

U.S. WORKERS FACE LONG RECESSION

SAC Brink-of-War Flights Menace Peace of World

By Harry Ring

APRIL 23 — The brink-of-war policy of the U.S. State Department is no mere diplomatic exercise. It is the grim, terrifying reality of giant jet bombers hurtling across Arctic wastes toward the Soviet Union, with each plane carrying thermonuclear bombs capable of greater destruction than that delivered by the combined American and British air forces during World War II.

On an unspecified number of occasions, sections of the 3,000-plane Strategic Air Command have been sped into the air for the launching of World War III. So far, they have turned back on learning in time that radar

images of "attacking" Soviet planes were caused by meteorites or other natural disturbances. This was confirmed by the United Press, April 7. World concern was focused on the chilling revelation with the protest to the United Nations, April 18, by the Soviet government which also demanded a halt to provocative U.S. "practice" flights near Soviet borders.

WAR OF NERVES

The "categorical" U.S. denial of provocation was utterly exposed by a cynically candid report from the UN to the Christian Science Monitor, April 19. The dispatch said:

"It has been common know-

ledge in all diplomatic capitals for years that such flights regularly took place. Their purpose has been to keep the Soviet Union off balance, forcing repeated mobilization of defense equipment to no purpose and eventually wearing down the alertness of the defenders."

The waging of this fantastic "war of nerves" risks the very existence of humanity. There simply is no truth to the SAC claim that its "fail safe" system — under which the SAC sends its bombers speeding toward the Soviet Union — guarantees against an accidental start of war.

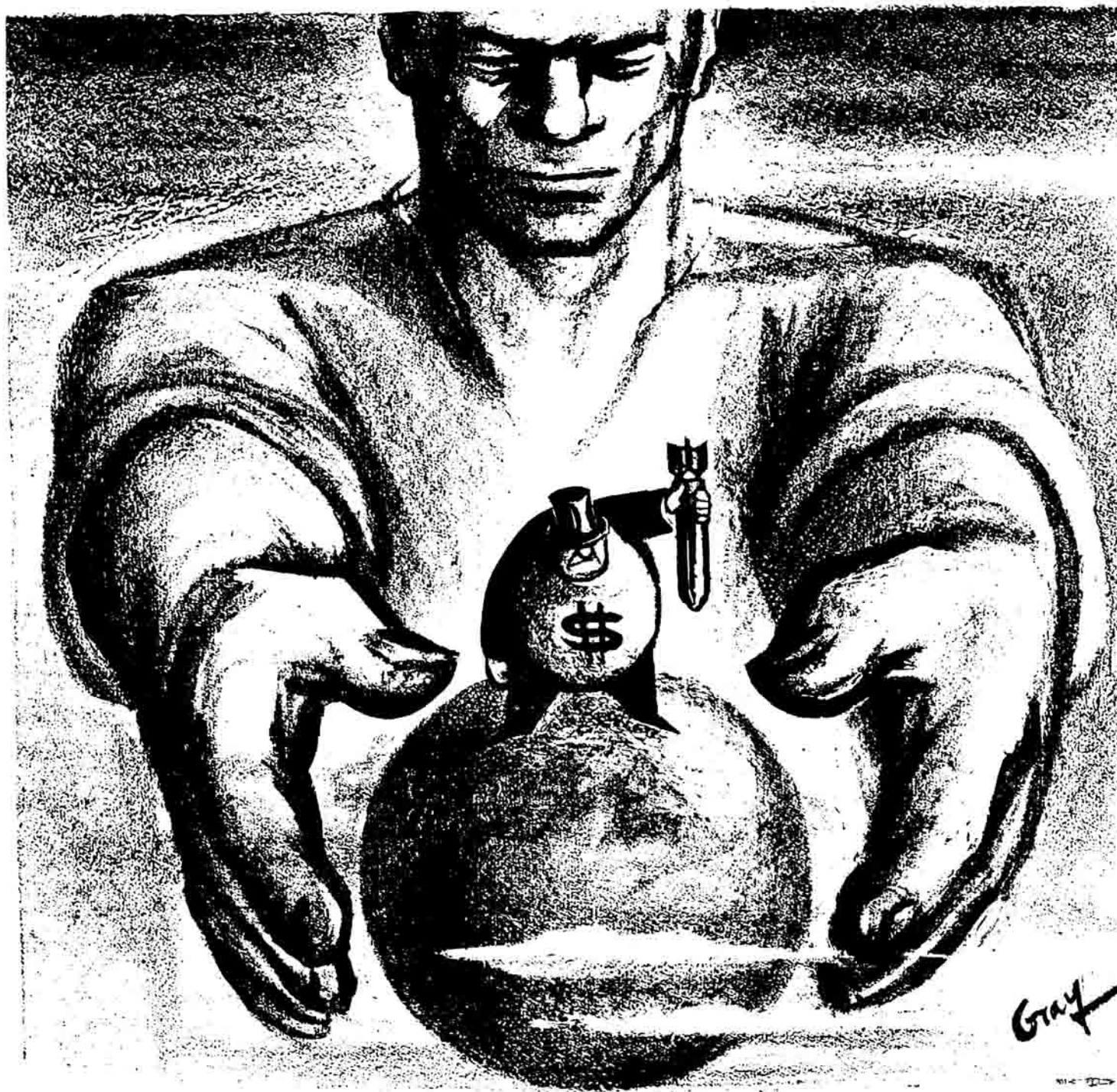
According to this "foolproof" setup, the attacking U.S. planes are supposed to fly only a specified distance toward the Soviet Union and then, if they do not receive a coded order to complete the bombing mission, are supposed to turn back. This final order for dropping the thermonuclear bombs is supposed to be given only by the President.

Editorial commentators in this country were quick to point to flaws in the "foolproof" system. For example, on April 9, the New York Post raised the question of what would happen if Soviet planes detected the U.S. planes before they turned back and each set of planes thought the other was launching an attack.

The vast extent of the risk involved was already indicated, Feb. 15, by C. L. Sulzberger, foreign-affairs expert of the N. Y. Times. He wrote: "American commanders throughout the world are empowered to reply when their units are menaced. One may presume the same is true of Soviet commanders. In this era of cold war is it not possible for human error to creep in, for a man to believe he is about to be attacked when such is not actually the case?"

On Jan. 25, Captain Lidell Hart, military-affairs analyst for the New York Herald Tribune showed danger from another quarter. He pointed to a statement by SAC chief, General Power, that "the aircraft with bombs on board were kept at the end of their runways. (Continued on Page 2)

Workers' World — or None



A May Day Message

By THE EDITORS

May Day — the holiday contributed to the international working class by American labor back in 1886 when it launched the struggle for the eight-hour day — should serve American workers this year as an occasion for considering the basic propositions of socialism.

For two fatefully clear and present dangers — stemming from Big Business rule of the country — confront the American workers of 1958. These are the danger of want and hunger resulting from unemployment and the danger of annihilation in a split-second outbreak of an atomic world war. These two specters cannot be dismissed as the alarmed imaginings of Marxist theoreticians or "soapbox orators." These are the facts of life in present-day America.

Mass Unemployment

The "recession" of the capitalist economy has already produced mass unemployment. Behind the impersonal statistics stands tremendous personal sufferings: the loss by working-class families of the material gains of the past decade — homes, autos and minor luxuries. While for that layer of workers, which even in "boom" times had but marginal security, "recession" is being translated into terms of actual hunger, lack of shelter and ill-clad children. For those working short weeks, and even those still fully employed, there is well-justified fear — for who unacquainted with Eisenhower's rose-colored glasses, cannot see the dark clouds ahead?

As for the danger of nuclear war — the facts speak more strongly than any argumentation. There now exist 20-megaton (equal to 20 million tons of TNT) nuclear bombs. They are over 1,300 times as destructive as those with which the U.S. Air Force incinerated hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only do these bombs exist, they are in the racks of U.S. planes constantly flying over this country, England and perhaps other countries. "Not once, not twice, but many times," to quote the president of the United Press, the U.S. Strategic Air Command has sent "vast fleets" of B-52 jets, loaded with these bombs, across the Arctic toward the USSR with its major cities as specific targets. So far they have always been turned back in time.

No Safety Margin

But what is the margin of safety against the dropping of these bombs and the instant retaliation it would bring down on the cities of America? It is as narrow as a radar screen which cannot distinguish between a flight of geese and a flight of planes, between a meteorite and a rocket. As "reassurance" we are told that Eisenhower

himself must give the necessary order — but it is no reassurance that world holocaust depends on one person's judgment or willingness to take a military gamble. President Truman launched the Korean war as his personal decision.

