rank as scientists.
- This is the first part. But now we are going to tell you what socialism is.
- All right, then! Socialism is a good thing.

## Which World?



# Their Only Perspective — War

An Editorial

There are very few opponents of super-militarism and all-out war preparations in the American ruling class. The two Big Business parties are war parties. They launched the cold war together and have been united on all essentials of foreign policy to this day. A Democratic Administration bears the infamy of dropping the A-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of initiating the cold war and the Korean "police action." A Republican Administration now continues this course with its "brink-of-war" policy. Since Sputnik, both parties have vied with each other in clamoring for a missiles race and increased militarization with its attendant "belt-tightening . . . more self-discipline," that Adlai Stevenson recently called for. Their main theme has been that the American people must accept "less butter, more guns," as Commerce Secretary Weeks put it. Last week the secret Gaither report was leaked to the press (see story, page one). Its recommendations strongly hint at "preventive war." Neither party has demanded that the Big Business authors of the report be repudiated for entertaining a proposal that U.S. should deliberately attack the Soviet Union. On the contrary, both parties want to use the Gaither report, with its claim that the United States is becoming a "second-class country," to propagandize the American people for backbreaking arms expenditures. It is true that the Democrats have criticized the Eisenhower Administration for turning down Soviet proposals

for new negotiations. The motivation for these criticisms, however, was not desire for peace, but to cope with what Stevenson called the most serious problem of all — namely, " . . . that Russia stands today in the eyes of the majority of the members of the world's population as . . . more peaceful than we are." The New York Post summed up the Democratic stand in a Dec. 9 editorial which concluded that " . . . no matter how frustrating the process, we must always seem ready to talk."

The heads of the European states at the recent NATO conference also insisted that the U.S. Government resume talks with the Soviet Union so as not to appear as warmongers to the European peoples.

How sincerely the Democrats meant their proposals for negotiations may be judged by their response to Eisenhower's and Dulles' Dec. 23 TV reports of the NATO conference. In his report, Eisenhower shrugged off Soviet offers for a parity. But that is not what disturbed the Democrats. Sen. Mansfield (Mont.), assistant Senate Democratic leader, complained that Eisenhower and Dulles should have "spelled out the sacrifices the people will be required to make in the years ahead." Sen. Sparkman (Ala.), ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, complained that "the President and the Secretary of State do not paint a picture of great urgency."

The U.S. government may at some time engage in more serious negotiations with the Kremlin than those required to keep up appearances of peaceful intentions. Dana Adams Schmidt, in the Nov. 17 N. Y. Times, reported that a deal with the Soviet Union covering the Middle East had been seriously discussed in official circles in Washington.

Schmidt summarizes the arguments pro and con and cites the following line of reasoning on the "pro" side: " . . . sooner or later the Arab nationalists are bound to win all the way through the Middle East and to throw out the feudalistic, oligarchic regimes we favor in Jordan, Iran and Saudi Arabia. As long as we are committed to the preservation of Israel, we cannot have the support of the Arab nationalist movement. Our only hope is to come to terms with the Soviet Union" which does enjoy the nationalists' support.

The U.S. aim, therefore, would not be peace but to deny the Arab masses full-fledged national independence, which must include an end to foreign exploitation as well as to the feudal regimes. Implicit would be an agreement with the Kremlin to halt the further progress of the national independence revolution and to derail it. The Kremlin's reward would be a non-aggression pact which would be honored by U.S. imperialism only so long as it felt endangered by the Arab masses. That is how these collusive, arrangements between Washington and Moscow (notably the Yalta agreement) have worked out in the past.

The drive to war is inherent in the capitalist private-profit system and shapes the policies of America's billionaire rulers. Anti-war sentiment, however, is widespread among the American people. The Korean war was opposed by a majority of the population. Nixon's "trial balloon" speech in 1954 for U.S. troops to be sent to Indo-China met with a storm of opposition. Popular resentment over radiation poisoning from nuclear tests even induced Stevenson to make it a campaign issue last year.

This anti-war sentiment must be harnessed to an effective program to prevent America's Big-Business rulers from plunging us into war, as Truman hurled us into his Korean adventure. A few self-interested men and money-controlled politicians should not have such life-or-death power. Take the war-making power from them. Let those who do the fighting and dying, do the deciding. Let the people vote on the questions of war and peace, starting with a vote to halt all nuclear arms and missiles tests.

## Letters from Readers

### Professional Charity

Editor:

I feel that a terrible plight is in existence which you may or may not be aware of. That "men are born free but everywhere are in chains," is usually scoffed at as being a relic of a hideous past, yet, with each passing day, capitalism does ever new cloaks of exploitation. Allow me to cite one instance.

The organization which has employed me during the past six years is an organization which is ostensibly devoted to that greatest of callings—the Church. Such a sacrosanct profession calls for the necessity of such an organization being one which sets the example for all people with whom it is in contact. Yet, I charge that not only does the apparatus practice spurious business methods in dealing with its own member churches, but it subjects its own employees to the vice-like pressures of abominable pay and bureaucratic clique-ridden staffs. The personnel officer smiles sweetly and from between the pearly teeth comes the stock phrase, " . . . we are a charitable organization, [slight pause]. So you see, our pay scale is a 'bit' lower than the 'outside.'"

Yet this bureaucrat sits in a sumptuous office replete with thick rugs, secretaries, a lavish expense account and a minimum salary of \$10,000 dollars annually. Yet he dispenses jobs paying as little as \$35 per week. One woman began with that sum and after five years she was receiving the magnificent sum of \$45 weekly. Yet the organization has a fabulous income.

Gifts from deluded but well-meaning people, stocks and bonds from the choicest of companies—all tax-exempt. Is this charity, the Brotherhood of Man? Is this what the Bible preaches? Not only is their pay low, the prejudice practiced against employment or promotion of members of racial minorities leads one to believe that a certain amount of hypocrisy is present.

