

SAC Brink-of-War Flights Menace Peace of World

images of "attacking" Soviet | ledge in all diplomatic By Harry Ring APRIL 23 - The brink-of- planes were caused by meteor- for years that such flights regwar policy of the U.S. State ites or other natural disturb- ularly took place. Their purwar poincy of the U.S. State Department is no mere diplo-matic exercise. It is the grim, terrifying reality of giant jet bombers hurtling across Arctic bombers hurtling across Arctic wastes toward the Soviet Union, protest to the United Nations, and eventually wearing down with each plane carrying ther- April 18, by the Soviet gov- the alertness of the defenders." monuclear bombs capable of ernment which also demanded The waging of this fantastic

during World War II.

On an unspecified number of The "categorical" U.S. denial occasions, sections of the 3,000- of provocation was utterly explane Strategic Air Command posed by a cynically candid re- the Soviet Union - guarantees have been sped into the air for port from the UN to the Chris- against an accidental start of the launching of World War III. tian Science Monitor, April 19. war.

So far, they have turned back The dispatch said: on learning in time that radar "It has been common know-

According to this "foolproof" setup, the attacking U.S. planes



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. - under which the SAC sends

its bombers speeding toward

are supposed to fly only a spe-

cified 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 men-



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 n 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 carrylush boom period. As 1958 wears on, more and more of business investment, like the recession itself, remains a bitter pill for American business, And it raises a major danger. If the expecting, plans for capital spending might be revised (Continued on Page 4)

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 electioneering 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

aced. 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?"

for the New York Herald Tribune showed danger from anfor considering the basic propositions of socialism.

other 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)

Day Message Mav

By THE EDITORS

May Day — the holiday contributed to the interna- himself must give the necessary order — but it is no On Jan. 25, Captain Lidell tional working class by American labor back in 1886 reassurance that world holocaust depends on one person's Hart, military-affairs analyst when it launched the struggle for the eight-hour day — judgment or willingness to take a military gamble. Presishould serve American workers this year as an occasion dent Truman launched the Korean war as his personal through of projects during the decision.

> Depression and war are the pressing dangers facing these projects will be winding ming from Big Business rule of the country - confront American workers in 1958. Fortunately the workers al- up, and fewer new ones will the American workers of 1953. These are the danger of ready give evidence that instead of passively accepting be coming along to take their want and hunger resulting from unemployment and the these dangers, they are going to take action against them. place." (2) "... the decline in danger of annihilation in a split-second outbreak of an The initial unemployment of this recession has not deatomic world war. These two specters cannot be dis- moralized the workers. They are beginning to stir, to put missed as the alarmed imaginings of Marxist theoreticians pressure on the union leadership for action on behalf of or "soapbox orators." These are the facts of life in present- the jobless. They show determination not to tolerate the decline in the economy becomes suffering and misery that was the workers' lot during more serious than business is American capitalism's last great depression.

We are now also witnessing the beginnings of widespread sentiment against the government's H-bomb and The "recession" of the capitalist economy has already cold-war policies. Though as yet organized manifestations

The Basic Answer

A search for effective means to halt unemployment socialists will be campaigning on a wider scale than for covery by many socialist-minded Americans that Stalinism was a false and evil god, did more than send them

Such regroupment, already foreshadowed in various joint actions, will rededicate itself to true socialist goals: an America which has abolished poverty, in- ber of people believe he is insecurity and discrimination through the common owner- nocent.) ship of the means of production; an America with a fraternal attitude towards the other peoples of the world meeting place. "In the defense But what is the margin of safety against the drop- without any desire to dominate them politically, econ- of civil liberties we have offer-

Rally Protests Attack on Rights Of Sobell Group

By Lillian Kiezel

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 num-

Then the Community Church came forward to provide a (Continued on Page 2)

End Big Business Rule! day America. Say Socialist Candidates Mass Unemployment

in opposition to the policy of In Chicago, the Reverend By Herman Chauka Are the Big Business parties the top labor leaders, who con- Joseph P. King is running for produced mass unemployment. Behind the impersonal of opposition have been by radicals, by pacifists and scien-- Democrat and Republican - tinue to support the Democratic Congress in the Second Dis- statistics stands tremendous personal sufferings: the loss tists, there are heartening signs that the mass of workers fit to rule America? Socialists Party despite its repeated sell- trict with the united backing by working-class families of the material gains of the past are emerging from their former feeling of hopelessness don't think so. In the 1958 outs.

elections they are nominating Socialist candidates will pre- and individuals. Opposed to the candidates to challenge that sent the case for a break by cold-war policies of the two rule and to offer the working labor from the Democratic major parties, King is calling people a meaningful alternative. Party and the creation of a for a shorter work week with-

challenging the capitalist poli- all socialists to record their op- fective government aid to the ticians on their refusal to aid position to capitalism at the jobless, including conversion of the growing army of jobless, to polls and not follow the course the armaments program into a safeguard the rights of the Ne- of the Communist Party and the program of public works. He is gro people, to provide the Socialist Party-Social Democra- urging all-out labor support to homes, schools and social ser- tic Federation, who are going the Negro struggle for full along with the pro-Democratic equality. vices so urgently needed.

At the same time, the social- party policy of the labor leadist campaigners will speak out ers.

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)

> > Level and the second second

and back

dependents and various progressive forces are discussing the possibility of putting forthe state elections.

Roberts, editor of the Militant, in time.

sylvania, the slate is headed by ionist, who is making a bid for the Governorship.

for the U.S. Senate. In Penn-

ist candidates.

of a number of socialist groups decade - homes, autos and minor luxuries. While for that the feeling that they could stop the bi-partisan drive laver of workers, which even in "boom" times had but towards war as little as they could the tides of the ocean." marginal security, "recession" is being translated into An end of their apathy and acquiescence in Washington's terms of actual hunger, lack of shelter and ill-clad chil- H-bomb and cold-war program would immediately change These socialist candidates are labor party. They will also urge out reductions in pay, and ef- dren. For those working short weeks, and even those still the whole political situation. fully employed, there is well-justified fear - for who unequipped with Eisenhower's rose-colored glasses, cannot see the dark clouds ahead?