Depression and war are the pressing dangers facing American workers in 1958. Fortunately the workers already give evidence that instead of passively accepting these dangers, they are going to take action against them. The initial unemployment of this recession has not demoralized the workers. They are beginning to stir, to put pressure on the union leadership for action on behalf of the jobless. They show determination not to tolerate the suffering and misery that was the workers' lot during American capitalism's last great depression.

We are now also witnessing the beginnings of widespread sentiment against the government's H-bomb and cold-war policies. Though as yet organized manifestations of opposition have been by radicals, by pacifists and scientists, there are heartening signs that the mass of workers are emerging from their former feeling of hopelessness — the feeling that they could stop the bi-partisan drive towards war as little as they could the tides of the ocean. An end of their apathy and acquiescence in Washington's H-bomb and cold-war program would immediately change the whole political situation.

The Basic Answer

A search for effective means to halt unemployment and the war threat will lead American workers to an examination of the basic propositions of socialism. This will be facilitated by the fact that in coming elections socialists will be campaigning on a wider scale than for many years. Listeners, moreover, will discern signs of a rebirth of the socialist movement in America. The discovery by many socialist-minded Americans that Stalinism was a false and evil god, did more than send them reeling — it freed them and made possible their collaboration with others for a regroupment of radical forces in America.

Such regroupment, already foreshadowed in various joint actions, will rededicate itself to true socialist goals: an America which has abolished poverty, insecurity and discrimination through the common ownership of the means of production; an America with a fraternal attitude towards the other peoples of the world without any desire to dominate them politically, economically or by war; a socialist America ruled democratically by the majority — for socialism has always meant a tremendous extension of democracy — from mere political democracy to democracy in industry and all social relations.

It's Labor's Task to Halt Blight

By George Lavan

APRIL 24—Statements by government and Big Business officials about the recession having reached bottom and prosperity returning by the end of this year are shown to be so much wishful thinking by basic economic figures just released. These figures — the most important indicator of the future of the economy — show that total capital spending by all U.S. business will be lower this year than last and still lower in 1959. For the years 1959-1961 capital expenditures by private

Program to Fight Unemployment

(See Page 3)

enterprise will be about 20% below the 1957 level.

This is the grim message contained in the statistics of the authoritative McGraw-Hill 11th annual survey of capital spending. Such spending which covers new plants, machinery, plant expansion, etc., is the basic indicator for the capitalist economy which booms only when expanding (i.e. plowing profits into new capital expenditure) and busts when such expansion halts.

Capital spending this year has dropped \$4.4 billion. Planned investment for 1959 will drop it another \$2.7 billion to \$31.3 billion. However, the worst drop will come in the heartland of the U.S. economy—manufacturing. There the cutbacks run from a total investment of \$13.6 billion in 1957 to \$11.1 billion in 1958 to \$9.1 billion in 1959, at which level McGraw-Hill figures say it will stay through 1961.

In its article on the McGraw-Hill survey, the magazine Business Week makes two important observations: (1) "Actual business outlays in the early part of this year were still being strengthened by the carry-through of projects during the lush boom period. As 1958 wears on, more and more of these projects will be winding up, and fewer new ones will be coming along to take their place." (2) "... the decline in business investment, like the recession itself, remains a bitter pill for American business. And it raises a major danger. If the decline in the economy becomes more serious than business is expecting, plans for capital spending might be revised (Continued on Page 4)

Rally Protests Attack on Rights Of Sobell Group

By Lillian Kiezol

NEW YORK, April 23 — Exercising their right of assembly and free speech, 600 people gathered at the Community Church here April 21 for a meeting called by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

A dinner to promote the campaign to win a Presidential pardon for Sobell had to be cancelled when first Tavern on the Green then Chateau Garden restaurants refused to go through with contracts to serve the dinner. In each case reactionary pressure had been applied including that of New York Parks Commissioner Robert Moses. (Sobell is serving a 30-year sentence for espionage "conspiracy." A growing number of people believe he is innocent.)

Then the Community Church came forward to provide a meeting place. "In the defense of civil liberties we have offered our church, free of charge to the Sobell Committee," said Rev. Donald Harrington, pastor of the church in opening the rally. He said he did not know (Continued on Page 2)

Appeal to Readers Of the Militant

We appeal to Militant readers to support the \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Every dollar of this fund will go to expanding the volume of socialist information in 1958, creating a more powerful and more effective socialist movement.

The Socialist Expansion Fund helps sustain the publication of the Militant and the International Socialist Review; it provides means to publish books and pamphlets and conduct frequent national and regional socialist lecture tours.

Above all, in this election year, the Expansion Fund will pour ammunition into the fight to place United Socialist Tickets on the ballot in the state and congressional elections. It will back the devoted efforts of socialists in all parts of the country to qualify socialist tickets despite the obstacles erected by the Big Business two-party monopoly.

It is imperative that the voice of socialism reach wider circles of the American people than ever before. We socialists want to tell the American people the truth about the capitalist bi-partisan war drive; we want to present the program of social ownership of industry versus capitalist anarchy of production; we want to expose the cold-war lies about the efforts of the people of the Soviet Union and China to build a socialist world in the face of all obstacles; we want to champion the heroic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialist tyranny.

Through the medium of electrifying the socialist message can be broadcast to millions of working people; many thousands of new friends for socialism can be gained. But all this requires hard work and money. We know that Militant readers will want to help.

Fill out the convenient form on page two and mail to Socialist Expansion Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

— The Editors

End Big Business Rule! Say Socialist Candidates

By Herman Chauka
Are the Big Business parties — Democrat and Republican — fit to rule America? Socialists don't think so. In the 1958 elections they are nominating candidates to challenge that rule and to offer the working people a meaningful alternative.

These socialist candidates are challenging the capitalist politicians on their refusal to aid the growing army of jobless, to safeguard the rights of the Negro people, to provide the homes, schools and social services so urgently needed.

At the same time, the socialist campaigners will speak out

in opposition to the policy of the top labor leaders, who continue to support the Democratic Party despite its repeated sell-outs.

Socialist candidates will present the case for a break by labor from the Democratic Party and the creation of a labor party. They will also urge all socialists to record their opposition to capitalism at the polls and not follow the course of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, who are going along with the pro-Democratic party policy of the labor leaders.

In Chicago, the Reverend Joseph P. King is running for Congress in the Second District with the united backing of a number of socialist groups and individuals. Opposed to the cold-war policies of the two major parties, King is calling for a shorter work week without reductions in pay, and effective government aid to the jobless, including conversion of the armaments program into a program of public works. He is urging all-out labor support to the Negro struggle for full equality.

In New York, socialists, independents and various progressive forces are discussing the possibility of putting forward a united socialist ticket in the state elections.

In Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Socialist Workers Party has filed the independent nominating petitions necessary for a place on the ballot. In New Jersey, the SWP has nominated Daniel Roberts, editor of the Militant, for the U.S. Senate. In Pennsylvania, the slate is headed by Herbert Lewin, a militant unionist, who is making a bid for the Governorship.

All those who agree that the Big Business parties aren't fit to rule and that it's time to do something about it will be pitching in behind the socialist candidates.

Seattle May-Day Meeting

"The Changing Character Of Capitalism and Communism"

Speakers' Panel:

SIDNEY LENS, National Secretary, American Forum for Socialist Education.

WILLIAM F. WARDE, Marxist writer, Socialist Workers Party spokesman.

DR. HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, Marxist lecturer and writer, former Professor of Philosophy at University of Washington.

DR. JAY FRIEDMAN, Chairman, Seattle Chapter, American Forum for Socialist Education.

Thursday, May 1 — 8 P.M.

Friends Hall, 3959 15th Ave. N. E.
(Across from University of Washington)

The March Against the H-Bomb

An American Reports On Aldermaston Protest

By Marvel Scholl
(Special to the Militant)

ALDERMASTON, ENGLAND, April 7—It is difficult for an American, in America, to appreciate how the British people feel about the H-bomb, the building of missile sites on their island by the American government, or the whole question of nuclear warfare. But for an American in London it is not difficult at all to understand these sentiments.

To be in Great Britain, instead of looking at it on a map, is all that it takes to make one understand how vulnerable this tight little island is in case a new war breaks out. Three or four strategically placed H-bombs could literally wipe out of existence Great Britain, Ireland and much of Western Europe. If London, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh were hit simultaneously, this country would literally cease to exist.