At one period the injustices were so apparent that a small group of employees tried to unionize the corporation. They were all "laid off" due to "lack of work."

L. J.  
New York

### Foundry Life

It was in the city of Seattle On the shores of Puget Sound That I sought to sell my labor And this is the job I found.

I went to work in a foundry To ply the molder's trade The shop was dark and dirty I sure earned the wages paid.

The bosses are mighty greedy (Things here are pretty rough) You can work like a beaver But you'll never do enough.

We must tighten our union Kick out all the bureaucrats Organize our own party And quit supporting Democrats

Only then will we have conditions Only then can we work like men Only then will wages buy a living Only then will life for us begin.

J. B.  
Seattle

# Socialist Review Discusses Road to Peace

By Herman Chauka

" . . . I do not disagree with the right of the Soviet government to use the slogan of 'peaceful coexistence' in the field of diplomacy. In fact it seems to me to have

proved useful, in view of the current inability of the Eisenhower administration to accept it even hypocritically . . ."

This viewpoint is expressed by Joseph Hansen in an article "Three Programs for Peace," in the Winter issue of International Socialist Review which is just off the press. To this Hansen adds, "It is necessary to say these perhaps obvious things because the Trotskyist movement has been unjustly accused by proponents of 'peaceful coexistence' of exhibiting a sectarian attitude on these issues."

Hansen examines the capitalist "containment" program and the Kremlin's "coexistence" answer. At the same time he elaborates a socialist peace program—one that bears testimony to his contention that the Trotskyist approach to peace is viable and down to earth.

Demonstrating that the principal capitalist powers are responsible for the cold war, he agrees, as previously indicated, that the "coexistence" slogan can play a role in exposing their guilt before the working people throughout the world. But at the same time he shows why it cannot serve as an effective program in the world struggle for peace.

According to the "peaceful coexistence" program, the capitalist and non-capitalist sectors of the world would agree to renounce force and instead engage in peaceful competition. But, says Hansen, the capitalists know that this would lead to their downfall. It is utopian to expect them to agree to their own liquidation.

True, the imperialist powers may be forced to accept some variant of a temporary status-quo agreement. But they cannot be sold on a "coexistence" deal merely on the basis of a pledge by the Soviet government not to initiate any changes in the capitalist orbit.

To sell such a deal "at the summit," it is also necessary to offer active collaboration in preserving the status quo. And Hansen demonstrates to the hilt that under the banner of "peaceful coexistence," the Kremlin has worked long and hard to convince capitalism of its ability to police the workers' and colonial peoples' ranks. Proffered collaboration with imperialism has included the liquidation of the Communist International and support by the French

and Dutch Communist Parties to "their" governments' colonial wars. In this country we see the process reflected in the stubborn opposition by the CP leaders to any manifestation of independent working class political action. But even if a deal between the Kremlin and Washington were to be consummated, says Hansen, the social conflicts which now dominate the globe cannot be contained by status-quo agreements between governments.

Must we then rely on the hope that socialism will triumph before the outbreak of global conflict? Quite the contrary. World War II has already been pushed back by the freedom struggles of the Asian and African peoples coupled with the class consciousness of the European workers and the growing if still unorganized anti-war sentiment of the American people. An effective socialist peace program can develop this process still further.

This requires ceaseless exposure of the cold-war policies of both capitalist parties and education on the need for labor and its allies to build their own independent party. Further, Hansen outlines a series of demands designed simultaneously to advance the anti-war fight and develop mass socialist consciousness.

Because the problem of how best to fight for peace is a focal issue for the radical movement, I have discussed Hansen's article at length. But the balance of the International Socialist review is equally to be recommended.

There is Arne Swabeck's penetrating Marxist analysis of the interrelationship between the crisis of world capitalism and the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Ross Dowson provides an informative report from Canada on how the Communist Party in that country has been reduced since the Khrushchev revelations to a tiny sect of old-line Stalinists. Tim Wohlforth, editor of Young Socialist, discusses problems confronting the socialist youth movement now being built. The always lively book review section features a discussion of Leon Trotsky's Literature and Revolution by Trent Hutter. The new format of the ISR gives the current issue real eye appeal, and special commendation is in order for the striking cover design by Joe Kent.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Cleveland	\$ 600	\$ 750.00	125
Milwaukee	250	285.00	114
Newark	240	255.00	106
New York	4,500	4,500.40	100
Oakland	240	241.00	100
Allentown	102	102.00	100
Boston	600	600.00	100
Buffalo	1,800	1,800.00	100
Chicago	1,560	1,560.00	100
Detroit	825	825.00	100
Los Angeles	4,000	4,000.00	100
Philadelphia	480	480.00	100
Seattle	500	500.00	100
Twin Cities	1,584	1,584.00	100
Youngstown	300	300.00	100
San Francisco	450	287.00	64
St. Louis	80	22.00	28
General	—	194.85	—
Totals	\$18,111	\$18,286.25	101

## ... 'Preventive War' Plan

(Continued from page 1)

Gaither Report, after it had already been submitted to the National Security Council. "What appears, also by deduction, to have been the most important recommendation to the President and the NSC is to be found in this extract from Foster's speech:

"We must attempt to get away from the strange dichotomy [division of thinking] with which we have traditionally viewed force, refusing to consider it except as a last resort, then approaching it in a crusading manner with a 'punish-the-bandid' view which has been prevalent in our recent conflicts."

### WHY RIGID SECRECY

Krock does not hesitate to draw the conclusions clearly implicit in Foster's speech: "This strongly implies that the report to the NSC gives the most powerful support thus far in the United States to the military policy of striking an enemy before an assault he obviously is about to make on this country . . ."

But, adds Krock, "this cannot be burdened with the unpopular name of 'preventive war. . .'"