For two fatefully clear and present dangers - stem-

As for the danger of nuclear war — the facts speak more strongly than any argumentation. There now exist and the war threat will lead American workers to an 20-megaton (equal to 20 million tons of TNT) nuclear examination of the basic propositions of socialism. This bombs. They are over 1,300 times as destructive as those will be facilitated by the fact that in coming elections with which the U.S. Air Force incinerated hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in Hiroshima and many years. Listeners, moreover, will discern signs of a ward a united socialist ticket in Nagasaki. Not only do these bombs exist, they are in the rebirth of the socialist movement in America. The disracks of U.S. planes constantly flying over this country. In Michigan, New Jersey and England and perhaps other countries. "Not once, not Pennsylvania, the Socialist twice, but many times," to quote the president of the reeling - it freed them and made possible their collabor-Workers Party has filed the in- United Press, the U.S. Strategic Air Command has sent ation with others for a regroupment of radical forces in dependent nominating petitions necessary for a place on the "vast fleets" of B-52 jets, loaded with these bombs, across America. ballot. In New Jersey, the the Arctic toward the USSR with its major cities as SWP has nominated Daniel specific targets. So far they have always been turned back

Herbert Lewin, a militant un- No Safety Margin

All those who agree that the ping of these bombs and the instant retaliation it would omically or by war; a socialist America ruled democratic- ed our church, free of charge Big Business parties aren't fit bring down on the cities of America? It is as narrow as a ally by the majority - for socialism has always meant to the Sobell Committee," said to rule and that it's time to do something about it will be pitching in behind the social- of geese and a flight of planes, between a meteorite and litical democracy to democracy in industry and all social rally. He said he did not know a rocket. As "reassurance" we are told that Eisenhower relations. and the second second

In New York, socialists, in-

Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, April 28, 1958

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 London to Aldermaston, it American government, or the London to Aldermaston, it whole question of nuclear war- would be a complete success. fare. But for an American in Instead, the line of march which London it is not difficult at all started out from Trafalgar Square at noon on Good Friday to understand these sentiments. was 4,000 strong! Michael Foot, To be in Great Britain, ineditor of Tribune, had pleaded, stead of looking at it on a map, "If just a few of you will come is all that it takes to make one understand how vulnerable this a bit along the way with us, it tight little island is in case a will help." new war breaks out. Three or WHY THEY MARCH During the formation of the four strategically placed Hbombs could literally wipe out March, I circulated among the of existence Great Britain, Ire-land and much of Western Eu-marching?" All of the answers rope. If London, Manchester, can be summed up in what one tired-looking mother, pushing a Glasgow and Edinborough were try would literally cease to children in it, said. "For them.

exist. BRITONS ANGRY AT U.S. One gets a feeling of terrifying nakedness in the face of at least as far as the first break such a probability. The British at the Albert Memorial. Six to people feel that their govern- eight hundred arrived at the ment has capitulated abjectly first night's stop at Hounslow. to the State Department (and that is the only identification necessary when the man on the broadcast, BBC announced that street talks about the U.S. government). The projected build- because of the weather. But ing of American missile sites two hundred determined people in Great Britain, and the trans- thought otherwise. As the March portation of H-bombs by Amer- proceeded, news that it had not ican and Royal Air Force been called off brought new bombers over their heads has contingents to join up. By the here. made the British people angry time the line got to Slough, it to the core.

try would literally cease to

site of Britain's H-bomb plant, over the Easter Weekend.

Disarmament organized the long new groups joined the came by car, bus, railroad, and March with an expectation that March so that by nightfall, 1,000 some, on foot. the entire 50-mile route from Monday, another raw day, 1,000 onto the demonstration grounds. Keep Away." And all of this manufactured, where the new Socialism.



maston in the early morning.

The world-wide

movement for a halt

Sunday was another cold, them. People had been pouring The Committee for Nuclear windy day, but dry. All day onto the site all day long. They

marchers started off for Alder-|The pacifist leadership had urg-|enclosed in a double fence ed them to be quiet, stressing heavily meshed wire fences are very personal things indeed. Four thousand marchers ar- that this was an act of passive about ten feet apart marked Nuclear warfare can be set off rived at the demonstration site resistance. But I wondered if plainly, "These fences are pa- at any moment - mistakes in

other 8,000 people waiting for search Establishment.

atomic establishment would be Stretching for hundreds of an impressive sight. Nobody of all nations, acting in solidar-

indeed awe-inspiring. Buildings, be a fearsome one. Here then was the place ening all life on this planet. retorts, mysterious looking conif even fifty people marched marched into Reading. Easter The marchers filed silently structions marked "Danger - where the British H-bomb is There is only one answer

iary confinental ballistic missiles are being perfected. This is the place from which Hbombs, 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 Mac-Millan 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 scab 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 the air, day and night." classes on both sides of the Atlantic realize that the foreign

policies of heads of government

It is only the working classes

acres, the Establishment was had realized that it would also ity, who can stop the mad men who now rule us from threat-



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) Washington that he "can sleep with the crews sleeping beside well at night" because he them [and] that a pro- knows there is no danger of a portion were always kept in Soviet attack on the U.S.