BRITONS ANGRY AT U.S.

One gets a feeling of terrifying nakedness in the face of such a probability. The British people feel that their government has capitulated abjectly to the State Department (and that is the only identification necessary when the man on the street talks about the U.S. government).

The projected building of American missile sites in Great Britain, and the transportation of H-bombs by American and Royal Air Force bombers over their heads has made the British people angry to the core.

This then is the background for the March to Aldermaston, site of Britain's H-bomb plant, over the Easter Weekend.

The Committee for Nuclear Disarmament organized the March with an expectation that if even fifty people marched the entire 50-mile route from

The world-wide movement for a halt to nuclear tests received fresh impetus when British fighters against the H-bomb organized a dramatic 50-mile march Easter weekend, from London to Aldermaston, site of the British Atomic Weapons Research Establishment.



marchers started off for Aldermaston in the early morning.

Four thousand marchers arrived at the demonstration site here.

When this heroic line of marchers got to the Aldermaston Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment they found another 8,000 people waiting for them. People had been pouring onto the site all day long. They came by car, bus, railroad, and some on foot.

The marchers filed silently onto the demonstration grounds.

The pacifist leadership had urged them to be quiet, stressing that this was an act of passive resistance. But I wondered if the stillness of that crowd was

entirely in response to these pleas, or if it was awe at what they saw there at the Aldermaston Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment.

Stretching for hundreds of acres, the Establishment was indeed awe-inspiring. Buildings, retorts, mysterious looking constructions marked "Danger—Keep Away." And all of this

enclosed in a double fence—heavily meshed wire fences about ten feet apart marked plainly, "These fences are patrolled by police dogs." All during the demonstration these vicious dogs with their police guides patrolled the inner fence. Everyone had known that an atomic establishment would be an impressive sight. Nobody had realized that it would also be a fearsome one.

Here then was the place where the British H-bomb is manufactured, where the new

nuclear warheads for intermediate continental ballistic missiles are being perfected. This is the place from which H-bombs, just like the one which was accidentally dropped over North Carolina, are flown "for purposes of training." Here is the source of those nuclear weapons Prime Minister Macmillan had so recently said Great Britain would "use immediately" in case of war, "even if the enemy uses only conventional ones."

The Establishment itself, its enormity, probably did more than a million words to convince many of those honest pacifists who were there of the weakness of the weapon they were proposing to use and made more realistic the slogans of one group of marchers under the banner of the Newsletter (edited by Peter Fryer) — "Black the Bomb," "Black the Sites," "For Industrial Action." (To "black" means to declare a job or a project a scam and to refuse to work on it.)

WORKERS' ACTION NEEDED

As I have said, it is easy to understand and to feel what nuclear war could mean to the English people when you are living among them. It is time that American workers began to think, and to act, in solidarity with their English brothers. It is time that the working classes on both sides of the Atlantic realize that the foreign policies of heads of government are very personal things indeed. Nuclear warfare can be set off at any moment—mistakes in reading a radar screen have sent American bombers loaded with H-bombs on their way to Russia! They were called back in the nick of time.

It is only the working classes of all nations, acting in solidarity, who can stop the mad men who now rule us from threatening all life on this planet.

There is only one answer—Socialism.

Labor Party Rally Against Tests



So strong is the opposition among British workers to nuclear tests that the leaders of the Labor Party, who seek to dodge a fight on the issue, were compelled to call an anti-test rally at London's Trafalgar Square, April 13. Twelve thousand people turned out for the demonstration.

...Brink-of-War Flights

(Continued from Page 1)

with the crews sleeping beside them . . . [and] that a proportion were always kept in the air, day and night."

TRIGGER-HAPPY DANGER

As a result, observed Hart, we have airmen "who are keyed up to an extreme pitch of alertness, and some of whom may be feeling intensely bellicose and 'trigger-happy.'"

"Beyond the risk of genuine misinterpretation of code signals," he continued, "is the risk of intentional misinterpretation. Impatient subordinate commanders have often turned a Nelson-like blind eye to restraining orders—and it has happened much more often than history records."

"At a time of crisis, when passions are inflamed, a world catastrophe might be precipitated by some intermediate commander, and even by a bomber crew, who felt that the heads of the government, or Allied governments, were 'selling the pass' by cravenly pursuing appeasement."

Such grim arguments are not answered by Washington's claim that the SAC policy is justified because of constant danger of "surprise attack" by the Soviet Union. For, on the very day that the U.S. spokesman was making this claim at the UN, Defense Secretary Neil McElroy was saying in

Washington that he "can sleep well at night" because he knows there is no danger of a Soviet attack on the U.S.

WEDEMEYER TESTIMONY

McElroy is not alone in this view. On April 12, the N. Y. Times revealed that a top World War II strategist, General Albert Wedemeyer had secretly testified to Congress that "he is convinced that the Soviet Union does not intend to precipitate a new war."

On the basis of interviews with top military figures here and abroad, Hanson Baldwin reported in the Feb. 4 N. Y. Times that "a planned and deliberate attack by the Soviet Union on the United States is in the foreseeable future a very unlikely possibility."

It is also well to recall testimony before Congress on April 8, 1957, by Secretary of State Dulles, the architect of brink of war. Dulles testified that the "only serious danger" of a Soviet attack lies in the chance that it might misunderstand U.S. intentions.

Could there be any greater basis for such a "misunderstanding" than H-bomb-laden jets approaching Soviet borders?

Clearly, the American people must demand that these planes and their weapons of nuclear destruction be grounded immediately and that the brink-of-war flights be stopped.

...Sobell Group Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

whether or not Sobell is guilty, but that under the Constitution any citizen has the right to challenge a decision of the courts.

Mrs. Rose Sobell, Morton's mother, received a standing ovation. She told how she went to Mayor Wagner's office twice last week in a vain attempt to get him to reverse the action of Parks Commissioner Moses. A secretary told her that she was wasting her time. Whereupon, Mrs. Sobell sent him this note:

POPE COURTEOUS TO HER

"I've travelled all over the world to see eminent persons about my son's case. I was received by Lord Bertrand Russell. I went to the Vatican. The Pope was unable to see me but he sent out an emissary who was very nice and told me that the Pope would pray for my son. Shouldn't I expect the same courtesy in the office of my Mayor?"

(Today's New York Post commented editorially: "To Rev. Harrington our salutations for his decent display of reverence for the Bill of Rights. To the Mayor and others our sad contempt for their melancholy silence.")

Mrs. Helen Sobell, Morton Sobell's wife, also received a standing ovation in testimony of her courageous fight. She said, "Our trial was held in a time of national hysteria, the witnesses were perjured, the prosecutors used tainted testimony."

"History will set the record straight. Today, after the launching of the Russian satellite, scientists by the dozens are pointing out that the Russians could never have achieved their scientific 'know-how' through espionage, and the central issue of our trial has been torn away."

Indicating the importance of the dual character of this meeting, she stated, "If you here had not rallied when your basic freedom of assembly was attacked it would have been a great loss for our basic heritage of liberty. If Morton had not maintained his stand throughout eight long years of prison, our country would have been weaker and poorer."

The featured speaker of the evening was Reverend Peter McCormack, former Protestant Chaplain at Alcatraz prison, where Sobell was incarcerated until his recent transfer to Atlanta prison. McCormack described Morton Sobell as a man "loyal to his home and country." He applauded the work of the Sobell Committee and urged that it continue the fight.

SURE SOBELL INNOCENT

Earlier in the week, Reverend McCormack had told a news conference that he had been dismissed from Alcatraz last November after having



HELEN SOBELL

signed an appeal for Sobell, and that in his own mind, he could not believe that Morton Sobell could be guilty of the charge against him.

The chairman, Yuri Suhl, a New York author, read messages of courage and solidarity from various parts of the country and the world.

Among them was a cable from London: "On behalf of British members of Parliament interested in Sobell case, best wishes for your efforts to secure justice with mercy for Morton Sobell." It was signed by Kenneth Robinson, Sydney Silverman, Barnett Stross, and Stephen Swinger.

Norman Thomas, a Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation leader, in a letter to Helen Sobell, said in part: "I am not yet sufficiently persuaded of your husband's innocence to ask pardon. I am persuaded that he should have had a new trial, that his sentence was outrageously long, and that no part of it should have been spent in Alcatraz."