And "perhaps this is one of the explanations why the few copies of the document are being held in rigid secrecy. For the United States to strike first would be a reversal of a national policy which has repeatedly been proclaimed by American statesmen. Public notice of this reversal would evoke a storm of protest among certain groups in this country and enormous propaganda by the Kremlin."

So it is that in dark secrecy, while maintaining a "posture of peace," powerful capitalist circles in this country are scheming and pushing consciously "to start with a victory instead of a crushing defeat like Pearl Harbor, a conflict that in the highest official judgment has become inevitable," writes Krock. In short, here — in America — lies the war danger.



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## THE MILITANT

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Vol. 21 - No. 52

Monday, December 30, 1957

## Spying on Labor

In the years since the witch-hunt against radicals began, most top labor leaders have broken with the old tradition that the defense of civil liberties is of primary concern to the labor movement. These leaders have contributed in no small way to an atmosphere of acceptance of some of the vilest kind of police-state methods against people with unpopular political beliefs.

The recent New York subway strike has revealed that these same methods have been used by the Wagner administration against the Motormen's Benevolent Association, the union which led the strike. This was first revealed the day the strike began when four MBA leaders were sent to jail on the testimony of policemen who had hidden in a linen closet at the hall where the strike was called. The policemen were part of the special force of the Transit Authority, a joint city-state agency.

At the height of the strike, a "bug" microphone was discovered in the MBA headquarters. The Transit Authority has now admitted, after a newspaper exposure, that it has been "bugging" union meetings in rented halls or MBA offices since the union was first being organized in 1955. The regular city police department has also admitted it participated in this spying.

The authorities attempt to justify their labor espionage by saying that they "received reports" in 1955 that "a group of militant and bitter subway motormen were organizing to bring the Transit Authority to its knees." There is no doubt that the motormen were bitter with the TA for refusing to pay them decent wages and for taking away their sick leave pay for the first day of illness. The fact that they organized to do something

about it, according to the TA, constituted a dangerous "conspiracy."

Thus, the reasoning employed to "investigate" radicals — namely, that they were part of a "conspiracy" against the government — was used to justify labor spying. This was done by an administration headed by Mayor Robert Wagner, whose father gained his fame backing a law which outlawed labor spying; by an administration backed by virtually the entire labor officialdom.

Fortunately, the motormen won the sympathy of public opinion during their strike. The exposures of TA spying are proving embarrassing to the city and state administrations, and both Mayor Wagner and Governor Harriman have declared that they didn't know what their appointees were doing.

Fortunately, Frank Zelano, the MBA leader who was questioned in court during the strike about details of the stoppage, was able to invoke the Fifth Amendment without inviting a storm of public abuse.

But all too often, even the most justified strikes are unpopular with much of public opinion. In such cases the stigma which top AFL-CIO leaders have helped attach to the use of the Fifth Amendment could hurt the strikers. In such cases, the police would have an easier time covering up their labor spying.

The old tradition is still vital. The defense of civil liberties, especially for those with unpopular beliefs, is a matter of life and death for the labor movement.

After all, Wagner's administration has been spying on and firing city employees that it declared to be "subversive" for years. In this case it simply extended the definition to include "militant and bitter motormen."

## You and the FBI

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a non-partisan organization championing the democratic rights of all persons in this country, has recently issued an important statement as to the right of individuals concerning FBI interrogation. The gist of their statement, issued as a public service, is that no one has to answer questions at an FBI interview. This finding of the ECLC tallies with that of the American Civil Liberties Union. In an article in the April 1953 issue of the American Civil Liberties Union News published in San Francisco, the ACLU informed its readers that they

were under no obligation to give information to the FBI about themselves or others.

The FBI has been a prime agency in the drive of Big Business to saddle this country with a police state. The FBI, in fact functions as a political police.

By publicizing the legal rights of persons in relation to the FBI, the ACLU and ECLC have contributed greatly to defense of civil liberties against invasion by the political police. The Militant published the ACLU's recommendations in the May 11, 1953 issue. We publish below the findings of the ECLC.

### Text of ECLC Statement

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has received many letters and telephone calls from people who have been visited by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These people indicated confusion about their obligations to their government and about their rights as citizens.

Since we believe that the average person as a rule does not know his duties or his rights concerning FBI interrogation, we offer this general information for those to whom it may be helpful.

You may feel, as many people do, that you have a moral obligation as a citizen to supply any governmental agency with all of the facts which would be helpful in a given situation, provided that neither your rights nor those of others are being violated. It is even possible that the inquiry concerns the application for government employment of someone with whom you are acquainted.

However, you frequently do not know the purpose of the inquiry, and the inquirer will rarely tell you in advance. Therefore, it is important for you to know that you are under no legal obligation to talk to representatives of the FBI or of any other governmental agency, unless you have been subpoenaed. The FBI, unlike courts and grand juries, does not have the power of subpoena and of compulsory examination. You may decline an invita-

tion to visit FBI agents or to receive them in your home or office.

Unfortunately, at the present time many FBI inquiries appear to be concerned with political associations rather than with obtaining facts for constructive purposes of criminal investigation. The very nature of political inquiries means that many of the questions will be of the sort which no citizen is, or should be, required to answer. The protections afforded to you by the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court in recent as well as earlier decisions are as available to you in such an interview as they would be in open court or before a Congressional body. If you have any doubts as to the FBI's questions, do not hesitate to refuse to answer until your attorney has been consulted, or insist on having your attorney present during the interview. You may also ask to have the questions put in writing.

In determining your responsibility to answer questions, remember that there are no off-the-record conversations with the FBI or any other governmental investigative representative. The agent in question is under a duty to make some report of his interrogation or interview. He may, possibly, be recording the conversation without your knowledge. Be most careful to be accurate. For the obvious reasons of civic duty, morality and personal safety, do not answer questions if you do not have personal knowledge of the facts. False statements, although made orally and not under oath, may be the basis for a criminal prosecution.