WEDEMEYER TESTIMONY TRIGGER-HAPPY DANGER McElroy is not alone in this As a result, observed Hart, view. On April 12, the N. Y. we have airmen "who are key- Times revealed that a top ed up to an extreme pitch of World War II strategist, Genalertness, and some of whom eral Albert Wedemever had may be feeling intensely bel- secretly testified to Congress

icose and 'trigger-happy.'" that "he is convinced that the "Beyond the risk of genuine Soviet Union does not intend misinterpretation of code sig- to precipitate a new war." als," he continued, "is the risk On the basis of interviews of intentional misinterpretation. with top military figures here mpatient subordinate com- and abroad, Hanson Baldwin nanders have often turned a reported in the Feb. 4 N. Y. Velson-like blind eye to re- Times that "a planned and destraining orders — and it has liberate attack by the Soviet

happened much more often Union on the United States is in the foreseeable future a very "At a time of crisis, when unlikely possibility."

passions are inflamed, a world It is also well to recall testicatastrophe might be precipi- mony before Congress on April tated by some intermediate 8, 1957, by Secretary of State commander, and even by a Dulles, the architect of brink bomber crew, who felt that the of war. Dulles testified that the heads of the government, or "only serious danger" of a So-Allied governments, were 'sell- viet attack lies in the chance ing the pass' by cravenly pur- that it might misunderstand U.S. intentions. suing appeasement."

Such grim arguments are not | Could there be any greater answered by Washington's basis for such a "misunderstandclaim that the SAC policy is ing" than H-bomb-laden jets

Clearly, the American peothe Soviet Union. For, on the ple must demand that these very day that the U.S. spokes- planes and their weapons of man was making this claim at nuclear destruction be ground-



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



I want them to live."

Saturday morning dawned in

a heavy snow storm. In its first

the March had been called off

cold, wind-driven rain.

By Murry Weiss National Fund Drive Director

ceived \$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

As a result of this fine performance, the persistent eight to nine percent lag which has been 20000

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 APRIL 23-May Day greetings to the Militant have the time lag in payments. By their stepped-up pace, Los Angeles come in the most gratifying form-a banner week for the and Twin Cities are pointing the way to all the other branches danger of "surprise attack" by Socialist Expansion Fund! From April 15 to 22 we re- 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 the UN, Defense Secretary ed immediately and that the place with a message from Fund Director Ann Dorsey, "Once Neil McElroy was saying in brink-of-war flights be stopped. 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 ave reported before are among the hardes

justified because of constant approaching Soviet borders?

than history records . . .

King Sees Labor Party

the stillness of that crowd was trolled by police dogs." All reading a radar screen have When this heroic line of entirely in response to these during the demonstration these sent American bombers loaded was 800 strong - 800 men, marchers got to the Aldermas- pleas, or if it was awe at what vicious dogs with their police with H-bombs on their way to This then is the background women and children, marching ton Nuclear Weapons Research they saw there at the Alder- guides patrolled the inner fence. Russia! They were called back for the March to Aldermaston, into what had now become a Establishment they found an- maston Nuclear Weapons Re- Everyone had known that an in the nick of time.

POPE COURTEOUS TO HER

note:

"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 tainted, the prosecutors used perjured 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 urg-

ed that it continue the fight. SURE SOBELL INNOCENT Earlier in the week, Rever-

end McCormack had told a news conference that he had end-the freeing of Morton Sobeen dismissed from Alcatraz bell and the clearing of his last November after having name.

HELEN SOBELL

signed an appeal for Sobell, could not believe that Morton Sobell could be guilty of the

charge against him. The chairman, Yuri Suhl, a New York author, read mes-

sages of courage and solidarity from various parts of the counry 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 se-

cure justice with mercy for Morton Sobell." It was signed by Kenneth Robinson, Sydney Silverman, Barnet Stross, and Stephen Swingler.

Norman Thomas, a Socialist

been spent in Alcatraz."

OTHER SPEAKERS

parties and din-Other speakers at the meetner meetings). We ng included: Dr. Victor Paschknow how intentis, associate professor of mesive these efforts hanical engineering at Columare. But what a bia University who, although worthy cause he has not reached a conclusion The future of on. innocence or guilt, believes mankind which is Sobell's eight-year-old imprissynonymous with socialism depends on efforts such as these

Dorothy Day, editor and pubisher of the Catholic Worker. who is firmly convinced of Sobell's innocence. Morris Carnovsky, who played Anatole Trance in the movie, "The Life of Emile Zola", effectively read France's speech at Zola's grave The speech praised Zola's fight

'or legal fair play.) ation of the audience to see the ight through to a successfu'

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 and that in his own mind, he 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 social-

ist expansion in 1958. The newest group to partici-

pate in a national fund drive of the Socialist Workers Party, the South, is the first to complete its juota 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 ef-

Party-Social Democratic Fed- forts our comrades are making eration leader, in a letter to throughout the

Helen Sobell, said in part: "I country to get am not yet sufficiently per- their pledges in suaded of your husband's inno- on time. What a ence to ask pardon. I am per- variety of ingenisuaded that he should have had ous devices to a new trial, that his sentence raise money! (Bawas outrageously long, and zaars, smorgashat no part of it should have bords, farewell socials, hello socials, birthday

onment should be ended; and 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.

paragus were shipped April The response to Helen So-15 to President Eisenhower, bell's spirited appeal for funde British Prime Minister Macvas gratifying. A collection of millan and Soviet Premier 3,000 in cash and \$400 in Khrushchev by the Berkeley, pledges reflected the determin Calif. Society of Friends, a Quaker group. The asparagus had been tested at a radiation laboratory and found to have a higher than normal

Radioactive Gift to Eisenhower amount of radioactivity as a Crates of radioactive asresult 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.

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 committment to the ballot. - Ed.] 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 party to represent them in the now brings us to the threshold of the era of world socialism.