OTHER SPEAKERS

Other speakers at the meeting included: Dr. Victor Paschalis, associate professor of mechanical engineering at Columbia University who, although he has not reached a conclusion on innocence or guilt, believes Sobell's eight-year-old imprisonment should be ended; and Dorothy Day, editor and publisher of the Catholic Worker who is firmly convinced of Sobell's innocence. Morris Caronsky, who played Anatole France in the movie, "The Life of Emile Zola", effectively read France's speech at Zola's grave. The speech praised Zola's fight for legal fair play.)

The response to Helen Sobell's spirited appeal for funds was gratifying. A collection of \$3,000 in cash and \$400 in pledges reflected the determination of the audience to see the fight through to a successful end—the freeing of Morton Sobell and the clearing of his name.

Socialist Expansion Fund Has Best Week; South Hits 108%

By Murry Weiss
National Fund Drive Director

APRIL 23—May Day greetings to the Militant have come in the most gratifying form—a banner week for the Socialist Expansion Fund! From April 15 to 22 we received \$2,528.90, which is 13% of the \$20,000 goal. It was the biggest week in the spring drive that started March 1 and will end May 31.

As a result of this fine performance, the persistent eight to nine percent lag which has been dogging us from the beginning of the drive, has been cut to four percent. With one month to go and assurances from the branches that they will not slacken their efforts, we can look forward to the May 31 deadline with confidence. It is only necessary to avoid overconfidence and to continue to reach all our friends with the appeal to help us now in the big push for socialist expansion in 1958.

The newest group to participate in a national fund drive of the Socialist Workers Party, the South, is the first to complete its quota and go over the top. The South jumped from fourth to first place with a 108% score on a \$200 quota.

Ronald Jones, Fund Drive Director for the South, wrote: "Enclosed is a check which winds up and exceeds our pledge in the current Expansion Fund campaign. This is a happy moment for us. It is indeed inspiring to see the efforts our comrades are making throughout the country to get their pledges in on time. What a variety of ingenious devices to raise money! (Bazaars, smorgasbords, farewell socials, birthday parties and dinner meetings). We know how intensive these efforts are. But what a worthy cause! The future of mankind which is synonymous with socialism depends on efforts such as these. With warmest greetings."

The St. Louis Fund Drive Director wrote: "An old friend of mine living in the deep South, who helped me with party work in Memphis in 1941, sent me \$10 for our fund. This is out of a small pension he is living on. Perhaps the South should get credit for this, but he intended it for St. Louis."

Radioactive Gift to Eisenhower

Crates of radioactive asparagus were shipped April 15 to President Eisenhower. British Prime Minister Macmillan and Soviet Premier Khrushchev by the Berkeley, Calif. Society of Friends, a Quaker group. The asparagus had been tested at a radiation laboratory and found to have a higher than normal

amount of radioactivity as a result of nuclear fallout carried by rain. The White House said, April 18, that the crate shipped to Eisenhower "has been disposed of." Details of the disposition were not disclosed. Authorities had found the asparagus "safe" for public sale.



Two branches—Los Angeles and Twin Cities—accounted for \$1,257 of the \$2,528.90 collected last week. These branches have been making extraordinary efforts to help the Fund overcome the time lag in payments. By then stepped-up pace, Los Angeles and Twin Cities are pointing the way to all the other branches to make the last month of the drive a fast wind-up to a successful campaign.

New York moved up one place on the scoreboard and is catching up with schedule. Seattle jumped from 17th to eighth place with a message from Fund Director Ann Dorsey. "Once again, good luck on the fund drive and Seattle will be paid in full and on time despite our difficulties with unemployment."

Buffalo and Detroit continue to stay in the top group. These branches, as we have reported before, are among the hardest hit by the plague of layoffs and short work-weeks that is rampant in the industrial cities of America. Instead of allowing the cut in their incomes to affect their contributions to the Expansion Fund, the members of these branches have shown remarkable determination and have actually been leading the drive all along.

Spelled out in personal terms this has meant real hardship, cutting down on many things that workers consider as basic necessities in their standard of living.

Workers will sacrifice material needs for the socialist cause not because of some peculiar personal fanaticism. It is simply a matter of deep personal conviction and commitment to the socialist future of mankind. This kind of conviction is recorded in the great class battles that built the union movement in the United States. It is the kind of conviction that has always propelled mankind forward through successive social revolutions and now brings us to the threshold of the era of world socialism.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
SOUTH	\$200	\$215.00	108
DETROIT	825	574.50	70
BUFFALO	1500	1015.93	68
TWIN CITIES	1742	1083.50	62
LOS ANGELES	4600	2691.90	59
NEWARK	265	155.00	59
New York	5000	2632.70	53
Seattle	550	287.00	52
Youngstown	300	150.00	50
Cleveland	750	359.10	48
Boston	600	265.00	44
Chicago	1716	682.00	40
Denver	40	16.00	40
San Francisco	440	175.00	40
Philadelphia	528	176.50	33
Oakland	265	84.00	32
Milwaukee	300	83.00	28
St. Louis	80	20.00	25
Allentown	112	15.00	13
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
General	177	51.38	29

Totals through April 22 \$20,000 \$10,732.51 54

I'll Help

I enclose \$_____ to help in the \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

(Please clip and send with your contribution to Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

King Sees Labor Party As Vital to Jobs Fight

[The following is an appeal by Reverend Joseph P. King, independent socialist candidate for Congress, to voters in Chicago's Second Congressional District to help secure the nominating petitions necessary to win a place on the ballot. — Ed.]

The working people suffer because they have no political party to represent them in the government.

I speak first for those who are without jobs or decent housing; who live in fear for the safety of their wives and children against rats, and fire, and filth; evils that flourish under the Jim Crow system of segregation and discrimination. I stand with those who face the terror of police brutality and anti-Negro violence . . . And to those who still have jobs, we know that no one is safe while so many are without an opportunity for a decent life. Conditions are not getting better for us, as they should in this "richest country in the world."

BEGIN NOW

Why wait until more of us are unemployed, sick from worry and lack of food and decent clothing? I propose that we start now to demand our rights before the highest government authority, the United States Congress . . .

Today nobody can speak for the people in Congress because all Congressmen represent the Jim Crow and Big Business Democratic and Republican parties.

I call upon the working people to break with capitalist politics and to organize their own political party. I call upon the unions to organize an independent labor party.

The support to my campaign will itself be an effective demand for immediate improvement in conditions for working people right now because more than anything else the bosses fear the workers taking their political affairs into their own hands . . .

We, the working people, both Negro and white, are the majority of the population. When



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

we organize our own political party we need no longer just "demand" our rights from the bosses under laws passed by the Republican and Democratic parties that they control. For the first time we can make the laws in the interests of the majority of the working people . . .

My campaign is a step in this direction. I appeal to every voter for an equal right to be on the ballot. I ask your help in getting the thousands of signatures needed to put my name on the ballot.

NO ROOM AT TOP

Fortune magazine asked 175 persons with personal fortunes of \$50 million or more if they thought it still possible for an enterprising American, starting from scratch, to accumulate \$50 million. Impossible or improbable was the reply from 65%. The Fortune reporters also discovered that some of the millionaires kept as much as 75% of their wealth invested in tax-exempt securities.

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 28, 1958

Trade with USSR and China

To our "Program to Fight Unemployment" printed in the Militant in past weeks, we have added this point: "A long-term trade agreement with the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Combat unemployment by filling large-scale orders from these countries for industrial and farm equipment in exchange for raw materials. Extend the credits necessary for such job-creating trade."

Along with the other planks that we put forward, we believe that trade with the USSR and China is something that organized labor should fight for as an immediate, practical way of getting a sizable number of jobless back to work. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its desire to negotiate this kind of a trade agreement with the United States. The need of the Chinese people for manufacturing and farm machinery is even greater.

Determined to keep the cold war going, Washington has resisted such trade

agreements so far. Instead it has proclaimed that a whole variety of non-military goods are of "strategic" value to the Soviet bloc and clamped an embargo on them. It demands that other countries comply with these trade restrictions. In the case of China, it has sought to maintain a total blockade.

But the growing pressure of economic crisis is producing a revolt against this policy. Many countries are now trying to break through the U.S.-built economic iron curtain and are entering into trade pacts with both the Soviet Union and China.