Finally, the use of investigative power by governmental agencies to intimidate or threaten is expressly forbidden by law. We suggest that you report any attempt at intimidation to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

(Issued by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, N.Y. Harvey O'Connor, Chairman, Corliss Lamont, Vice Chairman.)

## Third in a Series

# Algerian Nationalism Divided

By Philip Magri

Last week we outlined the murder campaign being carried on upon French soil by the National Liberation Front (FLN) directed against the Algerian National Movement (MNA) and against the MNA-led Algerian Workers Union (USTA). In Algeria the civil war between the two wings of the liberation movement has been no less bloody, and here again it is the FLN which initiated the armed struggle and has committed atrocious crimes. The FLN has consistently sought to impose itself on the Algerian people by terror and to physically annihilate the MNA.

The Melouza massacre, in which the entire male population of a village (300) was wiped out, was only the most spectacular of these acts by the

FLN. Although the FLN felt compelled to disclaim responsibility for the Melouza affair, its true guilt seems well established.

Newspaper reporters were able to interview survivors of the massacre, including the sole man who escaped from where the slaughter took place. He described how they were asked to pass over to the FLN. The president of the Djemaa (council of elders) declared: "I am a Messalist, and I will remain one even if I must die for it." And the escapee added, "All of us approved his words." Shortly thereafter the shooting started.

In contrast to the attitude of the FLN, the MNA, according to the French reporter Claude Gerard, who was able to penetrate into the Algerian "maquis" and make a first hand report of the

Liberation Movement, "recruited in the name of its ideology among the fighters and they had the choice of free adhesion. Whenever Liberation Army units under MNA leadership approached the population of the mountains, they only asked for voluntarily given support."

This contrast extends to methods of struggle against the French civilians, such as throwing bombs into restaurants, concerts, etc. The MNA has consistently denounced these tactics of "blind terrorism" as "campaigns of fanaticism which only exhaust the people's will to fight" and result, moreover, in intensified repression. Again according to Claude Gerard, "The rebel under MNA leadership refuses to take any action against a civilian, be he Moslem or French. He is proud of being

a 'soldier' and of fighting only 'soldiers.'"

The struggle to the death between the MNA and FLN is of course based on a deep and fundamental political antagonism. The nature of this split is indicated by the fact that MNA groups all the old revolutionary and working-class cadres of Algerian nationalism under the leadership of Messali Hadj, while the FLN is led by a coalition of the old reformists, recent French puppets, and the Stalinists.

The political divisions between the FLN and MNA quickly came to center on a single issue—the right of the Algerian people to choose their own representative in negotiations and as the eventual Algerian government.

The position of the MNA is the consistently democratic one maintained throughout its history—recognition of the right of Algerian people to self-determination, free elections for a sovereign Constituent Assembly which will decide the future status of Algeria and negotiate with the French government concerning the method of transition to the new Algeria. The MNA has demanded that the war be ended by means of a round-table conference at which all French and Algerian tendencies involved would be represented, without any exclusion or precondition.

As against the MNA's insistence that only the Algerian people shall have the right to choose their own government, the FLN has with equal consistency insisted that it is the sole legitimate representative of Algeria. The FLN demands the immediate recognition of Algerian independence and the immediate establishment of an exclusively FLN government, which would proceed to negotiate "the establishment of new relations between France and Algeria." The Algerian people would have no right to any say in the matter. "It is we who should decide whether elections are opportune and what sort of elections there should be. That will be a problem of Algerian politics. Algeria today, that is the FLN," according to a recent statement by the FLN leader Debaghine.

Certain American newspaper correspondents, impressed by the fact that the FLN speaks of "immediate independence" while the MNA demands "only" free elections and "self-determination," have concluded that the FLN is "extremist" while the MNA is "moderate." Few mistakes could be more ludicrous.

In fact the "extremism" of the FLN is purely verbal, consisting entirely of the phrase "independence as a precondition [for a cease fire]." But even a cursory glance at the statement of Debaghine quoted above reveals that the "new relations between France and Algeria" are to be determined by negotiations after the formation of a supposedly "independent" FLN government which had arrogated to itself the right to decide whether elections are opportune and what sort of elections there should be.

Moreover, on many occasions since 1955, the FLN leaders have indicated that they were even prepared to give up the word "independence" if the French would only agree to negotiate formally with them. What remains, then? What is the real objective of the FLN? There can be no doubt as to the answer when we remember who the leaders of the FLN are.

These men represent the tiny and weak Algerian capitalist elements—the intellectuals, functionaries, wealthier merchants. The whole political life has been devoted to a "struggle" to persuade the French to allow them to share in the government of Algeria and in the profits to be derived from its exploitation.

They seek to use the Algerian revolution to make the French concede them a similar status to Tunisian and Moroccan capitalist elements.

But, just as much as a means to their personal advancement, the Algerian revolution is, for the leaders of the Front, a terrible menace that must be ward off. For a "Tunisian" type of solution, leaving the social and economic structure of the country untouched, is no answer at all to the pressing needs of the Algerian people. The Algerian workers, peasants and unemployed need, as the first step toward a decent life, an agrarian revolution, rapid industrialization, elimination of the grip of colonialism over the wealth and resources of Algeria.