FUND	SC0	REBO/	NRN
			111 P
City	Quota	Paid	Percent
SOUTH		\$215.00	108
DETROIT		574.50	70
BUFFALO		1015.93	68
TWIN CITIES		1083.50	62
LOS ANGELES		2691.90	59
NEWARK		155.00	59
New York		2632.70	53
Seattle		287.00	52
Youngstown		150.00	50
Cleveland		359.10	48
Boston		265.00	44
Chicago		682.00	40
Denver		16.00	⁶ 40
San Francisco		175.00	40
Philadelphia		176.50	33
Oakland		84.00	32
Milwaukee		83.00	28
St. Louis		20.00	25
Allentown		15.00	13
Pittsburgh	10		
General	177	51.38	29

Totals through \$20,000 April 22

I'll Help

I enclose \$ to help in the \$20,000 - Europeion Fund.

\$10,732.51

54

Socialist	Expansion	F	un

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

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 The working people suffer

because they have no political 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



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

NO ROOM AT TOP

world." . . . BEGIN NOW

we organize our own political Why wait until more of us are unemployed, sick from wor- party we need no longer just "demand" our rights from the ry and lack of food and decent clothing? I propose that we bosses under and Democratic before the highest government parties that they control. For the first time we can make the authority, the United States laws in the interests of the Congress . . majority of the working peo-Today nobody can speak for

ple the people in Congress because My campaign is a step in all Congressmen represent the this direction. I appeal to every Jim Crow and Big Business

Democratic and Republican voter for an equal right to be on the ballot. I ask your help parties. I call upon the working peoin getting the thousands of ple to break with capitalist pol- signatures needed to put my

itics and to organize their own name on the ballot. political party. I call upon the unions to organize an indepen-

dent labor party.

Fortune magazine asked 175 The support to my campaign persons with personal fortunes will itself be an effective de- of \$50 million or more if they mand for immediate improve- thought it still possible for an ment in conditions for working enterprising American, starting people right now because more from scratch, to accumulate \$50 than anything else the bosses million. Impossible or improbfear the workers taking their able was the reply from 65%. political affairs into their own | The Fortune reporters also dishands . . . covered that some of the mil-

We, the working people, both lionaires kept as much as 75% Negro and white, are the ma- of their wealth invested in taxjority of the population. When exempt securities.



15000

10,000

Monday, April 28, 1958

Vol. XXII - No. 17

trade."

er.

long-term trade agreement with the So-

viet Union and People's Republic of

for industrial and farm equipment in ex-

change for raw materials. Extend the

credits necessary for such job-creating

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 manufac-

turing and farm machinery is even great-

going, Washington has resisted such trade

Determined to keep the cold war

Along with the other planks that we

MILITANT THE



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 pamph-

servative, as nearly all Ameri-

men that came up from Wash-

us about labor legislation, both

pending and passed. And they

It was pretty much as we had

cessions from the capitalists.

Then one night halfway by their conservative actions.

anticipated.

thought of the conservatism of The moment passed. The flat, today's unions with their weal- accountant's voice began again, thy, right-wing leaders. Per- and we listened, toying with haps we remembered winter our folders, drawing penciled days and nights on this or that designs upon the paper before picket line. Perhaps we thought us. But I knew that nothing back to the old battles that new had been added. No new made the American labor move- feelings had been engendered ment, or forward to battles yet in our membership. It was just unfought, which will raise it that a basic feeling of labor to heights yet unscaled. But solidarity, a basic understandwhatever the separate thoughts ing, had been momentarily laid that supplemented our mood, bare and then covered up again. we sat there, officers, stewards, It was there all along, and it rank-and-filers, and applauded is there now.

the words and the man, Eugene Watch. In the days ahead you Victor Debs. will see more and more of it.

World Events

STRIJDOM VICTORY IN | ran through a gap in the tin SOUTH AFRICA'S JAN. 16 shacks beating on the walls ELECTIONS: The Nationalist and driving the people indoors. Party won 103 seats, the United A dozen white policemen cor-Party, which is also for "apar- nered three Africans against theid" (racial segregation), but the wall of a house. The thud somewhat less rabidly, got 53. of clubs and fists could be heard The anti-apartheid Labor and 20 feet away. The police left Liberal Parties were eliminated the three lying on the ground from parliament. Only the three . . . One truck swerved from million white South Africans side to side of the street, the were eligible to vote, the ten police aboard swinging at little million non-whites will be knots of Africans standing at "represented" by three whites the curbs." ANC leaders called to be selected later. off the stay-at-home strike the

evening of its first day. FIVE ALGERIAN ATHLETES

quit French soccer teams and DUTCH CP SPLITS. The upon arrival in Tunis announc- Communist Party of Holland, ed they were joining the Al- in deep crisis for months, formgerian independence struggle. ally split on April 15 when the Professional soccer is the leadseven CP members of Parliaing sport in France and the ment formed separate groups. Algerian stars' defection jolted The official CP faction, whose sporting fans. Also announced leader Paul DeGroot has been was the defection of nine Al- expelling opponents wholesale gerian second lieutenants and as "right deviationists," came one captain from the French out with the short end of the military training school of St. stick: three of the delegates to parliament stood by DeGroot, four went with the opposition. SIT-DOWN IN INDIA, staged

* * *

for three days by 4,000 auto U. S. RACE BIAS was officworkers in Kurla, near Bomially charged by the governbay, brought clash with cops ment of Panama in a note detish news agency, lists the cas- manding the immediate release on April 15. Reuters, the Briof a Panamanian Negro, who ualties as 27 police and 17 has already served 12 years of a 50-year sentence for rape in

STRIJDOM'S OTHER VIC- the U.S.-administered Canal Zone. Protest was occasioned

THE ASSASSINATION last passes to move about cities as proclaimed new measures on 'lords' who get fat on the Councils began federating well as to demand a \$2.80-a- July 26 of Castillo Armas, vertically according to industry day minimum wage. The racist Washington's puppet president and horizontally according to regime deepened its witch hunt of Guatemala, was passed off The following day, 2,000 locality. Their proponents — and instituted a reign of ter- on the American public as a workers in the wagon depart- which included many rank-and- ror. ANC offices were raided "Communist plot." An Aug. 5