American workers have no interest in promoting cold war or in relying on the production of weapons of death as the means of securing employment. Nor is it to their interest that the economic development of other nations be thwarted. A flow of U.S. machinery and other goods to the Soviet Union and China would mean improved living standards for the people of those countries while helping to curtail unemployment here.

Welcome Back, Mr. Heikkila

The error made by the Director of Immigration in San Francisco, who ordered the kidnapping and airplane deportation of William Heikkila, was in not changing the calendar in his office. He thought it was still 1954—the heyday of McCarthy and the witch hunt. But happily it is 1958 and the American people have begun to see through the lies of the witch hunt. They were shocked by the brutality, contempt for human rights and illegality of the Heikkila deportation.

This shock and the scandal made Washington quickly overrule the immigration gauleiter on the West Coast and order Heikkila returned to the U.S.

Welcome back, Mr. Heikkila. We are delighted you will be reunited with your wife, and we hope you will remain in this country permanently, as you want to.

The Heikkila case should now serve as a rallying cause for all civil-liberties defenders—for his case remains to be fought out in the courts. It should be

War Policy Remains Bi-Partisan

There are those within the labor and radical movement who would like to convince opponents of the cold war that a good way to register that opposition is to support the Democratic party.

This is generally done by concentrating fire on the Administration's reactionary foreign policy; trying to ignore the Democratic record of support to that foreign policy; and finally, by seizing upon rather infrequent utterances by one or another individual Democratic politician in support of measures that might help to ease war tension.

In this connection, it is worth noting the foreign policy declaration made by Dean Acheson on April 15. Secretary of State from 1949 to 1952 under Truman, Acheson speaks today as the Democratic National Committee's chief advisor on foreign policy. His public statements express the policies of the ruling body of the party.

In his speech Acheson scored the Eisenhower Administration for appearing to yield to popular pressure from abroad to participate in the pending summit con-

ference. He expressed the hope that Washington would "disentangle itself from the coils" of such a conference and declared that if popular pressure was so strong that they couldn't escape going to the summit then they should go only to prove that such a parley will "come to nothing or even worse."

Slapping down the former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan, whose speeches last winter in England are sometimes offered as proof that the Democrats are changing their foreign policy, Acheson bluntly stated his opposition to any talk of withdrawing U.S. occupation troops from Europe or creating a zone free from nuclear weapons. He further declared his opposition to any "nuclear control." Translated from the diplomatic vernacular, this was a declaration of opposition to halting nuclear tests.

This policy speech by the foreign affairs spokesman for the Democratic party serves to keep clear the fact that those who want an end to the cold war will have to keep fighting both capitalist parties.

Program to Fight Unemployment

The Militant proposes the following as immediate measures to combat the depression:

- (1) Organization of the unemployed by the labor movement. For union unemployed committees to fight their jobless members' grievances on rehiring, unemployment compensation, rent, mortgage and installment payments, relief, etc.
- (2) Unemployment compensation to all jobless for the entire period of unemployment at trade-union wages.
- (3) A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to be the number one demand of all unions in contract negotiations. Amend federal and state wage-and-hours laws to include 30-for-40.
- (4) A giant public works program at trade-union wages to build all the schools, hospitals, low-cost housing, highways and other useful and peaceful construction needed in this country today.
- (5) Union action and FEP laws to prevent discrimination in layoffs, rehiring, unemployment compensation, public-works hiring, relief, etc.
- (6) A debt moratorium for the unemployed. No evictions or foreclosures on homes, autos or appliances.
- (7) No taxes on yearly incomes of \$7,500 or less. End withholding and sales taxes to restore workers' purchasing power. Tax the rich and the corporations.
- (8) A long-term trade agreement with the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Combat unemployment by filling large-scale orders from these countries for industrial and farm equipment in exchange for raw materials. Extend the credits necessary for such job-creating trade.
- (9) Build a Labor Party based on the unions in alliance with minority peoples and working farmers.

Gene Debs' Spirit Was There All the Time

By Theodore Kovalesky

The union went all-out on its educational conference. For almost a week we gathered in the big, ugly hall with its scaling green paint and its crowded tables and chairs. They gave us folders with slick paper pamphlets, charts, graphs, pencils and paper. And every night when we arrived there were more charts and pamphlets to stuff into the already overstuffed folders.

In many ways the conference was what you would expect nowadays. The union is conservative, as nearly all American unions are today, and the men that came up from Washington to run the affair were conservative. But they were well informed and had a wealth of facts and figures about the growing depression. They told us about labor legislation, both pending and passed. And they did their share of red baiting—not the kind we used to hear in the McCarthy days, but the quieter kind that's in style now. It was pretty much as we had anticipated.

Then one night halfway through the conference something happened. The man from the international was lecturing on American labor history, taking us back to the beginning of the union movement in this country. In a flat, unemotional, yet lively manner, he demonstrated how those workers who came before us struggled and fought to build unions and wrest even the most minor concessions from the capitalists. Then he came to the Pullman strike led by Eugene V. Debs.

Now, it's an odd thing about some of these older union representatives. They live well. They are conservative to the very marrow. They mislead us and generally do their utmost to stifle our militancy. But yet some of them have left a tiny part of their past, a germ of youth that will not die. Does it embarrass them? Or do they cherish it, pretending that they are really, basically the fighters they once were? Who can tell?



We are able to judge them only by their conservative actions.

This man, this middle-aged union functionary, gave us a brief picture of Debs. He related the events of the Pullman Strike, he told how Debs was sent to prison for opposing World War I, how he ran for president while still in prison and received more than a million votes. And he told us these things with admiration, I thought, almost with love.

Then he read us from his notes a passage he had copied from Irving Stone's biography of Debs, "Adversity in the House." I do not have the book, so I cannot give the direct quotation. But it went something like this:

Debs was standing before a union meeting pleading with the membership. A locomotive engineers' local, driven by intolerable conditions, had gone on strike. But they needed help. The members of Debs' union could make or break the strike. In their decision lay the

difference between victory and catastrophe. Debs pleaded, exhorted. If these men walked out of the union hall, the engineers were lost. With tears in his eyes he stretched out his arms to the members, poured from his heart all the humanity, the depths of feeling for the oppressed and the insulted, the hungry and the work-worn. And he pounded and pounded on this one theme: All men are brothers. We could phrase it more precisely. We could explain that Debs meant the brotherhood of the oppressed, that he was speaking of labor solidarity. But the message got through anyway.

The man from the international put down his notes and repeated once again as though savoring the words, "All men are brothers."

In the hall there was a huge silence. We sat there behind our piles of papers hearing Debs, some of us picturing him in our minds. Then, from somewhere behind where I sat,

Poland Curtails Power Of Workers' Councils

By Carl Goodman

Workers (Communist) Party Secretary Gomulka of Poland proclaimed new measures on April 14 designed drastically to curb the power of workers' councils.

In the opening speech of the Polish Trades Union Congress he also declared that strikes would henceforth be illegal and that the unions must be controlled more strictly by the Communist Party. The aim of these proposals is to place the working class firmly once again under bureaucratic domination by party functionaries and state-appointed factory managers.

TO BE SUBMERGED

The workers' councils—autonomous organizations created by the workers in the anti-Stalinist October 1956 Revolution which brought Gomulka to power—are to become part of a permanent "Conference of Workers' Self-Government" together with management, the party committee in the plant and the trade-union body.

The Gomulka regime has admitted that the workers' councils, which gave the workers a voice in the running of the factories as well as acting as grievance bodies, have been instrumental over the last 18 months in increasing production and productivity. But, as Sydney Gruson says in the April 16 New York Times, "The party often did not have a majority among the members of the workers' councils and thus, in theory, could not guarantee that its line would be followed in the factories." This is what Gomulka complained about in his speech.

In the new setup, the party functionaries and the factory managers would lay the law down to the councils and the unions. During the last 18 months, the workers' pressure transformed many union bodies into genuine defenders of their interests. But recently, the more independent unions have been purged.

The type of regime the so-called "Conference of Workers' Self-Government" would impose in every factory may be gathered from a recent incident in Poznan, where the first battle in Poland's October Revolution was fought in June 1956. At the Cegielski railroad plant there, management recently fired a group of workers accused of being troublemakers. According to an April 9 AP dispatch, the Warsaw paper, Party Life, reported that the

group had plastered the plant with leaflets "dripping invective against the management and 'lords' who get fat on the workers' blood and sweat."