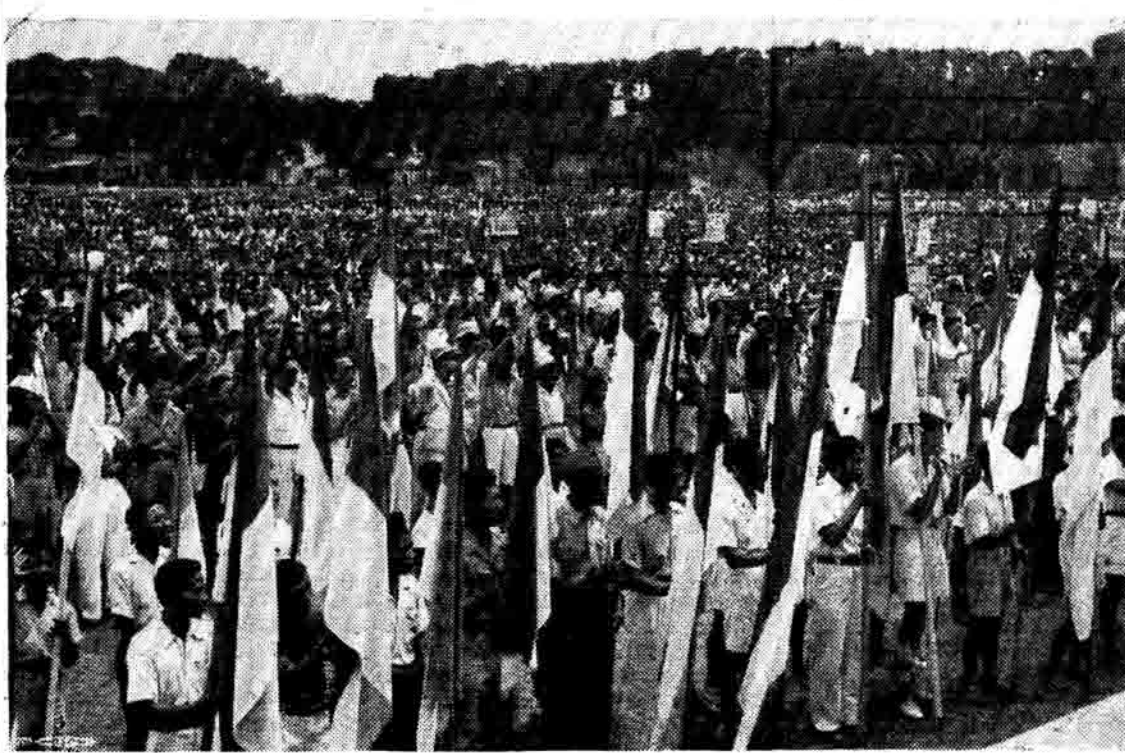
This is, of course, the program of a social revolution which could be consummated only under working class, socialist leadership, in close alliance with the workers of France. That is why the MNA has always declared openly that it seeks to establish "a socialist state," and that although its present struggle is over nationalistic demands, "our national struggle is in conformity to the principles of socialism."

The bourgeois leadership of the FLN, on the other hand, cannot tolerate such a revolution. For the Algerian capitalist class has been so stunted by French colonialism that it cannot dream of standing alone against the Algerian masses. Its privileges have been derived from cooperation with colonialism, and their perpetuation requires the continued "French presence" in Algeria as a counterweight against the Algerian revolution.

This decisive consideration, the social nature of the FLN, explains, why despite the verbal "extremism" of the Front, the French imperialists have always envisaged negotiations with the FLN alone (refusing even to consider the MNA proposal for round-table negotiations) and have consistently maintained secret contact with the FLN. (In 1955 Oumrane and Belkacem, FLN leaders, met a French "progressive" journalist at the home of Jacques Chevalier in Algiers. In his report of the interview, he claimed that it took place in the maquis! In 1956 Commin and Gorse represented the French government in conversations with the FLN in Cairo and Switzerland. And only last month Ferhat Abbas made a secret flight to Paris where he conferred with no less a personage than recent Premier Bourges-Maunory.)

The struggle between the working class, socialist MNA and the pro-capitalist FLN is clearly a political conflict of the sharpness and intensity of civil war, based on a deep class antagonism. (To be concluded)

## Fighters for Freedom of Indonesia



This mass demonstration of revolutionary Indonesian youth took place in 1945 at the opening of their struggle for independence against Dutch imperialism. Today the Indonesian government is carrying through extensive seizures of Dutch investments in the country, including banks, oil and plantation holdings. In many instances the Dutch holdings were taken over by the workers who established their control over the properties.

## ... Weiss Tells About His Tour

(Continued from page 1)

discussion. It was like a class reunion."

"How about the regroupment process nationally, how does it shape up?"

"This is the big thing in the movement today. I didn't have any 'mass' meetings but every meeting was bigger than when I went across the country in '54. Even more important, just about every current of radical thought was represented at the meetings."

"And the big thing is that you get the feeling that people aren't just talking at each other. There is a real exchange of views going on, and, most encouraging, there is a growth of united action. The work of the Sobell Committee, for example, has taken a spurt nationally."

"Did the '57 elections have much impact on all this?"

"Yes. I was in Los Angeles when the New York and San Francisco SWP vote came in. It was a morale booster for our own people and those who supported the campaign. I think it even impressed those who didn't go along with the idea of an independent campaign."

"But the most striking thing was the reaction across the country to the National Guardian stand. Just about everybody I talked to was extremely pleased by its endorsement of our ticket. They felt it was a milestone in the regroupment process and that it opens the way for more united electoral activity. This is especially true because the Guardian stand had the support of people like Vincent Hallinan, Warren Billings and George Hitchcock. You know, these people reflect the thinking of an important body of unaffiliated radicals who are looking for an effective means of action as well as a continuing discussion of the problems of the movement."

"What's the general reaction to the American Forum — For Socialist Education?"

"I got the feeling that the Forum is getting off the ground. In several cities, like Cleveland for example, it has served as the center for a regroupment discussion that wasn't taking place before it was set up. In some other cities where there are independent forum setups, I was told they are now considering ways of closer cooperation or perhaps affiliation with American Forum."

"Does the discussion itself seem to focus around any particular issue?"

"Well, there's the big running

debate on independent political action. But the one overriding issue everywhere I went was the question of peace — how the radicals can best fight for it. This question dominated every meeting and was at the heart of all the individual discussions."

"Talking with many of these people, I felt there was little I could tell them in terms of a basic answer that they didn't already know. They all understand that capitalism can't be transformed into a peaceful system and that socialism is the final answer to war. But what's really on the mind of so many is the feeling that today there is a race between war and socialism. And they ask you with a real sense of urgency, 'What can we do to hold back or at least slow down the war drive?'"

