

NAACP Board Bans Williams For Six Months

By John Thayer

NEW YORK, June 9 — The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People yesterday suspended Robert F. Williams, president

of the Union County, North Carolina, branch from that office and barred him from holding any other NAACP office for six months. This action was the outcome of a trial or hearing held by the NAACP national office after Williams had publicly advocated that Negroes, in areas where they received no protection from the courts, "meet violence with violence" when attacked by racists.

The National Board made its six-month suspension of Williams retroactive to May 6, thus endorsing the action of Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins who, in disregard of the organization's constitution, had arbitrarily suspended Williams by telegram the day following Williams' first statement.

'COMPROMISE'

It is believed that some elements in the top echelons of the NAACP were sympathetic to Williams' position and that the board's unanimous decision was a "compromise" approved by those who were against suspension in order to limit the punishment to six months rather than a much longer period which Williams' opponents are said to have advocated.

It is very unlikely that the suspension of Williams will close the case or bury the issues which he raised. The defense of Williams by sections of the Negro press, by numerous NAACP units and individual members reveals that a very large segment of the Negro people want to fight to make self-defense a part of their organizations' program and practice.

Undoubtedly many delegates to the NAACP convention, which convenes in New York City July 13, will wish to express themselves on the board's action. Williams has already indicated that he plans to appeal the verdict to the convention.

That the wave of sentiment in the Negro community and in the NAACP in Williams' favor



ROBERT WILLIAMS

has already had an effect in the top levels of the NAACP is seen in the fact that the statement announcing his suspension at the same time asserted that the NAACP is for self-defense. The pertinent section reads: "The NAACP has never condoned mob violence but it firmly supports the right of Negroes individually and collectively to defend their persons, their homes and their property from attack. This principle has always been the policy of the NAACP. For example, the Arkansas Riot Case in 1919, the Sweet Case in 1925, the Columbia, Tennessee Riot Cases in 1946 and the Ingram Case in Georgia, 1947."

If self-defense by Negroes, individually and collectively, is the position of the NAACP, how then does it justify the suspension of Williams?

The NAACP Board of Directors, argues that Williams' statement of May 5 went beyond self-defense to retaliation. Williams dispelled any such interpretation of his position early the next morning in an interview with the Carolina Times

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Campaigners in Sprint For \$16,000 Fund Goal

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

We've reached the chills and fever part of the fund campaign. Chills over the thought you might not make that June 15 deadline and fever to make up for lost time.

The net result, however, was the best week yet. Members, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$1,602 toward the Party Building Fund of \$16,000. That brought the national total on June 8 to \$12,935, or 80% of the goal.

Nickels, dimes, quarters, half dollars, and those silver purse sinkers they use in the Rocky Mountain states for dollars are needed in some quantity to make up the difference. What we could really use is some of that folding kind. If each one really digs now, we can make that goal. And I think we can expect an extra effort by everyone.

There's no greater cause on earth than socialism. It means life and peace and happiness for

Campaign Fund Goal \$16,000 COLLECTED TO DATE \$12,935

an unlimited future. What better gift can you give the generations to come? What better accomplishment to be remembered for? What greater reason is there for existing than to make it possible for the children of the future to be born in a world free from war and depressions and race hatred and economic worries? To help get that how can anyone consider it a real self-sacrifice to put some folding money in the kitty?

Five are already over the top — Connecticut, Denver, San Diego, Allentown and Pittsburgh. Another contribution of \$33 from our dynamic Connecticut contingent boosted these socialists right to the top of the scoreboard. I suppose they're challenging anybody to try to take away that premium spot.

But take a look at San Diego. Last week they were fourth from the bottom. This week they hit 106%. Milt Shafer wasn't kidding when he sent that nonchalant note: "This puts us over."

And Allentown's \$9 rang the going for them. Newark's \$58 contribution moved them right up next to the 100% mark. Joe Skivar sent the kind of message I feel like adding to that treasured bundle I keep tied in blue ribbons near the lavender sachet powder in my cedar chest: "Looks like we'll have our quota completed by June 15. I feel a lot better. The comrades are coming through wonderfully and everyone is pretty well paid up."

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High Court Backtracks On Civil Liberties Cases

Escalator Clause Under Fire

With support from government leaders, big business is opening an attack on the escalator clause in union contracts. This provision, calling for automatic pay raises as the cost of living goes up, has been an important means of defending workers' living standards against inflation for almost a decade. Nearly five million workers are at present protected by some form of cost-of-living provision.

The steel industry, General Electric and the major railroads are among the corporations that have threatened not to renew escalator clauses in union contracts.