Trade with USSR and China To our "Program to Fight Unemagreements so far. Instead it has proclaimed that a whole variety of nonployment" printed in the Militant in past military goods are of "strategic" value to lets to stuff into the already weeks, we have added this point: "A the Soviet bloc and clamped an embargo overstuffed folders. on them. It demands that other countries In many ways the conference comply with these trade restrictions. In was what you would expect China. Combat unemployment by filling the case of China, it has sought to main- nowadays. The union is conlarge-scale orders from these countries

tain a total blockade. But the growing pressure of economic can unions are today, and the crisis is producing a revolt against this ington to run the affair were policy. Many countries are now trying to conservative. But they were break through the U.S.-built economic well informed and had a wealth iron curtain and are entering into trade of facts and figures about the pacts with both the Soviet Union and growing depression. They told China.

American workers have no interest did their share of red baitingin promoting cold war or in relying on not the kind we used to hear the production of weapons of death as in the McCarthy days, but the the means of securing employment. Nor quieter kind that's in style now. is it to their interest that the economic development of other nations be thwarted. A flow of U.S. machinery and other through the conference somegoods to the Soviet Union and China thing happened. The man from union functionary, gave us a of the union hall, the engineers would mean improved living standards the international was lecturing brief picture of Debs. He re- were lost. With tears in his for the people of those countries while on American labor history, tak- lated the events of the Pullman eyes he stretched out his arms helping to curtail unemployment here.



Immigration in San Francisco, who ordered the kidnaping 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

made the basis for reopening all previous cases where the Immigration authorities got away with such Gestapo-like proceedings. Finally it should be the takeoff point for a campaign to repeal the whole dirty mess of immigration laws on the books.

> Just consider it! Heikkila's parents were naturalized Americans. He was born while they were visiting the old country and brought to the U.S. at the age of two-and-a-half months. Yet the government claims that technically he is a Finn, not an American, and for thought-control purposes must be deported. Moreover, the Immigration authorities are pressing numerous deportation cases similar to Heikkila's.

When the witch-hunters kidnaped Heikkila on the streets of San Francisco and spirited him out of the country they tried to push the clock back several years. They failed. Now let's try to push that same clock ahead a couple of years. It's slow anyhow.

War Policy Remains Bi-Partisan

convince opponents of the cold war that

from the coils" of such a conference and councils.

radical movement who would like to Washington would "disentangle itself" of such a set of workers' WANT EQUAL SHARES

agers.

Workers (Communist) Party with leaflets "dripping invective came to embrace 80% of the requiring Africans to carry Secretary Gomulka of Poland against the management and factories.

of the union movement in this sent to prison for opposing his heart all the humanity, the country. In a flat, unemotional, World War I, how he ran for depths of feeling for the opyet lively manner, he demon- president while still in prison pressed and the insulted, the strated how those workers who and received more than a mil- hungry and the work-worn. came before us struggled and lion votes. And he told us these And he pounded and pounded fought to build unions and things with admiration, I on this one theme: All men are brothers. We could phrase it Then he read us from his more precisely. We could ex-Then he came to the Pullman notes a passage he had copied plain that Debs meant the strike led by Eugene V. Debs. from Irving Stone's biography brotherhood of the oppressed,

catastrophe. Debs pleaded, ex-

. The man from the international put down his notes and

Maixent. In the hall there was a huge

some of them have left a tiny the membership. A locomotive are brothers.' part of their past, a germ of engineers' local, driven by in-

youth that will not die. Does tolerable conditions, had gone silence. We sat there behind it embarrass them? Or do they on strike. But they needed our piles of papers hearing cherish it, pretending that they help. The members of Debs' Debs, some of us picturing him are really, basically the fighters union could make or break the in our minds. Then, from somethey once were? Who can tell? strike. In their decision lay the where behind where I sat,



By Carl Goodman

wrest even the most minor con- thought, almost with love. resentatives. They live well, so I cannot give the direct through anyway. They are conservative to the quotation. But it went somevery marrow. They mislead us thing like this:

ing us back to the beginning Strike, he told how Debs was to the members, poured from

We are able to judge them only | difference between victory and

This man, this middle-aged horted. If these men walked out

Now, it's an odd thing about of Debs, "Adversary in the that he was speaking of labor some of these older union rep- House." I do not have the book, solidarity. But the message got

and generally do their utmost Debs was standing before a repeated once again as though to stifle our militancy. But yet union meeting pleading with savoring the words, "All men

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-

nothing or even worse." Slapping down the former U.S. Am-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 Stalinist October 1956 Revolu- that caused Poland's "October to any "nuclear control." Translated from the diplomatic vernacular, this was a dectests.

affairs spokesman for the Democratic and the trade-union body. 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.

In the opening speech of the declared that if popular pressure was so nit the opening speech of the ment downed tools out of anger file Communist Party members and "agitators" deported. Club Militant article entitled "Who strong that they couldn't escape going to he also declared that strikes at delay in distributing the high the summit then they should go only to would henceforth be illegal and production bonus. The unskilled for democratic management of army units standing by, de- of Armas?" pointed the finger Communist Party. The aim of munist Party branch wanted to ture.

TO BE SUBMERGED The workers' councils - au- equal shares for all."

voice in the running of the the Communist Party.