"They recognize world social-

ism from this angle, a common ground can be quickly reached for a practical discussion of what to do next and of how 'peaceful coexistence' fits into the picture. You know, there's a lot of misunderstanding involved in the 'coexistence' question. And I don't think we did as much as we could have to help clear it up, largely, I think, because we tended to approach it on too abstract a plane."

"The 'peaceful coexistence' slogan means different things to different people. Most radicals, aren't interested in any concept of 'coexistence' that means freezing the class struggle or the colonial revolution as part of a status-quo deal between Moscow and Washington. They know full well that these mass movements have been the biggest obstacles in the path of the warmakers."

### PRESSURE IN U.S.

"We, for our part, have to make it clear that we are not against the Soviet Union making pacts with the capitalist powers any more than we are against unions at home signing contracts with the employers. In fact, a U.S.-Soviet pact, if it doesn't involve a deal at the expense of the colonial revolution and of working class struggles in the West, would help to delay the warmakers. The main thing at home, though, is to build up popular pressure against their war plans and against all war preparations. Revolutionary socialists have to explain what a socialist peace program is and why it doesn't mean that you have to wait for socialism to do something about war."

"I suppose Sputnik came up for a lot of discussion during the tour?"

"Oh yes — and Goofnik too. But Sputnik posed some really basic questions. Most of them revolved around the point that the development of Soviet industry and science has become a key factor in holding back the war. This is certainly true. But again, this only poses another question. How did the Soviet Union get the breathing space to advance this far? You come back to the same point — the decisive role of the social forces, the Chinese revolution, the European working class and so on. Sputnik is a big thing, but the strength of the mass movement is still the basic insurance against war."

"Let me make a final point. I was very much impressed with the way the current International Socialist Review handles the question of peace. I think it's a big step in the right direction."



MURRY WEISS

ism is on the march and they want to do what they can to give it the time it needs to prevail over the capitalist system. In my opinion this is a valid and purposeful way of posing the problem, and I said so at my meetings and in conversations. I suggested that we discuss how the war drive can be arrested in the future by examining how it has been arrested so far.

### WHAT IS DETERRENT?

"Almost every radical knows that the capitalist West decided on World War III a good while back. The question then is, how have its plans been thwarted up to now. The answer is found in the revolutionary struggles of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa and especially in the Chinese revolution."

"Approaching the discussion

## Militant Labor School

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- (1) "The Road to Socialism." Lectures by Daniel Roberts. Six Sundays from 5:30 to 7 P.M., beginning Jan. 12.
- (2) "The Negro Struggle for Equality." Lectures by George Lavan. Five Sundays from 7:15 to 8:45 P.M., beginning Jan. 12.
- (3) "The Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present." Lectures by Murry Weiss. Six Mondays from 7 to 8:30 P.M., beginning Jan. 13.
- (4) "Historical Materialism — The Origins of the Capitalist System." Lectures by Vincent Copeland. Six Mondays from 8:15 to 10:15.

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To register write to Militant Labor School, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. or phone Algonquin 5-7852.

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# Chi. NAACP Units Vote Return to Calumet Park

CHICAGO — NAACP branches here are demanding further action on the long-promised return to Calumet Park. This is the public park from which Negro picnickers last summer were driven by racist hoodlums who vowed to keep the city-owned recreation area lily white. The police-condoned, anti-Negro violence spread and brought Chicago to the brink of a race riot.

**PLEDGE MADE**  
Willoughby Abner, then president of the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pledged that Negroes would return to Calumet Park, that it would not be permitted to become a "for whites only" recreation area.

A small-scale initial return was made on Dec. 1 without any publicity. An interracial group of students from the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College appeared there to play football.

Thirty police were present and dispersed a group of 30 to 40 teen agers who gathered to watch the game. The players could not tell whether the group was merely interested in the game or hostile. After an hour and a half the game was finished and the players left under police escort.

## WANT MORE THAN TOKEN

Subsequently the Hyde Park unit of the NAACP and student units at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College passed resolutions calling for a mass return to Calumet Park. Supporters of the resolutions pointed out that more than a token return was needed to open the park to members of all races.

They proposed a well-publicized return organized by the NAACP in cooperation with labor unions, churches, student groups, etc., a mass return that was at the same time interracial. This would serve to isolate the white-supremacist hoodlums from the majority of whites and create an atmosphere in Calumet Park disapproving of anti-social behavior.

Racial violence in Chicago is a constant part of the city's life, according to a report issued this month by the Chicago Urban League.

The report, first in a series of current studies, states that there is an "obvious correlation" between race violence and the tacit enforcement of residential segregation. Violence is largely concentrated near the edges of the Negro ghettos and "may well be classified as a common weapon for stopping the movement of Negroes into 'the next block,'" the study points out.

Next in importance to the violence on the fringes of the ghetto is the pattern of violence at beaches and parks, public facilities supposedly open to all. "This continuity of pattern," the Urban League declares, "makes it clear that large-scale riots grow out of an established atmosphere in which racism can develop the belief that violence is acceptable."