One Midwest railroad executive, quoted in the May 20 Wall Street Journal, said, "This is a very serious effort to do away with the cost-of-living clause. The feeling is we got stuck badly by the last escalator." By "stuck badly" he meant that the railroads had to raise wages 13 cents an hour during the last three years under this clause.

This is the employers' real complaint against the escalator clause. But since it expresses profit greed too crassly, big business spokesmen have sought to put a better face on their objections.

For instance, Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin has stated that, "Contractual or other arrangements designed as shelters or hedges from inflation have the effect of quickening its tempo" — in plain English, wage increases under the escalator clause cause inflation.

Now, under the cost-of-living provision workers do not get a pay increase until after the employers have raised their prices and until price increases have affected the cost of living. So how can the adjustment of wages to inflation cause inflation?

The wage-price spiral "theory," through which the employing class seeks to blame wage increases for its own price manipulations, reaches the point of absurdity when applied to the escalator clauses. In trying to freeze wages, the corporation chiefs do not really expect to end inflation. What they want is that the working people should shoulder all its costs.

CREDENTIALS

And then there is the little country that imported Communists to get Western aid.

The "Rotten Boroughs" They Don't Boast About

Anyone turning on his radio in another country to the programs broadcast from the United States under State Department auspices will not have to listen long until he hears about the workings of democracy in the United States. America is a bastion of the democratic process, he will hear, the model and main hope of everyone in the world who believes in freedom and equality.

How close does the reality compare to this wonderful-sounding propaganda? Is America truly democratic?

Negroes in the South will register a resounding "No!" They are systematically barred from even registering as voters. The minority parties will join emphatically in offering additional evidence of the lack of democracy. Arbitrary and onerous legal requirements make it virtually impossible in most states for minority parties to get on the ballot.

This applies with particular force to socialist parties. Only too often, when they try to overcome the tremendous obstacles, they are met with

Handy With Their Clubs



New York cops have waged a continuous campaign of intimidation against striking hospital workers. On June 9, club-swinging cops piled into pickets at medical school graduation exercises at Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital. After beating strikers, they arrested seven of them for "rioting." Scene above is at Beth Israel Hospital.

N. Y. Hospital Strikers Protest Club-Swinging Police Attack

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 10 — More than 2,000 striking workers from seven hospitals jammed the main ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat tonight. They roared their approval as their union president, Leon J. Davis, bitterly assailed the police force for its brutal attack on pickets yesterday.

Describing the club-swinging assault on demonstrators at Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital as "a disgraceful, criminal unprovoked attack," Davis demanded official action against those responsible.

The striking members of Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees Union, AFL-CIO, voted unanimously not to act on a proposed formula for settling the strike until the union held a scheduled meeting with Mayor Wagner. The formula was put forward by the Mayor's three-man panel as a basis for ending the bitterly fought strike which is now in its fifth week at six of the hospitals and in its first week at the seventh.

WOULD FREEZE WAGES

The proposal would provide a minimum grievance machinery and an unofficial, watered-down version of union recognition.

Other terms would freeze wages for one year at the dollar-an-hour minimum which the hospitals began paying after the strike started and call for reinstatement of all strikers except those deemed "guilty of violence."

The Hospital Association, which is representing the struck institutions, and which has stubbornly resisted union recognition, has withheld comment on the offer.

In recommending that the local take no action for the time being on the panel's formula, Davis declared: "After five weeks we have no intention of going back on our knees. If we do go back it will be as union people."

Davis also proposed that the strikers begin taking time off the picket lines to participate in a stepped-up organizing drive of some 70 other voluntary hospitals and indicated that the union might be forced to strike still other hospitals where the workers have already been signed up.

His statement on the possibility of extending the strike was greeted with cheers, applause and cries of "Pull them out!"

Harry Van Arsdale, President of the New York City AFL-CIO

Council, added to the high morale of the meeting when he reported that he had just received word from an official of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union that a check for \$15,000 was on its way to union headquarters.

He also reported that the New York hospital workers have inspired a similar organizing drive in Buffalo and that last week the AFL-CIO had held a rally in that city attended by more than 1,000 hospital workers.

STATE GROUP VOTES SUPPORT

Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer of the City AFL-CIO, told the rally he had been attending a statewide meeting of 300 union leaders in Syracuse when the local paper appeared with a front-page picture of New York cops clubbing hospital pickets.

Iushewitz said the state meeting immediately adopted a resolution "condemning in most outspoken terms this vicious act of police brutality." The meeting sent telegrams to Mayor Wagner, the Board of Estimate and the Police Commissioner demanding punishment of the cops involved.