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 socalled "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 Ceglieski 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

- viewed them as foundation and rifle-wielding police, with Really Organized Assassination

workers' democracy in opposi-

by the workers in the anti- the fundamental antagonism GOMULKA WARNING

power - are to become part of solved. The same antagonism is May, at the Ninth Session of ing suddenly, the police then policies." a permanent "Conference of also present, though suppressed the Communist Party Central laration of opposition to halting nuclear Workers' Self-Government" to- by ruthless dictatorship, in the Committee, he warned them not gether with management, the other Soviet-orbit countries. It even to think of becoming "or-This policy speech by the foreign party committee in the plant is the conflict of interest be: gans of working class political tween the workers and a caste power" such as the Soviets of The Gomulka regime has ad- of privilege-seeking bureaucrats workers' delegates were in Rusmitted that the workers' coun- who foster economic inequality. sia from 1917 to 1922. Nor cils, which gave the workers a This bureaucracy rules through should they strive to be administrative units of popular pow-

grievance bodies, have been in- into being as revolutionary or- of the factories, or organize strumental over the last 18 ganizations that helped Gomul- beyond the limits of their facmonths in increasing produc- ka take power against the worst tories (that is, not federate). tion and productivity. But, as of Stalinist bureaucrats who Sydney Gruson says in the were at the same time the most Gomulka regime has sought to April 16 New York Times, "The pliant of Kremlin tools. How- restrict the scope of the counparty often did not have a ma- ever, even with the accession cils within the factories and jority among the members of of its Gomulka reform wing, now seeks to crush their indethe workers' councils and thus, the Communist party continued pendence altogether by placing in theory, could not guarantee to rule as the instrument of them under the discipline of that its line would be follow- the bureaucracy. The interests the spuriously-designated "Coned in the factories." This is of the working class, were given ference of Workers' Self-Gov

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ward.

tonomous organizations created This one incident shows that tion to the Communist Party.

That is why Gomulka al-

factories as well as acting as The workers' councils came er, consider themselves owners During the past year, the

what Gomulka complained independent expression through ernment."

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prove that such a parley will "come to that the unions must be con-nothing or even worse." ror is described by a N. Y. Armas, who had become incenthese proposals is to place the distribute the bonus according Thus the workers' councils Times correspondent (April 15) sed by some mild "liberalizabassador to the Soviet Union, George working class firmly once again to merit. Party Life then re- were potentially organs of po- who followed two trucks carry- tion" measures he had prounder bureaucratic domination ports that a "troublemaker" litical power, while the most ing 70 cops. The police charged posed. Stanford University's by party functionaries and told a meeting: "Brother work- active elements within them a group of about 200 Africans. Hispanic American Report, distate-appointed factory man- ers, how long are they going to were potentially the cadre of a "Through a loudspeaker the gesting Latin American events fool us? We want immediate revolutionary socialist party lieutenant colonel cried, 'Hit and opinion in the month of distribution of the fund and fighting for the principle of them! Hit them!' Then trucks January, reports: "It was now roared through the streets of generally accepted that the astumbledown Sophiatown, draw- sassination of Castillo Armas ing volleys of bricks from time was not the work of Commu-

strikers injured.

to time. The policemen fired nists, but rather of elements tion which brought Gomulka to Revolution" has not been re- ways feared the councils. Last back as they passed. Dismount- who resented his enlightened

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The Negro Struggle

The Problem of Negro Leadership

[An unusually penetrating article, entitled, "Changing Sturcture 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

overflowed the building where the meeting was held. The meeting decided to hold a oneday 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 Local Sets Up 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 or-taken by United Auto Workers ganizer into accepting this responsibility. Once Local 774 at the Chevrolethe had done so, he was largely circumscribed Tonawanda plant in Buffalo, in his future actions by the feelings and prior New York. The local has set actions of his community. The aims had al-ready been decided by the people. He could only determine how they were to be achieved.

differences between these two events, and All unemployed members have what are their implications? The Clarendon been notified of this service and County case grew at least, partially, out of of the fact that they still have the 1950 court victory of the Sweatt case. the right to attend and partici-There was a feeling that "a new world was pate at all union meetings. a'coming." Though the action taken was with- The notice also contains a in the structural framework of the NAACP, detailed list of welfare, comthere was much pressure on both levels of munity and free medical agenleadership to carry the case further than might cies, surplus food outlets, and otherwise have been done. The local chairman, union services connected with not wholeheartedly in favor of carrying the aiding the unemployed as well case to the Supreme Court, had to agree to do as instructions on applying so in order to keep his leadership position. for unemployment compensation The same was true, though to a lesser extent, and aid of various kinds. Senof the national leadership. The case had re- jority rights, and how to proceived nationwide publicity and had attracted tect them while unemployed. strong support from the Negro masses. The are also carefully explained in national leadership felt that it could not the notice.

afford to risk losing this support by dropping afford to risk losing the case in favor of another one; to do so would be tantamount to admitting defeat and their power. So the doubts **Youngstown** 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

action has thus become more probable on the ing state of Pennsylvania, but repeated in a N. Y. Times ar-This is particularly true in the early stages.

• at least six or seven years ago, have now come home to roost. Montgomery in a sense is has become an important issue It is an old axiom of capital- makes the NLRB far from a methods of protest. The result has been a erated in several locals. gradual and continuing divorce of the na- The Militant Steelworker, or into the big outfits' hands and guidance.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXII

Buffalo Auto Jobless Comm.

A good start toward dealing with the immediate problems of the unemployed has been What are the significant similarities and bers who call the local office.

