

Tammany Seeks to Rig N.Y. Election

Moves to Rule Ind.-Socialists, SLP, Davis off Ballot

By Herman Chauka

NEW YORK, Sept. 18 — In a well-oiled drive to restrict the New York ballot choice to the two Big Business parties, the Carmine De Sapio's Democratic party machine

has challenged the state-wide nominating petitions of the United Independent-Socialist ticket and the Socialist Labor Party. Also challenged is the petition of Communist Party leader Benjamin J. Davis, People's Rights candidate for the State Senate in the 21st District.

The challenges have been made even though all three nominating petitions exceeded the number of signatures required. Twelve thousand signatures of registered voters, including 50 from each county, are needed for a place on the state ballot. The Independent-Socialists filed almost 27,000, with well over 50 valid signatures from each county. The SLP turned in 16,000 signatures. Davis filed nearly double the 3,000 signatures required in a State Senatorial district.

MACHINE DOES JOB

In past elections, De Sapio has sought, several times successfully, to deprive minority parties of their ballot place, usually through the vehicle of petition challenges by "private citizens" not officially identified with his machine. But this time

the De Sapio-Harriman combination is brazenly moving against minority ballot rights through well-known individuals who are openly identified with their machine.

The first challenge against the Independent-Socialist petition was filed, Sept. 12, by Andrew M. Pinckney, an Albany lawyer. The Albany Knickerbocker News reported, Sept. 13, that Pinckney "who said he was not hired by the Democratic party to do the job, plans to travel first to Boards of Elections at Troy and Schenectady to see if Socialist names from these counties are invalid."

HAS PATRONAGE JOB

Pinckney was recently appointed by the Harriman administration to a choice \$13,000-a-year patronage job as counsel to the Hudson River Regulating District.

On the heels of the Pinckney challenge, another came in New York City from attorney Monroe Goldwater. A former Democratic Assemblyman, Goldwater was law partner to the notorious Tammany Hall chieftain, (Continued on Page 2)

One of 26,481 Signers



World-famed historian W. E. B. Du Bois signed Independent-Socialist nominating petition for John T. McManus just before sailing abroad. The Democratic party is now trying to invalidate petition through legal chicanery in order to stifle such voices of protest as his.

Buffalo Rally for Davies Foils Local Red-Baiters

SEPT. 17 — Unricketlike behavior on the part of certain reactionaries in Buffalo failed to put a damper on the success of the Buffalo phase of the nation-wide speaking tour of Harold Davies, British Labor Party Member of Parliament, Hadji Temple at which Mr. Davies was scheduled to speak, was canceled a few hours before meeting time, Sept. 13. Mr. Davies spoke anyway — before an enthusiastic audience of 200 persons who gathered at Crescent Hall. Earlier, Rev. Paul Carnes of the Universalist-Unitarian Church had made his church available in the interest of free speech upon learning that the other hall had been canceled.

The manager of Hadji Temple, according to the Buffalo Courier-Express, gave as the reason for the cancellation "a visit Thursday from a member of the Police Department Subversive Squad and a phone call from a person who said he was a representative of the anti-subversive committee of Troop I, American Legion Post."

Richard Lipsitz, vice chairman of the Erie County Liberal Party and one of the sponsors of the meeting, said of the cancellation: "I am utterly amazed and disappointed that the opportunity to exercise the basic rights of freedom of speech and of peaceful assembly should be interfered with in such a crass, arrogant and undemocratic manner."

JIMMY WILSON CASE

Co-speakers with Mr. Davies at the Buffalo meeting were Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro educator from Atlanta University who was one of the initiators of the Save Jimmy Wilson Committee; and Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York. Vera Spruill, Chair-

man of the Mothers Alliance to Stop School Segregation also spoke on the current campaign being waged by her organization. The meeting and the circumstances surrounding it were widely reported in the daily press. Mr. Davies described his Buffalo experience as "one of the best and certainly the most spirited of the entire tour."

Before going to Buffalo, Mr. Davies toured northern Ohio. He spoke before 150 people at the Unitarian Society in Cleveland. The meeting was chaired by Sam Pollock, president of Local 467, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, who said he hoped to see more gatherings of this kind in which independent and people of various political tendencies could come together in free discussion. Mr. Davies also spoke at a special membership meeting of Local 427 where 1900 unionists heard him. Walter Davis, Assistant Editor of the AFL-CIO's Cleveland Citizen shared the platform with Harold Davies, and representatives of the Teamsters, Machinists and communications union were present. Mr. Davies was also interviewed over station KYW-TV.

In Akron, he spoke at an adult education meeting chaired by Joseph Glazer, Education Director of the United Rubber Workers.

In Toronto, Sept. 11, the British socialist appeared before the United Jewish Peoples Order and spoke on the Far East crisis, a subject he has dealt with in his appearances throughout the tour.

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Hold Secret Conference Over Quemoy War Crisis

Will the U.S. Act Against Faubus?

By George Lavan

SEPT. 17 — By standing firm against any suspension of integration at Little Rock's Central High School the Supreme Court has put it squarely up to the federal government: will it or will it not enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro schoolchildren?

That this question cannot be evaded by the White House was made clear by Arkansas Governor Faubus's prompt closing of Little Rock's schools.

Precisely the same issues as in Little Rock are involved in Norfolk, Front Royal and Charlottesville, Virginia, where Gov. Almond has also defied court-ordered integration with school closings. Not only are these cases tied to Little Rock legally — court rulings in them depending on the high court's action on Central High — but also politically. For both in Arkansas and Virginia must now come the test of the Southern Democratic officials' much-touted program of "massive resistance." Including the recent legislation in Arkansas, Southern legislatures have passed over 200 laws and amendments to state constitutions aimed at thwarting and circumventing the Supreme Court's school decision.

SCHOOL-CLOSING LAWS

Some of these have been already tested in the courts as in Virginia where the Pupil Placement Act, a device for discriminating against Negro students on "psychological" or "sociological" grounds has been overridden by federal courts. Now being used are the school closing laws themselves. These laws authorize the governor to close any school where a final court order for integration has been handed down. Corollary to them are other laws for selling or renting the closed public schools to groups or corporations for reopening as segregated "private" schools.

Already Gov. Faubus's racist stooges in Arkansas have formed the "Little Rock Private School Corporation" which aims to rent and operate the city's schools. Another of Arkansas' "massive resistance" laws provides for state grants to parents to pay tuition at such private schools.

These laws are manifestly unconstitutional by state standards as well as by federal. Moreover, U.S. authorities have numerous grounds for other legal proceedings against Faubus and the Virginia officials, Faubus, (Continued on Page 2)

Solidarity for Little Rock Negroes



Buffalo housewives, organized in the Mothers Alliance to Stop Segregation, on way to Buffalo Board of Education meeting Sept. 10. They urged Buffalo schools be closed for one day as demonstration of support to Little Rock fighters against school segregation.

Jim Wilson Still in Danger

An Editorial

The Alabama Supreme Court has again confirmed the death sentence of Jimmy Wilson for a \$1.95 theft and has rescheduled his electrocution for Oct. 24.

The latest word from Alabama Governor Folsom came four days later (Sept. 15)—it was that he hadn't decided whether or not he will commute Wilson's sentence to life imprisonment. Earlier Folsom had hinted he might commute it after the State Supreme Court hearing, "if I can find some excuse." If a death sentence for a \$1.95 robbery in which the alleged victim was unharmed, isn't on its very face sufficient "excuse," it is difficult to imagine just what Folsom requires.

What the Alabama court's refusal of a new trial and Folsom's refusal to commit himself adds up to, is that the world-wide protest movement must not slacken till Wilson is safely removed from the shadow of the electric chair.

The Militant has previously reported the protests from all over the world—which the Big Business press in this country has played down. Latest news, reported in passing by the Christian Science Monitor is of "protests from one end of Africa to the other." These are all wonderful deeds of international solidarity with the fighters against racism in the U.S. and we hope they continue unabated.

But the primary responsibility rests on the American people. Their protest for Wilson must not slacken now. It must swell until the Administration and every Democratic politician above the Mason-Dixon line puts the heat on Alabama's Democratic officials.

This means that if you haven't yet written letters of protest to Gov. Folsom, President Eisenhower and the Democratic Party leaders in your state, do so today. If you have already done it, do it again.