Surrenders to Threats Of Witch-Hunt Groups To "Curb the Court"

By George Lavan

The U.S. Supreme Court on June 8 dealt a stunning blow to civil liberties in a series of reactionary decisions. These decisions were handed down under the pressure

of a powerful "curb-the-court" movement in Congress which threatens passage of laws circumventing the 1957 high court decisions. These rulings had partially restrained the witch hunters. It is by no means certain, however, that the Supreme Court's attempt to forestall such legislation by backtracking on its earlier decisions will stop the drive in Congress.

The principal June 8 decisions strengthened the House Un-American Activities Committee and re-established state "sedition" or criminal syndicalism laws. For good measure the court rebuked a federal district court for holding unconstitutional three anti-NAACP laws passed by Virginia and ordered the case to be sent to the state Supreme Court. It also upheld North Carolina's so-called literacy test used to bar many literate Negroes from voting, and reaffirmed its recent ruling permitting double jeopardy — that is, prosecution of a person both by state and federal governments for the same offense.

CLAIMS FIRST AMENDMENT

The case involving the House Un-American Activities Committee was that of Lloyd Barenblatt, former instructor in psychology at Vassar College and the University of Michigan. Barenblatt was subjected to the witch-hunters' inquisition in 1954. Claiming the guarantees of free speech, thought and association of the First Amendment, he refused to answer questions about his "political and religious" beliefs or any "other personal and private affairs" or associations. (He did not invoke his rights under the Fifth Amendment.) The Un-American committee cited him for contempt of Congress and he was sentenced to six months and a fine.

Civil liberties defenders had high hopes of his acquittal because the Supreme Court, in its 1957 Watkins decision, ruled invalid contempt sentences handed down by this same committee. The court, moreover, declared that the inquisitions of the committee had no legislative purpose. They were, rather, show trials (in which victims were punished by pillorying, loss of jobs, etc.) whose aim was "exposure for exposure's sake."

But this week the high court



Tom Clark, reactionary Supreme Court judge appointed by Truman, who handed down anti-civil-rights ruling.

severely undercut its famous Watkins decision. That decision had not meant to limit the power of the House Un-American Activities Committee to engage in inquisitions into people's political beliefs and associations, the court now says. It had merely prescribed that the victim had to be clearly informed of the purpose of the investigation and the relevancy of questions asked of witnesses to it.

Justice Hugo Black, in a bitter dissenting opinion wrote: "The First Amendment says in no unequivocal language that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedom of speech, press, assembly or petition. The activities of this committee, authorized by Congress, do precisely that, through exposure, obloquy and public scorn . . ."

COURT OUTLAW CP

"The Court implies that the ordinary rules and requirements of the Constitution do not apply because the committee is merely after communists and they do not constitute a political party but only a criminal gang . . . the court in effect declares that party outlawed. It has been only a few years since there was a practically unanimous feeling throughout the country and in our courts that this could not be done in our free land . . ."

"The fact is that once we al-

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figures might seem to indicate. America is cursed with "rotten boroughs," a term first used in England to describe districts with comparatively few voters who still sent delegates to Parliament. For example, the delegate of one "rotten borough" is no one less than Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House. This national leader of the Democratic party won reelection with only 15,942 votes in 1958. HOUSE LEADERSHIP "From a strictly population standpoint Mr. Rayburn and at least eight of the 20 House committee chairmen are from so-called 'rotten boroughs,'" says Merry. Besides the Southern heads of some of the most important committees in Congress, other notorious representatives are from "rotten boroughs." These include Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.) and the Democratic witch-hunter Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania. At the opposite extreme of districts like Rayburn's (population 227,735 of whom only a small percentage got to vote) stand districts where the voters are denied full representation. Merry gives as examples the districts of Thomas E. Morgan (D-Penn.) and Harold D. Cooley (D-N.C.) with "populations of 444,921 and 401,913 respectively. "If all districts were properly apportioned," he calculates, "the big cities with populations exceeding 100,000 would pick up from 10 to 12 additional seats." This would mean a corresponding decrease in the number of seats held by representatives like Rayburn, Hoffman and Walter. Proposals to proportion representation to the actual number of voters would, of course, force the Deep South to either grant Negroes their right to vote or virtually eliminate the racist Bourbons from Congress. IT AIN'T THE HEAT IT'S THE STUPIDITY New York's new "discomfort index" which relates temperature and humidity, is under attack by local tourist agents. They want it changed to "comfort index."

FBI Gets Aid and Comfort From Top Labor Leaders

By Henry Gitano

FBI chief Edgar Hoover is currently directing the biggest labor-spy outfit in U.S. history. His political police has thoroughly infiltrated the labor movement. This has been made possible in good part by the collaboration of labor's top officials, who have worked hand in glove with the FBI in carrying out the bi-partisan witch-hunt.