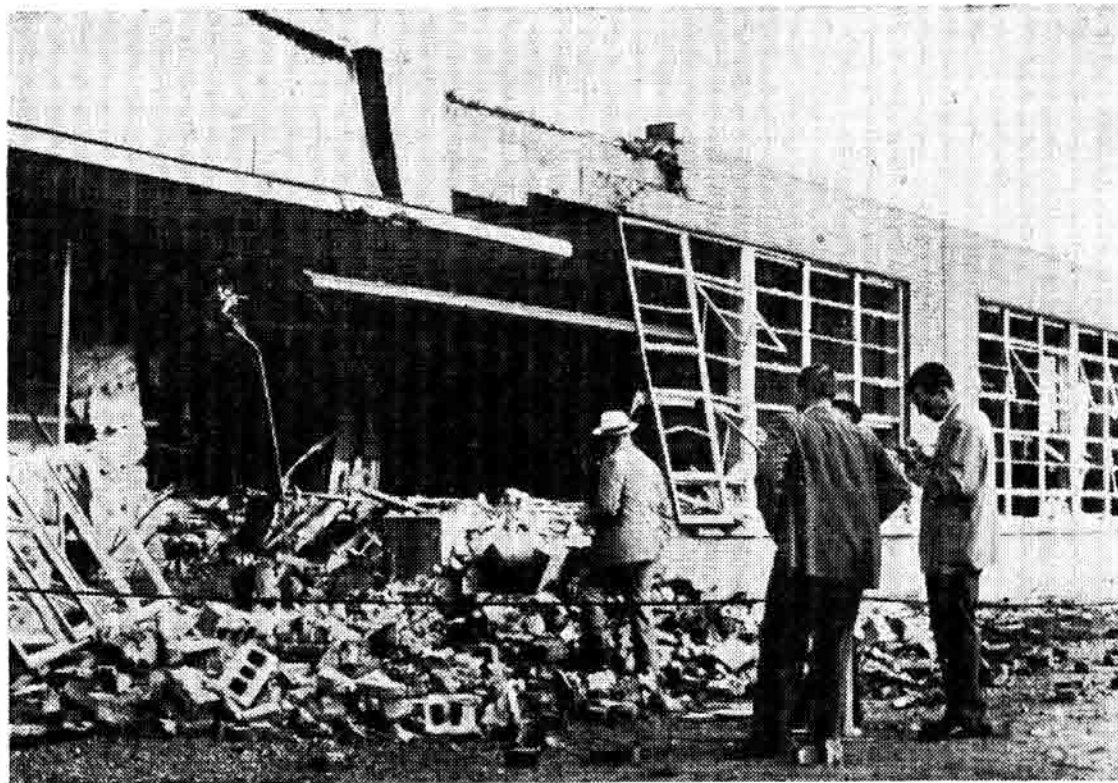
The report urges more effective law enforcement against racists both by the police and the courts.

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, DEC. 30, 1957

NUMBER 52

## The Work of Racists in the South



This Nashville, Tenn. school was bombed by racists last September after one Negro student was admitted. Such terrorist deeds by Southern segregationists have been headlined across the globe. Less publicized is the record of the politicians in the major Northern cities in preserving Jim Crow in the public schools. For a current example see story from Chicago on this page.

# Run-Down Condition Of Schools Hit At Chicago Hearing

CHICAGO, Dec. 19 — The public hearing on the proposed 1958 school budget held yesterday in the beautiful, high-ceilinged quarters of the Board of Education exposed the abominable conditions of schools with empty class rooms on the way; more pupils than seats.

Robert L. Thompson, speaking for Willoughby Abner, made the main speech for the NAACP and summed up the problem as one of segregation. He presented evidence to show that "Segregation will continue to be built into Chicago's public school system unless the tentative budget for 1958 is altered." The budget "as it now stands, without wholesale revision will further freeze the pattern of actual segregation in the schools and thus continue and expand the inequalities already suffered by most Negro children."

"There are millions of dollars in this budget for segregation," Thompson said, "and only a few hundred thousand for integration and equality of educational opportunities." Of the 22 new elementary schools planned, he said, 21 will be segregated. Of the three new high schools planned, one will be predominantly Jewish, the second predominantly "white and non-Jewish," and the third predominantly Negro.

Charles Hayes, director of District 1 of the United Packinghouse Workers took note of the contemplated "study" of racial segregation in Chicago schools announced by the school authorities. He emphasized that little confidence could be placed in this question and that an impartial body should be called on to do the investigating. A number of other speakers advanced the same opinion.

The NAACP's ten recommendations to the Board included a demand for "a thorough revision of this tentative budget . . . recognizing that racial segregation is an evil"; limitation of enrollment in new elementary schools to 1,000 or under; "add whatever amount is necessary to the budget to build enough schools to end the double shift."

## Win Case at RCA

Two RCA workers fired last June for invoking the Fifth Amendment before the Eastland committee were ordered reinstated with back wages in an arbitration decision this week. They are H. V. Trautman and S. A. Testa. Both are members of the independent American Communications Association.

## Time Payment Defaults Rising

A sure sign of increasing economic difficulties for those in the lower income bracket is contained in a report by the American Bankers Association which finds that banks are now having a hard time in collecting on installment payments. The report covers a three-month period ending Oct. 31, and it finds that 30% of the areas in the survey are hit by an unusual increase in automobile repossessions. Forty percent report a rise in non-payments on installment debts.

"There is every indication," says the report, "that collections are getting tougher."

# Runaway Plant Problem Confronts Auto Union

DETROIT, Dec. 22 — If the delegates to the United Auto Workers Special Convention care to do a little sightseeing when they arrive in Detroit on Jan. 21, they will have a first class opportunity to see a modern ghost town being born. The city that put the world on wheels is busily putting its factories on wheels.

Throughout the entire industrial North and East in fact, businessmen are rising like the birds in winter and heading south — to fatter up.

If all the jobs in Packard, Murray Body, Kaiser-Frazer, and Hudson — to name just a few of the dozens involved — had simply moved, the Detroiters' loss might be some other workers' gain. But in moving a lot of jobs disappear, and only the company gains. When Chrysler completes its shutdown of the giant Dodge Main plant in Hamtramck, the 18,000 jobs on the 1957 car will shrink to an estimated 10,000. Dodge has already opened new automated plants in Newark, Del. and Trenton, Mich.

Till recently business spokesmen put this problem off with impersonal words like "decentralization," "merger," and "modernization." It was considered progress, the sign of an expanding economy, as long as profits kept growing. But when profits shrink, watch out.