World Public Opinion Kept in Dark About Possible Concessions

By Joseph Hansen

SEPT. 18—Diplomatic talks began three days ago in Warsaw between representatives of the Chinese People's Republic and the U.S. government over the tense situation in the Formosa Straits. Although the crisis had threatened to precipitate a nuclear war, world public opinion was barred from even a spectator's seat at the crucial negotiations. Both sides are following the ways of imperialist diplomacy—to exclude the press and conduct everything in secrecy, behind lowered curtains.

Thus what each side was prepared to concede—and at whose expense—could only be speculated upon. The Eisenhower administration has insisted that it will give up none of dictator Chiang Kai-shek's claims, pursuit of which had precipitated the crisis. The Mao regime, on the other hand, has pressed China's right to exercise sovereignty over all its territories, including those where the ousted warlord is protected by American armed force.

The Ceylonese Samasamjist, reflecting revolutionary socialist opinion in the colonial world, feared a possible bargain at the expense of the small countries. In its Sept. 11 issue, this well-informed newspaper cited the statements of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, who has just returned from a visit to China:

"The Prince declares that China sincerely wanted the friendship of the USA. He adds that to secure America's friendship the Chinese leaders were even ready to create and safeguard a buffer zone between the East and West blocs to meet American fears that they could 'communist' neutral countries."

PROPOSAL FOR DEAL
The Samasamjist interprets this as a proposal for a deal between the USA and China or "a more generalized arrangement between the Sino-Soviet Bloc on the one side and the World Imperialist Bloc on the other."

The editors, who are strong supporters of both the Soviet Union and China, argue that "the little countries have a right to determine their destinies no less than the big countries." To this they add that "Every revolutionary will also repudiate the idea the People's Republic of China or the USSR is entitled to make the revolutionary movements in any group of countries the subject of arrangements with the Imperialists. The people of every country are entitled to make their revolution as and when they can and will; and not even the countries of the victorious revolution have a right to sway them any in the interests of power politics. We cannot permit a repetition of the tragic tale of the pre-war Spanish Revolution."

The Eisenhower administration appears to have gone to the talks in Warsaw reluctantly. The world rightfully expects concessions from Washington as the power behind Chiang, who precipitated the crisis. But spokesmen of the State Department and White House have repeatedly denounced any thought of the dictator yielding an inch of Chinese territory.

This position of the Republican party has been seconded for the Democrats by former President Truman. Backing Eisenhower's nation-wide speech threatening war if the People's Republic of China at-

Steelworkers Urgently Need 30-for-40

By Fred Halstead

SEPT. 15—The ninth constitutional convention of the million-member United Steel Workers of America opens in Atlantic City this week. Heading the list of problems facing the 3,500 delegates is the 1957-58 depression in steel.

The downhill slide that began in February, 1957 sent steel production to 50% of capacity for the first months of this year. In the last few months production has slowly come back to 65% of capacity but, according to USWA president David J. McDonald, 200,000 USWA members are still totally unemployed and another 200,000 are on part time. A substantial number of members have been out of work for over a year. The daily struggle for bread is overshadowed by the fear of permanent loss of jobs caused by technological development, including automation.

By pitting the employed

against the unemployed, the corporations seek to divide the workers, destroy union solidarity and greatly increase discrimination against Negro workers, women workers, and workers in the older age bracket, thus further disrupting solidarity. The question of whether to work four or five days per week becomes a red-hot issue that frequently finds the unemployed on one side and the employed on the other. The unemployed can only hope for recall if the four-day system prevails, while the employed can't make ends meet without the fifth day's pay. The company juggles its policy on this issue and others with an eye not only to cause the most division among workers, but to cut down permanently the size of the work force in every department.

The chronic nature of unemployment in the steel industry due to automation and speed-up was pointed up by figures released by the union in a letter to President Eisenhower, Sept. 13, showing that the number of steel workers employed has decreased since February although production has increased by 10% in the same period.

It is clear that this problem cannot begin to be solved by a 10-cent an hour wage increase or some improvement in fringe benefits. An entirely new bargaining policy will be necessary, and the number one demand should be for a shorter work week with no decrease in take-home pay—30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

Pre-convention reports indicate that the McDonald leadership intends to support the convention's going on record for shorter work-week and higher wage demands for the 1959 bargaining.

NO SPECIFIC TARGETS

However, McDonald is expected to resist any attempt to nail down the demands as the

"30 for 40" slogan does. "The new bargaining program," reports the Sept. 14 New York Times, "is expected to avoid specific targets." In other words, McDonald will strike a militant pose—for the moment—without really committing himself to a fight for real gains in 1959.

Nevertheless, McDonald is singing a different tune now than at the opening of the previous convention in Los Angeles two years ago. The Los Angeles convention took place in a period of relatively full employment and shortly after the 34-day strike which ended with the three-year agreement that expires July 1, 1959.

McDonald hailed that contract as the greatest in any union's history. (Though it only got the workers increases of about seven cents an hour per year and did not touch the speed-up problem.) He opened that convention with praise of "people's capitalism" and said that the strike had really been

unnecessary and that he had high hopes that it would be the last one in the history of major steel bargaining. He praised the "mutual trust" that he and the top bosses were supposed to share over the industry.

Then he proceeded to ram a \$2 per month dues increase down the throats of the membership and received a rude awakening when that precipitated a widespread revolt within the union. After Donald C. Rarick, Dues Protest Movement candidate who opposed McDonald in the February 1957 elections, got one third of the votes (even by official count), McDonald toned down his "mutual trust" claptrap and started talking tough to the steel corporations. Still, in the minds of rank and file, he is associated with sweetheart deals on speed-up and with the lack of democracy which is part and parcel of

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Group Expelled From CP Holds National Parley

By Lillian Kiesel

A newly formed Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party presented its ideas publicly last week in the first edition of a monthly newspaper, The Marxist-Leninist Vanguard.

Vanguard reports the Aug. 16-17 conference of the new group which began as the Marxist-Leninist caucus of the Communist Party. The CP leadership's suppression of documents embodying the views of this caucus is the reason given for calling the conference.

The Communist Party's National Executive Committee answered the action of the caucus by expelling all those who attended the conference. The Aug. 17 Worker declares that the call to the caucus' conference "... climaxes a long period of factional, anti-party activity. ... Those who are responsible for the organization of this factional conference have by this act placed themselves outside the Party and merit expulsion from its ranks."

Thus, under threat of expulsion, 83 delegates attended the conference representing an estimated 300 people from local caucuses throughout the country. Lucille Bethancourt, former Smith Act defendant and one of the leaders of the movement in Chicago, chaired the first session.

COMPOSITION

Vanguard reports that the composition of the conference was outstanding because of the high number of workers, Negroes and Puerto Ricans in attendance. The average age of the delegates was thirty-six.

The main line of the conference's programmatic declaration, which is printed in Vanguard, is the need to reconstitute a party capable of leading the struggle for socialism in the United States.

Among the many points raised in the programmatic declaration are the following: (1) Opposition to the notion that "peaceful, parliamentary, constitutional transition to socialism" is possible "in the United States through the evolution of the people's front." The Vanguard group ascribes this view to William Z. Foster among other party leaders.

(2) Dissociation "once and for all, from the opportunist trade union policy which would isolate us from the rank and file workers in order to combat 'isolation' from the labor lieutenants of capital."

(3) Opposition to "the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist youth movement — at a time when the imperialist bourgeoisie has developed its most concentrated attack on the interests of American youth."

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Armando Roman, veteran leader of the CP's Puerto Rican section, presented the political report. He declared that the main task of the Communist Party was the struggle for peace. Most important in this struggle is the working class. "But how," he demanded, "can the leadership of the CPUSA help to generate a peace movement within the ranks of labor if its labor policy is based on the tactic of trailing the trade union bureaucrats?"

On the Negro struggle Roman taxes the CP leadership with opportunism, but does so from a "Negro nationalist" line. He claims that the CP aims to destroy the theoretical base of the question by casting aside the tenet that the Negro question essentially involves "the existence of a nation and people oppressed by American imperialism within the boundaries of the United States." Harry Hayward, one of the earliest exponents of this theory, which was first advanced by the CP in 1928, is now a member of the Marxist-

Leninist Committee.