Fights Food For

The Mahoning County CIO Business Week sees a possi- in 1957 were 75% above 1956. Council, which includes the se- ble silver lining to the reces- The first three months of this verely depressed Youngstown, sion in that it will bring more year showed the figure zoom-Ohio steel district, is engaged productive machinery and auto- ing like a rocket. According to The Tallahassee bus boycott was also surplus food into the area for productive producers" (i. e. complaint "intake is continuing spontaneously organized, this time by local free distribution. Such food is small business) and improve la- far above anything that has university students. Spontaneous pressure and already available in the adjoin- bor efficiency. This refrain is happened before."

ally."

part of the Negro masses, with less chance the Mahoning County Com- ticle (April 20) summarizing lows the layoff pattern nationafforded for control by traditional leaders. missioners have consistently op- conservative businessmen's ally. Unions charge that emposed free food distribution out views on the recession. Among ployers are taking advantage of The point is that structural flaws in the of consideration for merchants "distortions" they expect it to layoffs to weed out union mili-NAACP, which were evident to some degree who don't want the competition. shake out are "artificially high" tants. The Taft-Hartley law and The demand for surplus food wages.

the by-product of those flaws. The NAACP, among Youngstown steel work- ism that depression periods fair court of justice for union preoccupied with winning court victories, was ers. The CIO Council took ac- work to the advantage of Big militants - that is if they live unprepared for the development of alternate tion after pressure was gen-Business since it sends the long enough to get a final dissmall competitors to the wall position of their cases.

In the plants themselves the tional and local NAACPs from the mass of published by Socialist Workers through take-overs or mergers. main work of the unions today the Negro people at the same time that these Party branches in the Ohio and Big Business also utilizes de- is fighting grievances concernindividuals continue looking to it for cues Buffalo steel areas, says in its pression periods to stop labor's ing downgrading in violation April 11 issue: "No one can advances and even force it of seniority.

This problem seems related, on both the say that there is not enough of backward. Union-busting, wage The steel corporations constructural and communication levels, to the this food available. The record cutting, worsening of working tinue their pressure to per-

MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1958



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



lations Board. Such complaints

The complaint pattern folits own reactionary composition



Jobs and Bias

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

rank-and-file union members to represent him. Mass firings as well as organizations have have been the answer of the been invited to participate in employer. This has already the discussion at the confer- provoked a number of strikes, ence, which will be held at which have in each and every UAW Unity House, 187 Ox- case met with the harassment ford St., Brooklyn, Friday, May tics of the police. This is in di-2 at 7 P.M.

ported by the New York City and spirit of the Mayor's prom-CIO Council, District 65 of the ise made in the heat of the Retail, Wholesale and Depart- public indignation . . ment Store Workers Union, Lo- SPECIAL PROBLEMS

unions in the Brooklyn area.

tical proportions among the tion. working people as a whole and ticular . . .

in many instances lost demo- Committee" to aid workers cratic control of their unions, whose rights have been inthey are further saddled with fringed upon. The group says improper union representation. it "recognizes that there al-They are often deceived and ready exist numerous agencies cheated by unscrupulous em- and organizations who are set ployment agencies. This is up for these purposes. However, usually accomplished upon the it is our opinion that coordinainitiative and with the open ted and concerted activities are

ployer . . . "Sometimes the worker at- overall situation." tempts to enlist the aid of a

more democratic union. En- TEENAGE DEATH PENALTY Another teenager, Francis couraged by Mayor Wagner's promise to aid workers strait- Medaille, 15, faces the death jacketed by sweetheart agree- penalty in New York, if conments and 'Racket Unions,' he victed on a charge of murder.



Parley Called by B'klyn NAACP

Negro, Puerto Rican and labor organizations for a Conference may organize his fellow workon "unemployment and exploi- ers to file a decertification petation of minority group work- tition for an election to deers." Interested individuals and termine which union he chooses

The conference is being sup- rect contradiction to the word

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cal 485 of the International The conference is expected to Union of Electrical Workers, discuss unscrupulous and disand other AFL-CIO local criminatory practices of employment agencies: problems LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED | facing minority workers in con-In issuing the call, the nection with unemployment in-NAACP committee said: "The surance, such as the lack of logic of "last hired, first fired" Spanish-speaking interviewers is again being carried through at the state offices, and ways of to its inevitable conclusion. aiding minority workers to ob-Unemployment is reaching cri- tain decent union representa-

The Labor Committee of the the minority peoples in par- Brooklyn NAACP is proposing that the conference set up a "Because these workers have "Continuating Cooperating collusion of the sweatshop em- now necessary in view of the progressive worsening of 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. Rose 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

a coherent framework which it can control. inadequate storage facilities. potential strikebreakers. creasing lack of positive communication with employed and of the needy." the masses . . .

Council in Northern California

has begun "one of the best

moves to date, that has been

and Unemployed Worker, which

Negroes

Paper \$1.50

Cloth \$2.00

when suade the United Steel Work basically middle-class character of the NAACP shows that more than \$6 billion conditions are easier as contrasted with the predominantly lower- worth of this food is stored in workers are in fear of losing ers to forego the wage increase class status of most Negroes. In these cir- this country's warehouses. Much their jobs and when there is due July 1 under their threecumstances the NAACP has not been able of this food is destined to spoil an army of unemployed which year contract. Harold J. Rut to orient and organize the Negro masses into because of age and because of the employers hope to use as tenberg, a former research director of the union who has The from-top-down organization is good only YOU are paying almost a mil- The lessons to be drawn by since gone over to the side for keeping control in the hands of the ex- lion dollars every day to the the labor movement are: (1) of the steel barons and is now isting leaders and preventing subversion from owners of these storage facili- Labor must stop treating the president of the Stardrill-Keybelow. Yet it is still subject to pressure from ties to store food that should recession as a temporary epi- stone Co., recently addressed a these masses since it depends upon them be consumed! The fight for sode and plan to meet an ex- "Dear Dave" letter to USW for political and financial support. Thus, a Surplus Free Food must be tended period of hard times. President David J. McDonald restructuring and modernization of the NAA carried into all communities. It (2) Labor must organize the urging him to accept a wage CP's organizational framework seems neces should be distributed to help unemployed not only for their freeze in return for a price sary unless it is to be content with an in- lighten the burden of the un- own benefit but to forestall Big freeze by the steel corporations. Business using them against His main arguments were:

NUMBER OF FARMS

of militant mass action, in-

Labor Council

bers," according to the March other Indians gathered around

those workers still employed. (1) "to pull the steel industry That Big Business is already out of the depression into which Between 1950 and 1954 the utilizing the recession to un- it had receded;" (2) "we cannot number of family-sized farms dermine unions and union con- afford to let the Russians outin the U.S. decreased by 600, ditions is graphically shown by produce our steel industry in the staggering rise in com- 1958."