Michigan's businessmen have already begun a campaign to unload the recent economic slump on the backs of the workers. The hottest item in local editorials and news columns is "the flight of business from Michigan." The reason? Business taxes have suddenly become "too high," the economic climate has grown "unhealthy," and of course, "high wages are the cause of inflation."

A FEW DEGREES SOUTH  
When Michigan's latest emigrant, the Daisy Manufacturing Co., announced it was moving to Arkansas, the local press hastened to blame it on "the unhealthy



WALTER REUTHER, President of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

economic climate in Michigan." The difference in the economic climate is exactly \$1 an hour — \$2.25 in Michigan and \$1.25 in Arkansas. The cost of living however is just about the same. This may be unhealthy for the jobless Michigan workers and the underpaid Arkansas workers, but it's better than a wonder-drug for Daisy.

The southern exodus, bad enough in the past, is doubly dangerous to the labor movement now that an economic slump is under way. The runaway shops are not only stealing jobs, they are confronting those still at work with the prospect of lower wages, higher taxes, and worsened working conditions.

Our latest example of business greed is a report on the state of Detroit's fiscal health that was compiled by a committee of local millionaires and is now being wildly acclaimed by Detroit's kept press. Its main proposal is the reduction of

business property taxes, a big part of the scheme to bring Southern conditions up North.

The runaway shop is not a new problem for the UAW, but it is a more serious problem this year and the coming conference will have to cope with it in a more serious fashion.

## UAW PROGRAM

The union does have a program. The resolution on "Protection of Workers' Equity When Work Is Shifted from Plant to Plant" that was passed at the UAW Convention last April, calls for (1) the right of seniority employees to move with their jobs, (2) union recognition and maintenance of contract standards and wage rates, (3) a relocation allowance, (4) severance pay, and (5) multiple plant seniority.

While this is only a limited program it will not be easy to put into effect. It will take a struggle to achieve it, a hard struggle, because the auto corporations are going to hang tough this year.

Something even more is needed, because "workers' equity" is not all that's at stake. The corporations have so far been successful in developing their drive to utilize the low-wage, open-shop Southern system against the workers in the North. This drive must be stopped and turned back against the corporations.

The only real answer to the runaway shop is to organize the South. Along with the rest of the CIO the Reuther machine failed to carry through Operation Dixie, and last year Reuther replaced the entire Southern organizing drive with a plan (not yet begun) to organize the white collar workers. This failure is now rebounding from the South to undermine conditions in Detroit.

# SWP Statement At School Hearing

(The following is the text of a statement by the Socialist Workers Party before the public hearing held on Dec. 18 by the Chicago Board of Education on the 1958 school budget. The statement was made by Howard Mayhew for the Chicago Branch of the SWP.—Ed.)

Surveys conducted by the NAACP and the PTA have shown that today there are more segregated school children in Chicago than in Little Rock, Arkansas. The locations of schools have been reshuffled and school districts have been gerrymandered in Chicago to bring about more segregation. Less qualified teachers, overcrowding, double shifts, larger schools with less individual pupil attention, all these and other discriminatory conditions have been imposed upon the racial and religious groupings in Chicago, despite protests, over a long period of time.

Only the few wealthy owners, employers, and real estate interests gain from segregation. By destroying, through segregation, the unity and solidarity of the working people, the employers and real estate owners can further their bargaining position in their profit drive for low wages, high prices, and high rents. Shall our educational system perpetuate the inequality of segregation?

What kind of an educational system are the people of Chicago being asked to accept in the 1958 School Budget?

A study of the General Superintendent's budget message and an examination of the 1958 "tentative" budget leads to one overriding conclusion. So far as aims, goals, and methods are concerned, there is little or no difference from the budgets of past years.

It is precisely this which must be condemned. If an educational system has any function, it is to teach how to live democratically with equality for all.

We see no compliance in the 1958 budget with the spirit of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. And we see nothing in the budget or the superintendent's message which recognizes the relationship between the administration of the public school system and the public welfare generally, in all walks of life.

The 1958 budget conceals more than it reveals. But the inequality and discrimination in the distribution of school funds is all too readily apparent in a

simple observation of the segregated condition of Chicago's schools, and the unequal services provided. A pattern and system of segregation is being practiced by the school administration here similar to the worst practices of the racist administration in the South.

In Chicago, as in every American city, the great majority of the people, the working people, can progress only where there is provision for the exercise of their democratic rights. Only by the fullest use of their democratic rights can the unity and solidarity be achieved that is necessary for the majority of the people to give united expression to their common interests.

The record shows that every manifestation of segregation serves to divide the working class and hold back the progress of all. The segregation of the Negro worker is aimed at the white worker as well. It is no accident that the standards of living of the white workers is lowest in those areas of the United States where the segregation of the Negroes is most intense. It is well known that ghetto rents are among the highest in the city.

But this is not all. Segregation also breeds racist violence, as the record for Chicago only too clearly shows. Trumbull Park and Calumet Park stand side by side with Little Rock before the eyes of the nation and the world as the shameful effect of segregation on American life.

It is the position of the Chicago Board of Education that these social disorders are beyond the responsibility of the school authorities?

It is the view of the Socialist Workers Party that the Board of Education, second only to the office of the mayor of the city of Chicago, must be held strictly accountable.

Our position is that the foremost task of the Chicago Board of Education in connection with the planning and administration of the School Budget is to stamp out segregation as the manifestation of that which is alien and opposite to true education.

To the extent that the Board of Education fails to move immediately and thoroughly to end school segregation it identifies itself the more clearly with the class interests of the employers and real-estate owners for whom the whole system of segregation is maintained.

# A Socialist Peace Policy

Marxism teaches that war is inherent in capitalism and peace can be guaranteed only by world socialism. But what are the planks in a socialist peace program for today? How do they differ from the program of "peaceful coexistence"? Read a discussion of these questions by Joseph Hansen in the winter issue of International Socialist Review.

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