The organization report was given by A. Marino, Waterfront section organizer of the CP. He pointed out that the two-year struggle in the CP has had a devastating effect. He claimed that of the estimated 17,000 membership at the time of the convention in February 1957, only 3,000 remain.

The Vanguard group further accuses the Communist Party leadership of being out of line with the international Communist movement, which, it contends, does adhere to revolutionary principles. Instances cited are the party leadership's alleged failure to repudiate the 1957 CP convention's stand on the Hungarian rising. The convention voted neither to condemn nor condone the crushing of the revolution. Vanguard considers the Hungarian events to have been a counter-revolution and the crushing of it a revolutionary act.

CALL CP "TITOITE"

Another example cited by Vanguard of the American CP's being out of line with the international movement is the alleged rejection of the 12-party declaration signed in Moscow last November when Khrushchev was consolidating his authority over the Communist parties the world over. Vanguard characterizes the American CP leadership as "Titoite" because Tito opposed the 12-party declaration and refused to sign it.

Vanguard holds that since 1928, the CP leadership in the U.S. has been developing an opportunist course at variance with the Communist parties in the rest of the world. However, the history of the international Communist movement does not bear Vanguard out. Transformation of the CPUSA from a revolutionary socialist party into an opportunist organization parallels similar transformations throughout all other Communist Parties. And this process is tied to the development of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union since 1923.

The Vanguard conference made plans for the "Provisional Organizing Committee" to function nationally and to publish a monthly newspaper. It also elected a 19-man steering committee. Vanguard and four other documents which were suppressed in the CP can be obtained by writing to Harry Hayward, 1649 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y., or to Armando Roman, 162 Second St., New York, N.Y.

School Jim Crow Gets Setback in N.Y.

Seven Negro children in Brooklyn returned to school this week after Superintendent of Schools Theobald granted their parents' request and reassigned them to a school which has a racially mixed student body. The children had been kept home since the opening of the school term in protest against their having to attend a predominantly Negro school. Dr. Theobald promised to immediately rezone other schools in the area. In Harlem, however, nine Negro children are still being privately tutored. Their parents maintain that "education in a segregated school can only result in an inferior education." Their lawyer, Paul B. Zuber, is planning legal action to secure equal educational opportunities for the children.

A Return to Mud-Slinging Practice

By Harry Ring

It is well known in the radical movement that there are important disagreements between the supporters of the New York United Independent-Socialist ticket and the leaders of the Communist Party as to what constitutes a correct socialist electoral policy. The CP leaders have argued that socialists will increase their isolation by opposing labor-endorsed candidates and that it would be preferable to run a single candidate on a peace platform than to enter a full ticket on a socialist platform.

The discussions around these problems have proven healthy and beneficial for the radical movement and have stimulated an unprecedented degree of unity in action among socialists and independents. One of the encouraging features of the discussion until recently was the fact that even though the CP leaders refused to enter the electoral bloc they did present their viewpoint in the debate. Of course, Trotsky-baiting always entered into their argumentation, but to a substantial degree they discussed the real issues in dispute.

Now it appears that the CP leadership and the Worker is dropping the discussion of the issues and reverting to the pre-20th Congress practice of substituting smear attacks for the kind of serious discussion of program that must prevail if the socialist movement is to break through its isolation.

GEORGE MORRIS ARTICLE

The crassest manifestation of reliance on smear techniques is found in the Sept. 14 Worker where labor editor George Morris polemizes against John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist nominee for Governor and General Manager of the National Guardian.

Morris makes no effort to discuss his political differences with McManus regarding the

Will George Morris Dare to Reaffirm This?

[The following are excerpts from George Morris' pamphlet "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement," published, January 1945. First printed in The Communist. —Ed.]

Trotskyites have ceased to be a viewpoint within the Soviet Union or anywhere else. From their treacherous viewpoint, they passed over to acts of sabotage to prevent the success of Stalin's policies. In embarking upon that path, they inevitably found themselves allies of, and eventually working companions with, the most reactionary forces — czarist plotters, foreign imperialists, and fascists who sought the overthrow of the Soviet government. . . . Trotskyites have been swept out of every decent political or labor organization as so much vermin. They have continued to decline along the path of treachery until they have become one of the chief outlets of Hitler's fifth column. . . . The most apparent indicator of their nature are the friends and allies they

make. Among them are Norman Thomas Socialists, whose position is hardly distinguishable from the Trotskyite; John L. Lewis' agents; Coughlinites and Klan groups, all known for their policy of sabotage of the war effort. (Pp. 4 and 5.)

To give their splitting and pro-Hitler policy a "socialist" tone, they shout loudly that management and labor cannot possibly have a joint interest and that only profits come out of a step-up in arms output. (P. 5)

In calling themselves "Socialists" and engaging lavishly in "r-revolutionary" phrasemongering, they swindle some people into believing that they are a sort of an "extra radical" group. There is no more socialism in their work and program than in the work and program of the National Socialist Party (Nazis). (P. 16)

To get at the real cesspool from which the Trotskyites draw their program of treachery, we must look back to the celebrated Moscow trials of 1936-38 when

their top leaders made full confessions of their crimes. (P. 17)

In the issue after D-Day the Militant assured the French people that the Allies are entering France not as liberators but to "enslave" Europe. Since then their shrieks ran like a carbon copy of Goebbels' frantic appeals to the people of Germany. "Both in word and in deed, Roosevelt and Churchill have shown that, far from liberating Europe they intend to subject its people to perpetual capitalist slavery," said the editorial of the September 23 Militant. (P. 21)

The Trotskyites have made the most of their Minneapolis case to capitalize on American labor's traditional solidarity with victims of reaction. (Labor, civil rights, civil liberty and fraternal organizations with total membership of five million protested the conviction of the Minneapolis Case victims. —Ed.) They have pictured their case as a "frame-up" with a lurid tale that Dan

Tobin asked his friend Roosevelt to jail them. From the evidence on Trotskyite crime, Tobin, Roosevelt or any other American, would be perfectly justified in demanding their prosecution. But, as the Minneapolis court record shows, they were convicted not for union activity but on their bluntness announced intention to disrupt the war effort and demoralize our armed forces. Justice was, indeed, generous to them with sentences ranging from only a year to 16 months.

To call their case a civil liberties case, is a mockery of the most elementary concept of democracy . . . for any Americans responsible to a community or a labor organization to have anything to do with them is nothing short of consorting with the enemy. Trotskyites should be exposed and driven out of any organization that they may crawl into. (P. 26)

[As an appendix, George Morris reprinted approvingly an article from the August

1944 issue of International Teamster by Thomas J. Flynn, executive assistant to President Tobin. Below are excerpts. —Ed.]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation then discovered that these same Trotskyites had been holding secret drills to instruct their members in revolutionary warfare against the United States government. Several of them went to prison for a crime bordering on treason . . . The C.I.O. is now discovering that Trotskyites cannot be good union men because they do not believe in the principles of unionism nor do they believe in the American form of government or the American flag. A union to them is only the means of gaining recruits for the Socialist Workers' Party and money to finance its subversive program . . . The Trotskyites were wrong in Russia. They were wrong in the United States. Fortunately, Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not. (Pp. 29 and 30)

... Will the U.S. Act Against Governor Faubus?

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for instance, is still subject to two federal injunctions issued (and never used against him) during the desegregation fight in Little Rock a year ago. If the federal government chose, it could throw him in jail for violating this injunction against interfering in any way with school integration at Central High.

Attorney General Rogers has made statements indicating a firmer attitude by Washington toward Faubus this year than last. About 75 federal marshals have been recruited and sent to Little Rock. A team of Department of Justice lawyers were in Little Rock for a few days before and after the high court's hearing.

How much all this means cannot yet be said. It may be mainly a reaction to the adverse criticism the administration suffered for its failure to do anything to enforce integration at Central High after it sent in federal troops. To the chagrin of the administration both the Little Rock School Board and Thurgood Marshall emphasized this at the recent Supreme Court hearings.

NO CONFIDENCE The past performance of the administration, as well as Eisenhower's publicly expressed personal desire for a "slow-down" of desegregation, furnish no basis for confidence that federal enforcement will come in Little Rock or Virginia unless great pressure both here in the U.S. and abroad is brought to bear.