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.



Minneapolis

MAY-DAY MEETING

Friday, May 2 — 8 P.M. 322 Hennepin, Hall 205

Ausp.:

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In No. California **Tuscarora Indians Picket to Keep Land** To Aid Jobless An AFL-CIO Central Labor

By John Black around grapevine post fires. main free. Here we have rights, me that the plans which now in the fight for the land. I may The women had played an ac- Money can't replace that." The call for flooding reservation be a lawyer, but I learned how NIAGARA FALLS, April 19 tive part in all phases of the SPA has not set any price for land require construction of an to picket too. Right now that's moves to date, that has been — "We have won a partial vic-taken by any labor group, on the sentiment is the sentiment what we are doing." That was the sentiment is the first and had set up a the land it has appropriated. habelf of its unampleued and had set up a the land it has appropriated. extra five-mile canal. The In-dians feel that the SPA was GET SUPPORT

behalf of its unemployed mem- of the Tuscarora and the many roving pickets. Indians from tude they have announced that willing to go out of its way to The Tuscarora are getting many other tribes had gathered a trust fund would be set up, flood cheaply-acquired Indian support from many other 29 issue of Lumberjack News the border marker at the Res- to help in the fight. to the value of around \$1,000 land rather than expensive pri-tribes. Indians from far away ervation boundary. Four days PART OF CONFEDERACY per acre. "They don't think we vately-owned land. were still arriving at the res-I talked to many of them. can be trusted with money. A The Indians don't want ervation on Saturday. Mohawks. is published by an independent or minimum mass action, in 1 talked to many of them. Can be trusted with money. If the creasing support from other They were anxious to tell their few miles from here they paid trouble. But they are determined one of the creasing support from other They were anxious to tell their few miles from here they paid to provent their land from and Senecas are here to help. organization of unemployed in Indians, public declarations of side of the story. This is the the University of Niagara \$25 ed to prevent their land from and Senecas are here to help,

support from the Niagara Falls Branch of the NAACP and gist of what they said. The Tus-carora are a tribe affiliated with This discrimination in being snatched from under but many non-Indians are sym-This discrimination in the them. "They brought in near to pathetic, too. While I was there widespread public support in the six-nation Iroquois Confed- land evaluation does not dis- a hundred state troopers from several carloads of whites the Falls area have contributed eracy. They consider them- pose the Indians to compromise. all over," one Tuscarora In- from the Falls arrived. They to this present victory. selves a sovereign nation and But there is very genuine op- dian told me. "We could tell were fellow workers who had The granting of a temporary want no part of negotiations position to selling at any price. by the license plates that they been employed with the Tuscarestraining order by Federal between their tribe and the Possession of the land is the were not from around here. rora on construction jobs and Judge Edmund L. Palmieri of State of New York or any sub- basis for their few rights. Free They carried guns and had in plants in the area. They New York City will keep the division thereof. All negotia- dom from state and federal tax- clubs in the cars." Several In- came to see how the battle local unions for detailed facts State Department of Public tions concerning land must ation is one of them. If they dians were arrested on Wednes- was going. By then the situa-Works and the State Power take place through the Confed- were to sell out and buy land day and Thursday. Some scuf- tion was under control and the names and addresses of needy Authority from "entering upon eracy. "The SPA wants to deal elsewhere, apart from the fles and an occasional brush- surveyors had given up all atunemployed members who have any land belonging to the with our chief. They don't want breakup of their tribe and fire kept the SPA surveyors tempts to work.

Tuscarora Nation." A hearing to recognize the Confederacy. family ties, it would entail loss from doing their work. When At the meeting the night beon this is scheduled for Thurs- But the chief has no power to of the freedoms they have the troopers arrested the men, fore, the strategy had been disday. The time thus gained will yield the land. The SPA wants maintained under their treaties. the women blocked the path cussed and the legal action give attorneys acting on behalf to divide us and keep us weak. GO OUT OF WAY of the surveyors and kept planned to back up the mass of the tribe the opportunity to We will go to the United Na-They feel that the state them from working. action. The question came up contest the illegal appropriation tions if necessary. All small authorities are going out of One man who had stayed up of an appeal to the United Naof the Indians' land in court. | nations are being heard now." | their way to wipe out the res- all night on lookout, because tions for help. "The Russians The State Power Authority ervation. I was told again and the rumors had it that the sur-are pretty strong and they Tired faces lit up with enthusiasm when the news reach- is taking reservation land for again that the power project veyors would come in at would just love to take our case ed us that the order had been its power project. The Indians originally was not planned in night, told me that he was not up in the UN." The Indians signed. For four days the 750 say that the land was appropri- such a way as to encroach on a Tuscarora. "I am an Oneida. want their rights and they Tuscarora had prevented sur-ated illegally. They don't rec-Indian land. One of the Tusca- Until recently I was an auto know that the sympathy of the veyors from doing the pre- ognize the jurisdiction of the rora took me for a ride in his worker in Detroit. At night I colonial people would be on liminary work on the planned state courts on Indian affairs. car to show me where the con- attended law school. We In- their side. "Washington would power reservoir. At stake are They feel they need the land, struction for the power project dians need lawyers. There is get a black eye in world opin-1,300 acres of reservation land. little as they have, in view of had already begun. It was a no money in it for me. But the ion if we take this to the UN. Some of the men had stayed the increasing Indian popula- considerable distance away from tribe wanted me to study. Now We are Freedom Fighters here, on watch all night, gathered tion. "We need this land to re- the reservation, and he showed they have sent me here to aid you know."