WANT EQUAL SHARES

The following day, 2,000 workers in the wagon department downed tools out of anger at delay in distributing the high production bonus. The unskilled apparently wanted equal shares with the rest. But the Communist Party branch wanted to distribute the bonus according to merit. Party Life then reports that a "troublemaker" told a meeting: "Brother workers, how long are they going to fool us? We want immediate distribution of the fund and equal shares for all."

This one incident shows that the fundamental antagonism that caused Poland's "October Revolution" has not been resolved. The same antagonism is also present, though suppressed by ruthless dictatorship, in the other Soviet-orbit countries. It is the conflict of interest between the workers and a caste of privilege-seeking bureaucrats who foster economic inequality. This bureaucracy rules through the Communist Party.

The workers' councils came into being as revolutionary organizations that helped Gomulka take power against the worst of Stalinist bureaucrats who were at the same time the most pliant of Kremlin tools. However, even with the accession of its Gomulka reform wing, the Communist party continued to rule as the instrument of the bureaucracy. The interests of the working class, were given independent expression through

the workers' councils which came to embrace 80% of the factories.

Councils began federating vertically according to industry and horizontally according to locality. Their proponents—which included many rank-and-file Communist Party members—viewed them as foundation for democratic management of the socialized industry to replace the bureaucratic structure.

Thus the workers' councils were potentially organs of political power, while the most active elements within them were potentially the cadre of a revolutionary socialist party fighting for the principle of workers' democracy in opposition to the Communist Party.

GOMULKA WARNING

That is why Gomulka always feared the councils. Last May, at the Ninth Session of the Communist Party Central Committee, he warned them not even to think of becoming "organs of working class political power" such as the Soviets of workers' delegates were in Russia from 1917 to 1922. Nor should they strive to be administrative units of popular power, consider themselves owners of the factories, or organize beyond the limits of their factories (that is, not federate).

During the past year, the Gomulka regime has sought to restrict the scope of the councils within the factories and now seeks to crush their independence altogether by placing them under the discipline of the spuriously-designated "Conference of Workers' Self-Government."

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 831 Main St.
CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.
DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.
LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.
MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.
SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Open Wed. 4-6 P.M.; Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.
SEATTLE
655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.

someone began to applaud. The sound moved through the hall, growing. It was not tumultuous, but it was strong, warm and strong. In that moment, red-baiting was forgotten. No one thought of the conservatism of today's unions with their wealthy, right-wing leaders. Perhaps we remembered winter days and nights on this or that picket line. Perhaps we thought back to the old battles that made the American labor movement, or forward to battles yet unfought, which will raise it to heights yet unscolded. But whatever the separate thoughts that supplemented our mood, we sat there, officers, stewards, rank-and-filers, and applauded the words and the man, Eugene Victor Debs.

It was as though, briefly, the hands which clapped against each other had reached out and joined in a handclasp of brotherhood, of militant workers' solidarity.

The moment passed. The flat, accountant's voice began again, and we listened, toying with our folders, drawing penciled designs upon the paper before us. But I knew that nothing new had been added. No new feelings had been engendered in our membership. It was just that a basic feeling of labor solidarity, a basic understanding, had been momentarily laid bare and then covered up again. It was there all along, and it is there now.

Watch. In the days ahead you will see more and more of it.

World Events

STRIJDOM VICTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA'S JAN. 16 ELECTIONS: The Nationalist Party won 103 seats, the United Party, which is also for "apartheid" (racial segregation), but somewhat less rabidly, got 53. The anti-apartheid Labor and Liberal Parties were eliminated from parliament. Only the three million white South Africans were eligible to vote, the ten million non-whites will be "represented" by three whites to be selected later.

FIVE ALGERIAN ATHLETES quit French soccer teams and upon arrival in Tunis announced they were joining the Algerian independence struggle. Professional soccer is the leading sport in France and the Algerian stars' defection jolted sporting fans. Also announced was the defection of nine Algerian second lieutenants and one captain from the French military training school of St. Maixent.

SIT-DOWN IN INDIA, staged for three days by 4,000 auto workers in Kurla, near Bombay, brought clash with cops on April 15. Reuters, the British news agency, lists the casualties as 27 police and 17 strikers injured.

STRIJDOM'S OTHER VICTORY was the smashing of a three-day strike called by the African National Congress to protest the election and laws requiring Africans to carry passes to move about cities as well as to demand a \$2.80-a-day minimum wage. The racist regime deepened its witch hunt and instituted a reign of terror. ANC offices were raided and "agitators" deported. Club and rifle-wielding police, with army units standing by, descended on the Negro neighborhoods. A sample of the terror is described by a N. Y. Times correspondent (April 15) who followed two trucks carrying 70 cops. The police charged a group of about 200 Africans.

"Through a loudspeaker the lieutenant colonel cried, 'Hit them! Hit them!' Then trucks roared through the streets of tumbledown Sophiatown, drawing volleys of bricks from time to time. The policemen fired back as they passed. Dismounting suddenly, the police then

ran through a gap in the tin shacks beating on the walls and driving the people indoors. A dozen white policemen cornered three Africans against the wall of a house. The thud of clubs and fists could be heard 20 feet away. The police left the three lying on the ground. . . . One truck swerved from side to side of the street, the police aboard swinging at little knots of Africans standing at the curbs." ANC leaders called off the stay-at-home strike the evening of its first day.

DUTCH CP SPLITS. The Communist Party of Holland, in deep crisis for months, formally split on April 15 when the seven CP members of Parliament formed separate groups. The official CP faction, whose leader Paul DeGroot has been expelling opponents wholesale as "right deviationists," came out with the short end of the stick: three of the delegates to parliament stood by DeGroot, four went with the opposition.

U. S. RACE BIAS was officially charged by the government of Panama in a note demanding the immediate release of a Panamanian Negro, who has already served 12 years of a 50-year sentence for rape in the U.S.-administered Canal Zone. Protest was occasioned by a ten-year sentence for a white American soldier who had raped a Panamanian girl.

THE ASSASSINATION last July 26 of Castillo Armas, Washington's puppet president of Guatemala, was passed off on the American public as a "Communist plot." An Aug. 5 Militant article entitled "Who Really Organized Assassination of Armas?" pointed the finger of accusation at the big landowners, original supporters of Armas, who had become incensed by some mild "liberalization" measures he had proposed. Stanford University's Hispanic American Report, digesting Latin American events and opinion in the month of January, reports: "It was now generally accepted that the assassination of Castillo Armas was not the work of Communists, but rather of elements who resented his enlightened policies."

New York May Day Celebration

Smorgasbord Banquet

Speakers:

JOSEPH HANSEN, Editor
International Socialist Review.
NORA ROBERTS, Member of
Young Socialist Alliance.

Saturday, May 3—7 P.M.

116 University Place

Contribution \$1.50

For Meeting and Social only, 50c

Ausp. Socialist Workers Party, New York Local

Calendar Of Events

BRONX, N. Y.
A Symposium: "Roads to Peace." Speakers: Dr. Otto Nathan, economist and educator; A. B. Magil, writer and lecturer; Joseph Hansen, Editor, International Socialist Review. Questions and discussion. Contrib. \$1. Sun., May 4, 8 P.M. Hunts Point Palace, 163 St. and Southern Blvd. Ausp.: Bronx Socialist Forum, Affiliate of Amer. Forum for Socialist Education.

MINNEAPOLIS
May-Day Meeting Friday, May 2, 8 P.M. 322 Hennepin, Hall 205. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

Los Angeles

May-Day Celebration
"The New Beginning
For American Socialism"
Speaker: Carl Feingold
Friday, May 2—8:15 P.M.
1702 E. Fourth St.

Socialist Election Policy In 1958

By James P. Cannon
National Chairman,
Socialist Workers Party
10 cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

The Negro Struggle

The Problem of Negro Leadership

[An unusually penetrating article, entitled, "Changing Structure of Negro Leadership," appeared in the April issue of Crisis, the magazine of the NAACP. The author is Frank F. Lee, an assistant professor of sociology at the University of California. The following are excerpts from that article.]

... In this respect [understanding leadership in relation to its cultural and social environment] it is interesting to note that a new pattern of Negro leadership seems to be emerging in certain sections of the South. Some Southern Negro communities appear to have experienced a spontaneous upsurge in the initiation of action and in the pressures brought to bear on their leaders. The traditional Negro leaders, both local and national, have been forced into the position of following more than leading; they have tended to abandon their usual role as initiators of action. This seems largely due to the inadequacy of the old leadership structure in the face of changing conditions and to an inverse of the normal channels of communications between leaders and followers. If true, the implications are most interesting for such organizations as the NAACP and the traditional local leaders of the Negro community such as ministers and teachers.