Indeed, it is questionable whether the motive of the federal government's decision not to interfere with the school closings immediately is tactical or the beginning of a retreat.

Attorney General Rogers intimates publicly that the purpose is to permit public anger of white parents to mount and turn against Faubus and the other racist officials. On this basis the federal attorneys in Little Rock were ordered to pack and return home.

The test will come in the promptness with which Washington moves to prevent the setting up of substitute "private" schools and to punish any attempts by Faubus and Co. to instigate anti-Negro violence.



FAUBUS

ALMOST STOPPED Meanwhile figures for this year's school opening have become available. They show that the process of desegregation has virtually come to a dead halt. In the whole country only 19 districts began any school desegregation this year. All these were in border regions rather than the South; none have large populations, and the desegregation in each case is token. The districts were: seven

in Oklahoma, three in Kentucky, one in Maryland, and one in Texas. The total number of Negro children involved was about 307.

Even if the Virginia authorities are forced to reopen the closed schools on an integrated basis, the amount of integration resulting thereby will be merely token. Court-ordered integration for Norfolk is 17 Negro students; for Front Royal, 22; for Charlottesville, 12. In Arlington County, where the other Virginia case is pending, Federal Judge Bryan on Sept. 17 ordered the admission of only four of the 30 Negro applicants — and not this school term but next semester.

How the white-supremacist counter-offensive first slowed, then stopped, new integration is revealed in the figures for past school openings: 1954-1955, 450 school districts began to desegregate; 1956-57, 260 began to desegregate; 1957-58, 67 began to desegregate; 1957-58, only 12 began to desegregate. Even the extension of token integration by those school districts which desegregated prior to this year has practically halted. This year's school opening saw only 19 districts announcing any plans for extension or expansion of their integration programs.

What this all means in actual cases may be illustrated by a few examples. After five school openings since the Supreme Court's original decision, the relatively northern state of Delaware has desegregated only 19 of its 98 school districts. Not a single new district was desegregated this September.

NASHVILLE PLAN

In Nashville, Tenn., one of the few districts in the mid-South where any desegregation has been undertaken, there was



CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN

an "expansion" of integration this year. Nashville has a "grade-a-year plan." Last year the first grade was desegregated by admission of a few Negro children. This year's first grade was also desegregated by admission of 20 Negro children. Thus in Nashville's first and second grades there are now a total of 34 Negro children in previously lily white schools. It will take until 1968 for all public school grades to be desegregated. Moreover, if the admission rate of 20 Negro children a year is maintained there will then be a total of 240 Negro children actually integrated (assuming none drop out). The token character of such integration may be gauged by the fact that right now Nashville has over 10,000 Negro school children.

... Tammany Challenges Ballot Right of Socialists

(Continued from Page 1)

the late Ed ("Boss") Flynn.

A third challenge against the Independent-Socialists was entered by one Bernard Block of Rochester. Block describes himself as a free-lance salesman and currently a registered Republican. On Sept. 16, the Rochester Times-Union reported that still another challenge had been filed by Elmer J. La Pointe, chairman of the Columbia County Liberal Party.

The challengers must now file detailed specifications with De Sapo, in his capacity as Secretary of State, to substantiate their challenges. Pinckney, who was still combing through Independent-Socialist petitions this afternoon, asserted that he had found names that were not the signatures of the persons purporting to sign; that others

did not live at the addresses listed; that the ward or election district of some signers had been incorrectly listed and that he had found one "fictitious" address.

In a Sept. 13 statement, Henry Abrams, Chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, charged that Pinckney and Goldwater are "doing the bidding of the De Sapo machine and the Democratic party to keep a party which stands for peace and full civil rights off the ballot."

CHECKED PETITIONS

"As a result of meticulous checking," Abrams said, "we know that our petitions are uncontestedly valid and cannot be legitimately disqualified. We are prepared to fight with every political and legal recourse,

any attempt to disqualify these petitions through trickery or fraud."

A team of attorneys in New York and Albany are now actively preparing to defend the Independent-Socialists in their fight for a ballot place and are

set to go into the State Supreme Court if De Sapo rules the petitions out.

To help defray the heavy expenses involved, the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee has issued a special appeal for contributions to be

sent to its campaign headquarters at 799 Broadway, New York City 3, N.Y.

Meanwhile an effort to cloak the De Sapo move with a smear attack on the Independent-Socialist ticket was made by the Albany Times-Union, which on Sept. 14, claimed it had "evidence" that the Republican party had aided in securing the Independent-Socialist nominating petitions and that petitions had been circulated at an Albany County Republican clambake.

Moving ahead in the face of the scandalous attack upon its ballot rights, the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee announced that its opening campaign rally will be held here Tuesday, Oct. 7, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St. The rally will hear

the Independent-Socialist candidates and James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian.

LAMONT ON CHINA CRISIS

With the fight for peace a central plank in its program, the Independent-Socialist candidates are continuing their vigorous opposition to the Administration's moves toward war against China. Commenting on Eisenhower's Sept. 11 speech on the American-Chinese crisis, Dr. Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator, has declared that "the United States has no business interfering with Communist China's plain legal, moral and historical right to assert domain over the off-shore islands during a civil war that has been artificially prolonged by American military aid to the Chiang regime."

Morris, who suggests that anyone who doesn't believe him

Two questions of fact touched on by Morris serve to demonstrate that despite their political opposition to Khrushchev — and to Stalin before him — the SWP and this paper have been from their inception uncompromising supporters of the USSR.

Morris, who suggests that anyone who doesn't believe him

Socialist Candidate on TV

John T. McManus, ISP candidate for New York Governor, Sept. 23, 8:45 A.M. Channel 4, WRCA-TV, Dave Garraway Show.

IT PAYS TO BE RICH There has been an average drop of 4% in workers' buying power in the past year, but dividend payments are off only 1% from a year ago according to a survey made by the First National City Bank of New York.

that others

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Vol. XXII — No. 38

Monday, September 22, 1958

Meany on Little Rock

After the U.S. Supreme Court's recent Little Rock decision, AFL-CIO President George Meany issued a statement to the press. He said the ruling "proves that the doctrine of equal justice has real meaning in this country. Now that the court has spoken, America has the right to expect all its citizens—from the Governor down to the child in school—to abide by the meaning and the letter of the law."

The statement was not particularly outstanding among those issued that day by liberals, educators, clergymen and others. There is nothing wrong in what it says. What is wrong is in what it does not say. It says nothing about the powerful American labor movement taking action to speed school integration.

Meany may say that the Supreme Court ruling gives "real meaning" to equal justice in this country. But that is mere rhetoric. Events of the past four years have shown that the high court's words by themselves do not give "real meaning" to integration. Only the actual, flesh-and-blood mixing of children in the schools without regard to color gives "real meaning" to it. And the question is raised of just what Mr. Meany and the AFL-CIO plan to do to give "real meaning" to equal justice for Negro school children.

Does Meany think he has discharged his obligation to the interests of the American working class when he calls on all citizens to abide by the high court ruling?

Sad to say, it appears he does.

On record for desegregation both in convention and speeches, the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats have done practically nothing to pressure the Washington politicians into enforcing and haven't lifted a finger in the actual fight. Instead of

bolstering those elements in the AFL-CIO in Arkansas, who can see how segregation and racism hurts unionism, the top labor leaders took a hands-off attitude. Along with other pro-integration elements in Arkansas, progressive unionists were intimidated into silence. Unopposed, Faubus and the White Citizens Council filled the political vacuum and even became the loudest voice in some of the unions.

Walter Reuther, who doesn't think twice of flying to Europe to explain the world situation to audiences there, never once felt the need of flying to Little Rock to explain to union members there why they should support integration in Central High. Meany likewise was too busy selling John Foster Dulles' foreign policy in the United Nations to use his prestige and powers of persuasion in Arkansas.

It is noteworthy that the labor officialdom in the recent legal battle on Little Rock did not even file an amicus brief with the court as it did in 1954.

The labor leaders well know that the court's upholding of desegregation is no more the achievement of desegregation than the NRA's clause 7a, "recognizing" the right of workers to form unions, was the achievement of actual unions. Both of these are rights on paper that have to be won in struggle.

The fact is that the AFL-CIO leadership has ducked out of the integration struggle. In Little Rock and elsewhere in the South the failure of the labor movement to defend integration left the field to Faubus and the racists. Nationally the AFL-CIO achieves a similar result by tag-ending the Dixiecrat-Northern Democrat political coalition. That is why the AFL-CIO's record for the past four years on the school integration fight is a shameful zero.

1. Independent Socialist Politics

On page four of this issue, we report that an Independent Political Action Unity Conference of Northern California is scheduled to take place on Sept. 27-28 in San Francisco.

Among the sponsors of the conference are prominent socialist spokesmen in Northern California, belonging to various radical parties or unaffiliated. What many of them are seeking is to promote a united socialist electoral endeavor in their area on the order of the United Independent-Socialist Ticket in New York State.

It is noteworthy, however, that unlike the New York conference call the San Francisco announcement does not project socialist political action. We believe that this is a serious failing, and we urge the socialists associated with the California endeavor to do their utmost to convince the parley of the validity of the united socialist ticket idea.

It may be that a number of sponsors fear that a socialist ticket would be too narrow a venture. But there is even more to fear on the side of burying the socialist program. For example, there is the danger that the movement will try to sub-

stitute its kind of "broad," reform party for a union-based labor party.

The majority of individuals associated with independent-political-action projects in New York or San Francisco are socialist-minded. Why should they try to masquerade as a "broad," third party? Why shouldn't they frankly campaign as socialists?

The New York experience has already shown that the socialist character of the campaign has strong attraction for radicals of all tendencies as well as for many independents not clearly associated with any socialist grouping.

What was truly remarkable and heartening in the New York experience was that socialists and independents were able to reach agreement on a substantial minimum program and to campaign unitedly for it. But the minimum was socialist. To drop the socialism, in the hope that even larger numbers might be enrolled, would be to deprive the movement of its character and of its inspiration.

But, it may be asked, what is so urgent about presenting a socialist program? We believe that socialism has great urgency in America.

2. The Socialist Perspective

We believe that the most pressing task before the American working people today is to bring Big Business rule to an end and to remake American society on socialist foundations. There will be no lasting peace, no guarantee of civil liberties, no civil rights, no economic security until this transformation is achieved. Under continued Big Business rule, the working people are menaced by fascism and atomic war. Socialists have thus a clear obligation to campaign for the alternative to these ghastly perspectives.

Elections provide socialists with their most favorable opportunity to explain the basic alternatives confronting America, and they must make use of this forum. Of course, socialists do not content themselves with posing the fundamental questions. They advance concrete demands that can serve as starting points for mass anti-capitalist struggles—they campaign on the issues.

They also call on sincere liberals and pacifists to vote for them on the ground that peace and freedom cannot be developed under Big Business rule. They call on independents to cast their protest vote in the socialist column against the misrule of the Big Business political machines. But they make these appeals without sacrificing the socialist character of their campaign.

Electoral action designed to popular-

ize the socialist program can (and must) be carried on by socialists even if they are a small minority in the working class. But the program itself can be realized only by the political struggle of the entire working class. The working people must win political power as a precondition for the building of socialism. That is why an indispensable part of socialist campaigning is the advocacy of labor's breakaway from the capitalist parties and formation of a mass working class party. Concretely, socialists today advocate the building of a labor party based on the unions and allied to the Negro people and the working farmers.

It is conceivable that when such a party is launched it will lack a socialist program. Nevertheless, socialists would support such a party against the parties of the capitalist class, for its very formation would mark the beginning of the political showdown between class forces in America. While campaigning for labor party candidates, socialists would vigorously urge the party to adopt a socialist program so that labor might rise to the full consciousness of its historic tasks.

Independent socialist electoral action today is thus integrally linked with the perspective of struggle for socialism to be waged by the entire working class. And this in turn is linked with the perspectives for survival and progress of the human race.

A Preview of de Gaulle's Constitution

PARIS, Sept. 10 — On Sept. 4, General de Gaulle initiated the campaign for adoption of his new Constitution by presenting it to the people of Paris. The Constitution is to be voted on by referendum on Sept. 28.

The manner of its presentation tells more about its real content than the lengthiest analysis. An eyewitness report in the conservative Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, describes how workers who had come to demonstrate their opposition to de Gaulle started to walk away in orderly fashion after his speech, their backs to the cops who were "defending public order."

"Suddenly I saw the CRS [special strikebreaking cops] leap forward brandishing their clubs and strike among the crowd. Immediately people were thrown against each other; several women fell down and the CRS clubbed them at the moment when they tried to get up." A little later, the same observer saw a group of demonstrators pursued by police. The demonstrators managed to get away, but "A police car stopped; some CRS got out of it and, not seeing anyone to attack, leaped upon a fifty-year-old woman who was trying in panic to get into the subway station, and beat her until she was insensible."

PREVIEW

The policeman's club beating an old woman; the uniformed thugs firing a machine-pistol volley into a crowd of workers; the Great Man speaking to a handpicked audience while an army of police keep the people at an enormous distance; the five Swedish press photographers beaten by the police because they were foreigners and because they dared to take pictures of what was happening; the shameless lying of press, radio and television

"Free Choice" Offered Africans



French dictator de Gaulle faces angry crowd in Dakar. Algeria. They demanded national independence for their country. De Gaulle threatened economic reprisals if they voted for independence in the slated Sept. 28 referendum.

which used all means to present the occasion as a great popular demonstration in favor of de Gaulle — all these give a preview of what de Gaulle's regime will be like, if he gets his way. For a more complete picture one has only to look at Algeria today.

The French government (and no doubt the American capitalist press) is certain to present the referendum of Sept. 28 as a model of democratic procedure. And how! Everyone knows that, after a four-year struggle for freedom in which each day hundreds of men, women and children are slaughtered by the French, the Algerian people crave to become "100% Frenchmen." The democratic value of the four million "Yes" votes we can expect to be reported from Algeria is self-evident.

cisely to the extent that there will be more voters in Africa. **Soustelle in Command**

The "votes" of Algeria and Africa will be enough to approve the Constitution no matter what the results are in France. Still, a majority of "Yes" in France itself is highly desirable, even essential for de Gaulle. The job of getting these "Yes" votes has been placed in the capable hands of France's number one fascist chieftain, Jacques Soustelle, who, as minister of information, directly controls French radio, television and newsreels. (Incidentally, the unanimously-elected vice-president of the Socialist International, Guy Mollet, was able to get his party to approve of de Gaulle's taking power last May only by reporting de Gaulle's solemn pledge that Soustelle would not enter the government.)

Soustelle has moved slowly but surely. He has not suppressed many more newspapers than did "Comrade" Mollet, but his first step was to remove all the "communist agents" who had been placed in control of radio and television by the various "pro-communist" governments which everyone knows have ruled France for the last eleven years. By a strange coincidence, all these "communist infiltrators" have been replaced by members of the extreme right wing of the old Gaullist party — the Rally of the French People (RPF).

Under Soustelle, the mass media are nothing more than propaganda agencies for de Gaulle, and the campaign for "Yes" votes is being financed mainly out of the taxpayers' pockets. For de Gaulle's Sept. 4 speech alone, some \$200,000 of public funds were used. The electoral campaign has been organized in such a way as to give each fascist grouplet with

a dozen members as much free radio time — and at better hours — as is given to the French Communist Party, which regularly polls six million votes. The small amount of "official" election propaganda time is to be divided among 23 arbitrarily chosen groups, at least 18 of which are in favor of the de Gaulle's Constitution, while the entire labor movement, despite its protests, is entirely excluded from the list. Soustelle has not even hesitated to eliminate the regular weekly broadcasts of the League for the Rights of Man, which has defended French civil liberties for more than a half century.

LOGIC WEAK

If the advocates of a "Yes" vote have a superabundance of material resources, they show a certain weakness on the side of logic. Some put their hope in the "personality" of de Gaulle — a personality which so far has shown infinitely more power to attract old Vichyites and Axis collaborators than workers who fought in the anti-Nazi Resistance, supposedly headed by de Gaulle!