Negroes Initiate Suit

To illustrate these points this paper will compare the Clarendon County case (Briggs v. Elliot) upon which the Supreme Court ruled in its decision of May 17, 1954, with the recent Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Each of these events brings out a different aspect of the inadequacy of the Negro leadership structure and communication system. They also demonstrate the problems involved in the future role of the NAACP in the movement toward racial integration.

The Clarendon County school case originated within the structure of the NAACP through the initiative of over a hundred Negro parents and children. It had the token cooperation of the local chapter chairman, a minister. The case first came to the federal courts in 1950 in the attempt to force the county to provide Negroes with educational facilities equal to those for whites. To this end the local chapter requested assistance from the national office. It was granted, and the case was fought through the local federal district court to a partial victory. The court ruled, two to one, that since the educational facilities for Negroes were not equal to those for whites, the county would have to correct the situation. This decision, of course, was set within the framework of the Plessy-Ferguson decision of 1896.

Montgomery Bus Boycott

The third justice disagreed with this ruling, and held that segregation, however equal, must necessarily mean inequality. This strong dissent by Judge Waring was one of the factors which induced the national office of the NAACP to send this case to the Supreme Court. Local and national officials felt, partially in response to pressure below, that the time was ripe for a direct challenge to the old separate-but-equal doctrine. This position was maintained by the local chapter even in the face of white reprisals which took the form of mortgage foreclosures, discharges from jobs, and other economic sanctions.

The Montgomery bus boycott, by contrast, was largely non-directed and spontaneous. It began with the "accidental" arrest for violation of the state segregation laws of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress and a most unlikely candidate for such a martyr's role. Following her arrest, a local union organizer called a protest meeting to consider possible action. Little would probably have come of this had not the white press tried to intimidate the Negroes by widely publicizing the proposed meeting. However, the result of the added publicity and pressure was that the Negroes turned out in such large numbers that they

overflowed the building where the meeting was held. The meeting decided to hold a one-day protest boycott, but this temporary action was spontaneously expanded into a total and permanent boycott when the white police attempted further intimidation. The boycott was also maintained in the face of severe economic and legal reprisals, and violence.

Rank-and-File Pressure

The leadership required for a successful long-term boycott was secured when the Rev. M. L. King was maneuvered by the union organizer into accepting this responsibility. Once he had done so, he was largely circumscribed in his future actions by the feelings and prior actions of his community. The aims had already been decided by the people. He could only determine how they were to be achieved.

What are the significant similarities and differences between these two events, and what are their implications? The Clarendon County case grew at least, partially, out of the 1950 court victory of the Sweatt case. There was a feeling that "a new world was a'coming." Though the action taken was within the structural framework of the NAACP, there was much pressure on both levels of leadership to carry the case further than might otherwise have been done. The local chairman, not wholeheartedly in favor of carrying the case to the Supreme Court, had to agree to do so in order to keep his leadership position. The same was true, though to a lesser extent, of the national leadership. The case had received nationwide publicity and had attracted strong support from the Negro masses. The national leadership felt that it could not afford to risk losing this support by dropping the case in favor of another one; to do so would be tantamount to admitting defeat and would weaken their power. So the doubts which had prevailed at the two levels of leadership were swept aside, an indication of the extent to which the rank and file could make their wishes felt and compel obedience to them. The first weakness in the structure of the NAACP is thus the degree to which such informal controls operate from the bottom up, while the organization is structured for exercising power from the top down...

Tallahassee Experience

The Tallahassee bus boycott was also spontaneously organized, this time by local university students. Spontaneous pressure and action has thus become more probable on the part of the Negro masses, with less chance afforded for control by traditional leaders. This is particularly true in the early stages.

The point is that structural flaws in the NAACP, which were evident to some degree at least six or seven years ago, have now come home to roost. Montgomery in a sense is the by-product of those flaws. The NAACP, preoccupied with winning court victories, was unprepared for the development of alternate methods of protest. The result has been a gradual and continuing divorce of the national and local NAACPs from the mass of the Negro people at the same time that these individuals continue looking to it for cues and guidance.

This problem seems related, on both the structural and communication levels, to the basically middle-class character of the NAACP as contrasted with the predominantly lower-class status of most Negroes. In these circumstances the NAACP has not been able to orient and organize the Negro masses into a coherent framework which it can control. The from-top-down organization is good only for keeping control in the hands of the existing leaders and preventing subversion from below. Yet it is still subject to pressure from these masses since it depends upon them for political and financial support. Thus, a restructuring and modernization of the NAACP's organizational framework seems necessary unless it is to be content with an increasing lack of positive communication with the masses...

VOLUME XXII

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NUMBER 17

Buffalo Auto Local Sets Up Jobless Comm.

A good start toward dealing with the immediate problems of the unemployed has been taken by United Auto Workers Local 774 at the Chevrolet-Tonawanda plant in Buffalo, New York. The local has set up an unemployment committee of five persons to handle any problems of unemployed members who call the local office. All unemployed members have been notified of this service and of the fact that they still have the right to attend and participate at all union meetings.

The notice also contains a detailed list of welfare, community and free medical agencies, surplus food outlets, and union services connected with aiding the unemployed as well as instructions on applying for unemployment compensation and aid of various kinds. Seniority rights, and how to protect them while unemployed, are also carefully explained in the notice.

Youngstown CIO Fights For Food

The Mahoning County CIO Council, which includes the severely depressed Youngstown, Ohio steel district, is engaged in a determined effort to bring surplus food into the area for free distribution. Such food is already available in the adjoining state of Pennsylvania, but the Mahoning County Commissioners have consistently opposed free food distribution out of consideration for merchants who don't want the competition.

The demand for surplus food has become an important issue among Youngstown steel workers. The CIO Council took action after pressure was generated in several locals.

The Militant Steelworker, published by Socialist Workers Party branches in the Ohio and Buffalo steel areas, says in its April 11 issue: "No one can say that there is not enough of this food available. The record shows that more than \$6 billion worth of this food is stored in this country's warehouses. Much of this food is destined to spoil because of age and because of inadequate storage facilities. YOU are paying almost a million dollars every day to the owners of these storage facilities to store food that should be consumed! The fight for Surplus Free Food must be carried into all communities. It should be distributed to help lighten the burden of the unemployed and of the needy."

NUMBER OF FARMS

Between 1950 and 1954 the number of family-sized farms in the U.S. decreased by 600,000.



— "And do they sleep here?"
— "Yes, dear. The economy needs a rest."

...Face Long Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)
downward even more drastically.

Business Week sees a possible silver lining to the recession in that it will bring more productive machinery and automation, shake out "the least productive producers" (i. e. small business) and improve labor efficiency. This refrain is repeated in a N. Y. Times article (April 20) summarizing conservative businessmen's views on the recession. Among "distortions" they expect it to shake out are "artificially high" wages.

It is an old axiom of capitalism that depression periods work to the advantage of Big Business since it sends the small competitors to the wall or into the big outfits' hands through take-overs or mergers. Big Business also utilizes depression periods to stop labor's advances and even force it backward. Union-busting, wage cutting, worsening of working conditions are easier when workers are in fear of losing their jobs and when there is an army of unemployed which the employers hope to use as potential strikebreakers.

The lessons to be drawn by the labor movement are: (1) Labor must stop treating the recession as a temporary episode and plan to meet an extended period of hard times. (2) Labor must organize the unemployed not only for their own benefit but to forestall Big Business using them against those workers still employed.

That Big Business is already utilizing the recession to undermine unions and union conditions is graphically shown by the staggering rise in com-

plaints of unfair labor practices to the National Labor Relations Board. Such complaints in 1957 were 75% above 1956. The first three months of this year showed the figure zooming like a rocket. According to NLRB Chairman Boyd Leedom complaint "intake is continuing far above anything that has happened before."

The complaint pattern follows the layoff pattern nationally. Unions charge that employers are taking advantage of layoffs to weed out union militants. The Taft-Hartley law and its own reactionary composition makes the NLRB far from a fair court of justice for union militants — that is if they live long enough to get a final disposition of their cases.

In the plants themselves the main work of the unions today is fighting grievances concerning downgrading in violation of seniority.