Others, like the "Comrade" Vice-President Mollet, assert that de Gaulle in power is the only thing keeping the pariahs of Algiers from invading France and setting up a fascist regime right away. To vote "No" would therefore really be to favor civil war and the establishment of fascism. This "argument" ignores among other things (1) that the French working class is stronger than a few thousand pariahs and (2) that virtually all the fascists, from Soustelle and Massu down, are supporting de Gaulle with the most desperate energy as if their entire future depends on his victory.

Outside the official propaganda (one of whose staple themes is that victory for a "Yes" vote is inevitable), there is no sign whatever of popular enthusiasm for de Gaulle. The Sept. 4 demonstration, at which de Gaulle was afraid to let any but an invited handful within shouting distance of the Place de la République, was such a striking demonstration of this fact that immediately afterwards, de Gaulle decided to eliminate most of his scheduled pre-election tour of France!

In addition the striking success of the Communist Party's "Festival for L'Humanité" on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 6 and 7, shows that the campaign against de Gaulle has strengthened the CP's influence. (The CP claims an attendance of 300,000 at the Festival, and judging by the huge crowd I saw Sunday afternoon and evening, cannot be exaggerating by much.)

POUJADE CAUTIOUS

Another important sign is widespread report of small peasant and other middle-class opposition. This comes from unexpected quarters—the compulsorily optimistic reports of the prefects to de Gaulle express worry about the peasants, and Poujade's private survey of the adherents of his small shopkeeper's movement show 80% opposed to de Gaulle.

As a result, Poujade, whose agitation has strong elements of fascist demagoguery and who, after May 13, was an enthusiastic supporter of de Gaulle, has shifted to a very equivocal position.

Meanwhile the war in Algeria goes on and becomes more and more intense. The Algerian National Liberation Army appears to have materially improved its armament, and large-scale combats are reported frequently, in which the French have lost aircraft. In France itself, the National Liberation Front (FLN) has blown up industrial installations and killed military personnel. The French police have responded with a reign of terror against Algerians, imposing a 9:30 curfew, imprisoning "suspects" for long periods of time in the Vel d'Hiv (the Paris Madison Square Garden), and shooting down Algerians, often without provocation. Among the "Algerians" killed in this way were two young Italian stonemasons returning late from work. In this case the French government had to apologize to Italy. But if the unfortunate masons had really been Algerians the papers would have said "Two More Terrorists Killed by the Forces of Order."

The brutality of the police and the opposition and combativity of the workers are two sides of a single process — the preparation for a showdown struggle which will only have begun with the results of the referendum.

... Confer in Secret Over Quemoy

(Continued from Page 1)

tempted to take Quemoy, Truman declared Sept. 14, "I do not go along with some of our leaders—including some of my own party—as to the extent of our interests or concern in the islands of Quemoy and Matsu."

CAPITALIST CLASS DIVIDES

The effort to shore up bipartisan support for Chiang's policy of an early war between the United States and China has not proved too successful. The capitalist class itself has divided over the "brinkmanship" of John Foster Dulles.

The position of the section that favors risking nuclear war — any time, any place — was voiced Sept. 16 by William F. Knowland, sometimes known as the Senator from Formosa: "There are some who believe that you can distinguish between a Communist assault on Quemoy and Matsu in and of themselves and Quemoy and Matsu as stepping stones for Formosa and Pescadores. What nonsense is this? If your security position in Formosa is lost, the entire defense line, which includes our bases at Okinawa, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and Australia, will disintegrate and will be back much nearer California's shores."

The opposition in the capitalist class to this view ranges from those who would not defend Quemoy and Matsu, but would try to hold on to Formosa, to those who think that the whole policy of the United States towards Chiang should be reconsidered.

Although these critics are 100% — perhaps 1000% — against anything remotely resembling socialism or communism, their views on the crisis over Quemoy are worth noting since they can very well have an influence on the course of American foreign policy.

Two letters to the editor of the Wall Street Journal ably reflect this current as it has been expressed in that newspaper. Jerome Davis writes: "No neutral, intelligent person anywhere in the world but would question U.S. policy in the Formosa Straits. Here are three little islands, Matsu, Quemoy and Little Quemoy, within five miles of the China Coast. The U.S., which is thousands of miles away, is sending her fleet to prevent China from having them on the grounds that they are necessary to protect Formosa. Yet the fact is these islands block the use of two big harbors, Amoy and Foochow."

If we are deliberately trying to prove to the world that we are governed by selfish stupidity in our foreign policy it is hard to see how we can do it more effectively."

BEHIND THE DOOR

Lee Parker draws a similar conclusion regarding the "stupidity" of American foreign

policy: "Our China policy is just not smart. We simply backed the wrong horse (Chiang Kai-shek). Only a fool will not learn from his own mistake. Here in North Carolina we have millions of pounds of good cigar tobacco for sale, but instead of selling we pay storage for it, while China, one of our former best customers, could and would buy this tobacco. Our once touted 'Open Door' policy now becomes a policy of on the brink of stupidity. Politics and religion assisted by trade might make peace a reality. Certainly trade might make us a little money."

The N.Y. Times, which is often utilized by leading public figures to express views of this type, has been printing critical letters since the outbreak of the crisis; and its own columnists, including the TV critic, have joined in the discussion despite an official editorial policy supporting Eisenhower.

A series of three advertisements on "The Folly of Formosa" by the Toronto Globe and Mail, Sept. 2, 3, and 4, were followed Sept. 5 by a lengthy letter to the editor from James P. Warburg. Considering his connections with railroad and banking interests, Warburg offered some unusual arguments:

PARALELL WITH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

"Let us suppose that after Cornwallis' surrender the British had refused to recognize the finality of their defeat and, expressing their determination to return to the mainland, had withdrawn most of their forces to an imaginary island lying 100 miles off our Middle Atlantic coast. Let us suppose further that the Royal Navy and a few of King George's Redcoats had clung to Nantucket, Long Island and the Florida Keys, using these offshore islands as bases from which to interfere with American shipping and to launch occasional raids upon the mainland."

"How long would the Founding Fathers have tolerated such a situation?"

"And how would the American people have felt toward France if, instead of aiding the American Revolution, Louis XVI and his Foreign Minister Vergennes had decided to back the British, had refused to accept their defeat and had sent Rochambeau's fleet to help the British defend their remaining island strongholds? (Incidentally, according to the Dulles doctrine, French assistance to the American rebellion would have been adjudged as 'indirect aggression.')"

"How myopic with respect to our own real interests and how ruthlessly inconsiderate of the interests of humanity are we going to allow our Government to be? How long shall we be silent while our Government recklessly takes us from one brink to another? Is there no 'loyal opposition' which, instead of acquiescing in if not actually applauding each act of insanity, will at long last demand an end to irresponsibility and propose some common-sense alternatives?"

"This is a time when true patriotism demands not quiet acquiescence but loud protest."

AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE RIGHT TO REPUDIATE

Warburg demanded the immediate evacuation of Chiang's forces from the offshore islands. Even if a "rash" promise has been made "or implied" by Dulles or Eisenhower to Chiang Kai-shek, "the American people have a right to repudiate the promise." The letter ends with a question, "Who are we to decide for all humanity that the risk of extinction is preferable to letting the Chinese Communists take over two little groups of islands to which we ourselves have not the shadow of legal or moral right?"

running the risk of all-out war?" He suggested that Chiang Kai-shek "should be persuaded to evacuate Quemoy and Matsu and cease harassing sea and air attacks against the mainland."

The Democratic machine, sensing the strong popular sentiment against war, sent up a few critical balloons. Both Democratic Congressional leaders, Lyndon B. Johnson and Sam Rayburn, were silent about the part of Eisenhower's speech which called for the U.S. to fight over Quemoy and Matsu.

In the Lebanon crisis a few months ago, they backed Eisenhower without reservation in accordance with the bipartisan ship that goes with brinkmanship. Senators Kennedy of Massachusetts, Green of Rhode Island, and Mansfield of Montana, the latter two both prominent spokesmen on foreign affairs in Democratic party circles, openly criticized Eisenhower.

Two Democratic foreign policy experts also took cracks at the Republicans. Dean Acheson, of sorry memory in relation to Korea, made a cutting analysis of Dulles' policy. Naturally he did not subject his own policies when he was Secretary of State to similar scapel treatment.

John Carter Vincent, a former Republican target like Acheson, wrote Sept. 13: "Now we seem to accept with silent trust the Administration's bland assurance that Quemoy and Matsu are more important to the defense of Formosa than they were in 1955, as we do also the State Department's bellicose warning to the Chinese Communists that they hazard general war by attacking the islands, and the Defense Department's well-advertised build-up of American military forces in the Formosa area. Are the stakes worth the tremendous risk we seem prepared to take?"

Vincent asks the searching question: "For how long can we cling to the delusion that Mao and Chou are evanescent, only Chiang endures?"

These critical comments are typical of the opposition mood apparent among a section of the capitalist class. This mood is not an indication of any fundamental change in their outlook. All of them support the general war preparations of American imperialism.

What disturbs them is the tactical question of starting a war over Quemoy, or over Formosa, or over Chiang. And this is not because they are any shrewder than Dulles and Eisenhower, who are currently in charge of American foreign policy and American war preparations.

They are just freer to voice their reaction to the deep opposition to war in this country and abroad, to the fears and weaknesses of their allies, and to the mounting power of the revolutionary forces they face.

HOW DID U.S. GET IN DILEMMA?

Noting that in 1953 there were no American military advisers on Quemoy or Matsu, whereas today "twenty advisers are reported to be on Quemoy," Cruise asked: "How has the United States allowed itself to be placed in the dilemma of seeming to abandon its ally or

Mayor Zeidler Bows Out

By James Boulton

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE—On Aug. 30 Mayor Frank Zeidler of this city resigned as national chairman of the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation. The pretext he gave was "Trotskyite infiltration" of the SP-SDF. What he meant by this was the entry into the SP-SDF of the Independent Socialist League, led by Max Shachtman, following a referendum, which allowed League members to join. Of course, the ISL has nothing in common with Trotskyism, but that's beside the point since the real reason for Zeidler's resignation is that he sees no future for himself as a "Socialist." He has been siding up to the Democratic Party for many years. "The Northern wing of the Democratic Party in many instances is very progressive," he recently declared.

Back in 1954, Zeidler wrote, "An era ended for the Socialist Party of Wisconsin on July 11, 1954. On that date the State Convention of the once powerful party voted not to run candidates in the 1954 elections but to support those endorsed by labor wherever advisable."

This was a formula for supporting the Democrats, who, in the main, are the ones endorsed by the top labor officialdom. Sanction for this policy was given by both 1957 and 1958 conventions of the SP-SDF. The party-federation prohibits electoral collaboration only with the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Both Wayne Leverenz, who is SWP candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, and I are well aware of Frank Zeidler's real motivation in resigning from the SP-SDF. With Leverenz' concurrence, I accordingly wrote Zeidler the following open letter, portions of which were quoted in the Sept. 3 Milwaukee Journal in an article headlined "Calls Zeidler a Democrat."

"The Socialist Workers Party and its candidates for U.S. Senator and Governor of Wisconsin wish to express their belief in the wisdom of your decision to resign

from active leadership in the Socialist Party. Your action will help clear the road for a regroupment of those socialist forces aiming at the formation of an independent labor party for America.

"We believe that you have every right to be a Democrat; and many years ago I urged you to come out four-square for that party whose politics and methods are closest to your heart. On the other hand, American socialists since the days of Eugene V. Debs have been militant front-rank opponents of the capitalist system and the war party which it must empower to serve its world economic ambitions.

"We were never able to see eye-to-eye with the Democratic war-makers in 1941 as you were able to do, and as Mr. Eisenhower of the Communist Party was able to do. And today both of you support William Proxmire [Democrat] for U.S. Senator . . .

"Our proposal for united socialist electoral slates in 1958 has been an above-board operation, spelled out in press and public address, with no merger talk. We have invited the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party of Mrs. Cozzini, the Peoples Progressive Party remnants, and sundry independents like the American Socialist magazine society, to run candidates with us on a broad platform.

"I think you are wholly aware that we favor, above all, for the American workers and thinking progressives, an immensely democratic independent labor party on the order of the British parliamentary Labor Party . . .

"Your action confirms, a bit belatedly, my opinion presented in a public document in August of 1949 and entitled, 'Socialist Party and Democratic Leaders Plot Unity.' At that time I pointed out that you would necessarily follow your predecessors into the house of Truman and Eastland. I said, 'Truth is: Zeidler is a well-behaving Democrat . . .'

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Jobless Left Stranded in Economic Upturn

By Gordon Bailey

While government and Big Business spokesmen are exuding confidence over the economic situation, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has gloomy news about the unemployed. According to Department of Labor figures for August 1958 the level of unemployment in the U.S. has remained constant despite a rise in economic activity in the last three months. Since Spring, about 7.5% of the labor force has been unemployed. In July the figure was 7.3% while in August it climbed to 7.6%, the highest point since the start of the recession. In August 1957 the figure stood at 4.3%.

Official government figures, always on the conservative side, put the number of unemployed today at 4,699,000. Of these, according to Bureau of Labor statistics, 270,000 exhausted their benefits in August, while 650,000 were collecting additional benefits under the Temporary Unemployment Program. These workers have been unemployed six months or more.

This protracted unemployment occurs in the face of an upturn in certain sections of the economy in the last three months.

PRODUCTION GOES UP

According to the Federal Reserve Board's monthly summary for August, industrial production has regained more than half of the ground lost during the recession. The Board's figure for industrial activity during August was 137% of the 1947-49 average, halfway between the recession low of 126% and the August 1957 high of 145%.

At the same time according to the Board, residential building has reached a rate of 1,116,000 units, the highest since January 1956. Production of manufactured goods also rose in the past three months, and output of electricity — regarded as a significant indicator of business activity — advanced to a new high.

While industrial activity may have regained half the ground lost in the recession, far less than half of the laid-off workers have got their jobs back. Since August 1957 only 500,000 out of a total of 2.4 million unemployed industrial workers have found jobs. This is about 20% of the unemployed put back to work despite a 50% rise in economic activity.

Key to this lag in employment lies in automation and improved technology that enable the plants to turn out more goods with fewer workers. This process of technological advance has been speeded up during

the recession. Manufacturers have taken advantage of the business slowdown to permanently close less efficient plants and open newly equipped ones, often in the low wage areas of the South and Southwest. In upstate New York, whole towns have been left economically stranded by such shoe or textile factories shutting down for good.

PICTURE IN STEEL

Even where manufacturing operations are not transferred bodily to brand new plants, installation of new labor-saving machinery enables the old plants to produce more efficiently. It is estimated that the nation's steel plants have increased efficiency by 10% since February of this year. This means that even if steel production were restored to the 100% of capacity level (it is 65% now), at least 10% of the nearly 400,000 fully or partly unemployed steel workers would still be jobless.

Another negative factor in the employment picture is revealed by the Journal of Commerce in its issue of Sept. 16. Speaking of prospects for recovery the editors write: "Taking into account the fact that the labor force grows by about three-quarters of a million persons a year and that a recovery period typically sees increased hours worked before there is any substantial amount of rehiring, they [the economists] cannot see a recovery strong enough to absorb all but 2 1/2 million 'frictional' unemployed for some time to come. A 2 1/2 million unemployment level is regarded as 'full employment.' This means that even at the present rate of recovery, a jobless total of five million or more can be expected for the next year and continued recovery is by no means assured."

Unemployment benefits, even with the 13-week extension, run to no more than 39 weeks, and many workers have already exhausted all their benefits. The Administration has turned its back on the jobless, but the labor movement cannot afford to do likewise. The immediate needs of the unemployed must be met by demanding unemployment compensation at full wages for the entire period of unemployment. Again, unemployment must be attacked by fighting for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.



"Hey Joe, are you between 20 and 25 years old, with 15 years dishwashing experience? There's a want ad here for one."

... Steel Workers Need 30-for-40

(Continued from Page 1)
class collaboration between union officials and the employers.

Recently, there has been much rumor to the effect that a large number of USA officials considered McDonald too much of a liability and were getting ready to dump him. Reports to this effect published in the August issue of Fortune magazine and in the September Readers Digest were hotly denied in a unanimous statement by the USA International Executive Board published in the September issue of Steel Labor. In the same issue, McDonald warns that the corporations are preparing a bitter attack on the union in 1959.