The steel corporations continue their pressure to persuade the United Steel Workers to forego the wage increase due July 1 under their three-year contract. Harold J. Ruttenberg, a former research director of the union who has since gone over to the side of the steel barons and is now president of the Stardill-Key-Stone Co., recently addressed a "Dear Dave" letter to USW President David J. McDonald urging him to accept a wage freeze in return for a price freeze by the steel corporations.

His main arguments were: (1) "to pull the steel industry out of the depression into which it had receded"; (2) "we cannot afford to let the Russians out-produce our steel industry in 1958."

Jobs and Bias Parley Called by B'klyn NAACP

NEW YORK, April 25 — The Labor Committee of the Brooklyn Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has issued a call to Negro, Puerto Rican and labor organizations for a Conference on "unemployment and exploitation of minority group workers." Interested individuals and rank-and-file union members as well as organizations have been invited to participate in the discussion at the conference, which will be held at UAW Unity House, 187 Oxford St., Brooklyn, Friday, May 2 at 7 P.M.

The conference is being supported by the New York City CIO Council, District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, Local 485 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and other AFL-CIO local unions in the Brooklyn area.

LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED
In issuing the call, the NAACP committee said: "The logic of 'last hired, first fired' is again being carried through to its inevitable conclusion. Unemployment is reaching critical proportions among the working people as a whole and the minority peoples in particular..."

"Because these workers have in many instances lost democratic control of their unions, they are further saddled with improper union representation. They are often deceived and cheated by unscrupulous employment agencies. This is usually accomplished upon the initiative and with the open collusion of the sweatshop employer..."

"Sometimes the worker attempts to enlist the aid of a more democratic union. Encouraged by Mayor Wagner's promise to aid workers strait-jacketed by sweetheart agreements and 'Racket Unions,' he

may organize his fellow workers to file a decertification petition for an election to determine which union he chooses to represent him. Mass firings have been the answer of the employer. This has already provoked a number of strikes, which have in each and every case met with the harassment and general strikebreaking tactics of the police. This is in direct contradiction to the word and spirit of the Mayor's promise made in the heat of the public indignation..."

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

The conference is expected to discuss unscrupulous and discriminatory practices of employment agencies; problems facing minority workers in connection with unemployment insurance, such as the lack of Spanish-speaking interviewers at the state offices, and ways of aiding minority workers to obtain decent union representation.

The Labor Committee of the Brooklyn NAACP is proposing that the conference set up a "Continuing Cooperating Committee" to aid workers whose rights have been infringed upon. The group says it "recognizes that there already exist numerous agencies and organizations who are set up for these purposes. However, it is our opinion that coordinated and concerted activities are now necessary in view of the progressive worsening of the overall situation."

TEENAGE DEATH PENALTY

Another teenager, Francis Medaille, 15, faces the death penalty in New York, if convicted on a charge of murder.



Tuscarora Indians Picket to Keep Land

By John Black

NIAGARA FALLS, April 19 — "We have won a partial victory." That was the sentiment of the Tuscarora and the many other Indians gathered around the border marker at the Reservation boundary. Four days of militant mass action, increasing support from other Indians, public declarations of support from the Niagara Falls Branch of the NAACP and widespread public support in the Falls area have contributed to this present victory.

The granting of a temporary restraining order by Federal Judge Edmund L. Palmieri of New York City will keep the State Department of Public Works and the State Power Authority from "entering upon any land belonging to the Tuscarora Nation." A hearing on this is scheduled for Thursday. The time thus gained will give attorneys acting on behalf of the tribe the opportunity to contest the illegal appropriation of the Indians' land in court.

Tired faces lit up with enthusiasm when the news reached us that the order had been signed. For four days the 750 Tuscarora had prevented surveyors from doing the preliminary work on the planned power reservoir. At stake are 1,300 acres of reservation land. Some of the men had stayed on watch all night, gathered

around grapevine post fires. The women had played an active part in all phases of the resistance and had set up a kitchen for the feeding of the roving pickets. Indians from many other tribes had gathered to help in the fight.

PART OF CONFEDERACY
I talked to many of them. They were anxious to tell their side of the story. This is the gist of what they said. The Tuscarora are a tribe affiliated with the six-nation Iroquois Confederacy. They consider themselves a sovereign nation and want no part of negotiations between their tribe and the State of New York or any subdivision thereof. All negotiations concerning land must take place through the Confederacy. "The SPA wants to deal with our chief. They don't want to recognize the Confederacy. But the chief has no power to yield the land. The SPA wants to divide us and keep us weak. We will go to the United Nations if necessary. All small nations are being heard now."

The State Power Authority is taking reservation land for its power project. The Indians say that the land was appropriated illegally. They don't recognize the jurisdiction of the state courts on Indian affairs. They feel they need the land, little as they have, in view of the increasing Indian population. "We need this land to re-

main free. Here we have rights. Money can't replace that." The SPA has not set any price for the land it has appropriated. With typical patronizing attitude they have announced that a trust fund would be set up to the value of around \$1,000 per acre. "They don't think we can be trusted with money. A few miles from here they paid the University of Niagara \$25 thousand dollars per acre."

This discrimination in the land evaluation does not dispose the Indians to compromise. But there is very genuine opposition to selling at any price. Possession of the land is the basis for their few rights. Freedom from state and federal taxation is one of them. If they were to sell out and buy land elsewhere, apart from the breakup of their tribe and family ties, it would entail loss of the freedoms they have maintained under their treaties.

GO OUT OF WAY

They feel that the state authorities are going out of their way to wipe out the reservation. I was told again and again that the power project originally was not planned in such a way as to encroach on Indian land. One of the Tuscarora took me for a ride in his car to show me where the construction for the power project had already begun. It was a considerable distance away from the reservation, and he showed

me that the plans which now call for flooding reservation land require construction of an extra five-mile canal. The Indians feel that the SPA was willing to go out of its way to flood cheaply-acquired Indian land rather than expensive privately-owned land.

The Indians don't want trouble. But they are determined to prevent their land from being snatched from under them. "They brought in near to a hundred state troopers from all over," one Tuscarora Indian told me. "We could tell by the license plates that they were not from around here. They carried guns and had clubs in the cars." Several Indians were arrested on Wednesday and Thursday. Some scuffles and an occasional brushfire kept the SPA surveyors from doing their work. When the troopers arrested the men, the women blocked the path of the surveyors and kept them from working.

One man who had stayed up all night on lookout, because the rumors had it that the surveyors would come in at night, told me that he was not a Tuscarora. "I am an Oneida. Until recently I was an auto worker in Detroit. At night I attended law school. We Indians need lawyers. There is no money in it for me. But the tribe wanted me to study. Now they have sent me here to aid

in the fight for the land. I may be a lawyer, but I learned how to picket too. Right now that's what we are doing."

GET SUPPORT

The Tuscarora are getting support from many other tribes. Indians from far away were still arriving at the reservation on Saturday. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas are here to help, but many non-Indians are sympathetic, too. While I was there several carloads of whites from the Falls arrived. They were fellow workers who had been employed with the Tuscarora on construction jobs and in plants in the area. They came to see how the battle was going. By then the situation was under control and the surveyors had given up all attempts to work.

At the meeting the night before, the strategy had been discussed and the legal action planned to back up the mass action. The question came up of an appeal to the United Nations for help. "The Russians are pretty strong and they would just love to take our case up in the UN," the Indians want their rights and they know that the sympathy of the colonial people would be on their side. "Washington would get a black eye in world opinion if we take this to the UN. We are Freedom Fighters here, you know."

New York Spring Bazaar

The New York School of Social Sciences announces that its annual Spring Bazaar will be held Saturday, May 17, at 116 University Place. Doors open at 12 noon!

All our friends are urged to contribute such items as costume jewelry, electrical appliances, books, records, art objects. Solicit stores you regularly do business with for contributions of food, clothing, toys, furniture and cosmetics. If you can't bring in the merchandise, arrange for pick up by calling ALgonquin 5-7852.

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Labor Council In No. California To Aid Jobless

An AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Northern California has begun "one of the best moves to date, that has been taken by any labor group, on behalf of its unemployed members," according to the March 29 issue of Lumberjack News and Unemployed Worker, which is published by an independent organization of unemployed in Fort Seward, California.

The Humboldt and Del Norte Counties Central Labor Council has established a "Communications Service Committee" which is dealing with problems arising from the estimated 30% unemployment in the "timber counties" area. The council asked local unions for detailed facts on unemployment including the names and addresses of needy unemployed members who have been refused aid by government agencies.

Negroes On the March

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