BUREAUCRACY CLOSES RANKS

The officers report to this week's convention has a similar tone and declares that "the vast majority of the operators of

our plants and mills have betrayed our acts of good faith . . ." The report also attempts to lump together corporation attacks and rank-and-file opposition to McDonald within the union itself. It appears then, that the bureaucracy has united behind McDonald and has decided to meet the crisis in the industry and the union in a two-fold way.

On the one hand it adopts a militant pose in order to rally the workers behind the leadership. This reflects the growing pressure of the rank and file for militant class struggle on the part of the union. On the other hand, the bureaucrats appear to be preparing reprisals against the very elements within the union which are making this rank-and-file pressure felt. This combination of concessions and repressions will probably make up the important action at the Steel Workers ninth convention.

Letters from Militant Readers

Norman Thomas On Middle East

Editor:

On Aug. 11 a fair-sized number of people came to downtown Chicago to hear some speechifying on the "Crisis in the Middle East." Two university professors served as window dressing for Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader. The two professors spent most of their time moralizing on the issue—spicing this with toast-master stories. They decried Dulles' "brinkmanship" and Ike's blundering, but always managed to avoid saying anything concrete about the crisis and about what ought to be done.

Norman Thomas, however, got right down to cases — at least he did at first. I was even momentarily warmed by his forthrightness. He said that the revolutionary regimes in Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus were at least better than the old ones. He got applause when he called for orderly withdrawal of American troops. He agreed with the professors that U.S. policy should be one of encouraging neutrality for the Middle East nations. Then he went one better by advocating some kind of understanding between East and West. He even called for UN recognition of the People's Republic of China. This, he said, would be more

representative than giving a seat on the Security Council to the Seventh Fleet.

But then he started to advocate that the UN should police the Middle East, and I drew up short. Although he had declared himself against interference in the internal affairs of Middle East countries, Thomas urged a UN police force in the area to prevent things like strife between the Maronite Christians and Moslems in Lebanon and to protect minorities like the Palestinian Arab refugees. However, any UN police force can be used for a "police action" as in Korea. Didn't the U.S. government propose that the Marines in Lebanon might be converted into UN troops or combined with the UN observer corps?

Where at the start of his speech I had felt that this time I could agree with Norman Thomas on a foreign policy issue, as he developed his ideas I felt that once again his "socialism" was of the State Department variety.

E. Larsen
Chicago

A T-H Victim

Editor:

I've known Brother Hugh Bryson some 15 years. I've been shipmate, friend, associate and fellow maritime unionist with him some 14 of these years. The greater part of the last year he has been locked away in a Federal Prison on what I believe is the phoniest of frame-ups. He was the first union functionary framed under the Taft-Hartley Law. He is as much a victim of anti-labor big business as Mooney-Billings, Sacco-Vanzetti, Joe Hill, King-Ramsey-Connors and others . . .

This is an issue not just limited to our own San Francisco waterfront, although that is

where he served the trade-union movement primarily. We must start to acquaint the whole trade-union movement with the issues at stake and start united actions to secure his release. Labor and people's organizations everywhere should interest themselves in the "Case of the Frame-Up of Hugh Bryson."

I would like to suggest that readers of your paper take time out to drop him a postcard to let him know that progressive minded people will never forget him, what he has done for the working people, and are continuing the fight to set him free. Postcards only please. No written letters. Prison regulations, you know.

The address is: Hugh Bryson, Box 7, San Pedro, Calif.

J.A.R.
San Francisco

(Hugh Bryson was a top officer of the West Coast Marine Cooks and Stewards union up to the time that this union was destroyed by government and rival union attacks.—Ed.)

The Catholic Power

Editor:

This letter is to compliment you for publication of Sept. 1, entitled "N.Y. Birth-Control Fight."

I hope that in the future you will publish additional articles of the same nature, as there are many flagrant violations by churches which need to be corrected. Examples: churches attempt to break down separation from the state by pressuring for subsidization of church school, school buses, tax exemption, taking part in political and economic debates under the self-appointed theory that moral doctrines covered in the Bible permit trespassing out of the strictly religious sphere into public policies, etc.

Recently the church instruct-

ed Catholic attorneys to submit for church examination any divorce or separation suits before accepting such suits, even though the litigants might be of some other faith, such as Jewish. This is printed in a recent issue of official Catholic periodical and also in officially approved Catholic booklets. The church also threatens damnation to Catholic druggists who sell contraceptives. There are many other examples of similar church interference outside of its own sphere.

The SWP will gain a large number of supporters among Catholics if it will support views of Catholics who dissent with arbitrary and unjust and unwarranted intrusion on their civil rights by arrogant church authorities.

E.W.
San Bernardino, Calif.

Prices Jump Up Before Your Eyes

Editor:

There can be no question that the heavy hand of inflation is reaching into every segment of American society.

Several weeks ago at a Mexican dance in St. Paul, we were drinking beer and eating tacos — the Mexican equivalent of sandwich — which sold at two for a quarter.

We were a little early. People were just beginning to arrive and the band was starting to warm up in the background. The tacos were delicious, and we were debating over whether or not to have another round when we noticed a sign being put up over the food counter which read "Tacos — 20¢ each."

The unanimous reaction at our table was "Wow! The cost of living is really jumping."

Tom Leonard
Minneapolis

Penn. Lockout Victims Are Denied Jobless Pay

By Herbert Lewin
SWP Candidate for Governor of Pa.

LESTER, PA., Sept. 11 — Thirty-five months after being locked out at the Westinghouse Steam Division Plant here, the State Superior Court ruled that some 6,000 workers were not entitled to unemployment compensation. In addition to the local plant, seven other plants in the state were affected by the ruling.

The workers at the Lester Plant feel that their case was clearly one of lockout. The union had offered to extend the contract for continued negotiations. The company had unilaterally cancelled the contract, eliminated the incentive plan and cut wages an average of 50 cents an hour. (This was testified to under oath in court.) On Monday, Oct. 17, 1955, the gates were locked, and one entrance was not open to employees.

CAMPAIGN ORATORY
All during this long fight to obtain the unemployment compensation due the Westinghouse workers, the so-called friends of labor — the Democratic governor, mayors, congressmen (Democratic and Republican) — made many fine sounding statements in favor of the union's claim.

Mayor Dilworth of Philadelphia, after having the case explained to him by a delegation

of union men, issued a clear statement in their favor.

Several months ago, the Mayor had aspirations to run for governor and was making a tour of the state to get support financially and otherwise from some business and industrial sources.

In order to prove his impartiality, he stated that he had serious doubts about the validity of the unemployment compensation claims of the Westinghouse workers. The men and women at Lester plant feel particularly bitter about his turnabout statement at this critical phase of the case.

Dilworth's statement also created a flurry of anger among labor leaders active in Pennsylvania politics. But a week or so later, they turned the other cheek and elected him to a high position in Americans for Democratic Action and were ready to endorse him for any post.

The Democratic governor and other officials (who had addressed us from a platform at our union hall before election) made no serious attempt to correct or change the unemployment compensation law.

DOUBLE STANDARD

The court's conclusion that "The unemployment compensation fund is not to be used as an instrumentality to gain concessions in the course of collective bargaining," gives a

free hand to the corporations to starve the workers into accepting any condition of employment.

The judge's ruling is all the more galling to Westinghouse workers because they know that the company was given tax rebates in the millions to compensate the corporation for the profits they lost while the plants were idled in the lockout. These tax rebates enabled Westinghouse to declare dividends to their stock holders and to pay company officials high salaries for supervising closed plants.

All this adds up to deep resentment by the workers of their so-called political friends who talked big and acted small. A new look is being taken at independent political action.

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Calendar of Events

CHICAGO

Sat., Sept. 27, 9 P.M. — "Scoreboard on the Nation's Schools: Status of Desegregation." Speaker: Isidore Warwak. Forum followed by social. Military Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

CLEVELAND

Fri., Sept. 26, 8 P.M. — The Cleveland Militant Forum, 10609 Superior Ave., presents "The Cold War Against Segregation in the South." Speaker, Jean Simon.

DETROIT

Hear: Evelyn Sell, Socialist

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