Glossing over Hoover's union-busting record, Al Hayes, president of the 900,000-member Machinists union and chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, sent the nation's number one labor-spy a telegram last Jan. 1 praising his "outstanding contributions . . . particularly your vigilance in exposing Communist and Nazi subversion."



America's chief cop in régalia given him by Division 160 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers when they made him an honorary member.

Two weeks later, on Jan. 12, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, conferred an honorary membership on Hoover. "In recognition of your great contributions to humanity and your great services to our country,"

MEANY HAILS HOOVER

The lowest in union leadership subservience to Hoover was probably reached at the 1953 AFL Convention where president George Meany hailed the FBI boss in his opening address: "I am going to bring to you a witness who can perhaps say better than I the things that we know . . . on that score. This witness surely is not biased insofar as we are concerned. He is an outstanding American. He is the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover . . . He writes in the first edition of . . . Labor Guide . . . of the menace of communism as it is applied to the trade union movement."

After humbling himself before the federal director of stoolpigeons, Meany proceeded to read at length from Hoover's lead article in this short-lived publication: "In more than half a century of the existence of the AFL, this tribute can be paid to its leadership that they recognize the dangers in the never-ending assault by the Communists to gain control . . ." On June 8, 1956, Meany delivered an address to the FBI National Academy, which was reprinted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A particularly outrageous example of secret collusion between the FBI and labor bureaucrats is provided by the maritime industry. In their drive to silence all rank and file criticism, top officials of all but two of the country's maritime unions, signed a statement in 1950 recognizing and accepting the government's authority to dictate who shall be employed on merchant ships. The unions agreed to "immediately furnish a replacement" for any seaman branded as a "bad security risk."

The Coast Guard acted on information supplied by the FBI from its secretly-compiled files containing an admitted 41 million dossiers.

Out of about 500,000 maritime workers "screened," 3,783 were blacklisted and thus unable to earn a living at their trade. But the full scope of this witch hunt must be measured not only in terms of the number of seamen fired but in the effect this had in intimidating all other union members.

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in an October 1955 decision curbing maritime screening, stated, "It is not amiss to bear in mind whether or not we must look forward to a day when substantially every one will have to contemplate the possibility that his neighbors are being encouraged to make reports to the FBI about what he says, what he reads and what meetings he attends."

As a result of this court decision, the Coast Guard again issued validated papers to screened seamen (though affixing a distinct brand marking the carrier as "subversive") whereupon the union bureaucrats took over the screening.

Thus the National Maritime Union piecemeal added an amendment to their agreement with the shipowners whereby "loyalty to the U.S." was made a condition for the right to work. On the West Coast, the Marine Firemen's Union expelled all of its members "that had originally been 'screened' by the Coast Guard. After the seamen were technically 'unscreened,' union reinstatement did not follow.

FBI 'FLOODS' UNION HALL

(The price paid by the NMU for the collaboration of its officials in the witch hunt has been FBI interference in other realms of the union's affairs. For instance, in 1954, the NMU got in a hassle with the federal government because the union allegedly had given Negroes and Puerto Ricans preferential treatment in hiring. The FBI immediately got busy, causing NMU vice-president Warner to complain that the union halls "have been flooded with [FBI] investigators who have been snooping all over the place.")

Collaboration in purging "subversives" is not confined to maritime-union officials. Nation's Business (Dec. 1955) quoted an official of American Cable and Radio Corporation as follows: "We cooperate with our labor union in that respect. I would like to pay tribute to the Communications Workers of America . . . The company took the position that it was necessary to have something in the labor agreement that would help solve the subversive problem . . . Joseph Beirne, president of the CWA, along with the local union helped write language in our labor contract to that end." (In this kind of an arrangement, the FBI furnishes the names; the company and union officials do the rest.)

Again, Counterattack on April 3, 1959, praised David J. McDonald, president of the United Steel Workers of America, for refusing to demand arbitration on behalf of four workers at the Sparrows Point, Bethlehem Steel plant, who were fired in 1957 after FBI informer Clifford Miller fingered them.

To their everlasting disgrace, the Communist Party leaders too helped foist the FBI on the labor movement. During their World War II collaboration with the Roosevelt Administration, they urged FBI investigation of "Trotskyites" in the union movement. They pointed the finger at all union militants resisting the no-strike pledge or demanding an end to Roosevelt's wage freeze. (George Morris' pamphlet, *The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement*, is a good example of how the CP leaders egged the FBI on in purging militants out of the labor movement.)

Not all labor leaders have been blind to the menace that the FBI represents to the unions. Emil Rieve, then president of the CIO Textile Workers Union, stated in December 1953: "I know enough about history that when the secret police — and the FBI, make no mistake, is a secret police agency — serves the interests of the administration in power, God help the liberties of the people."

Rieve's estimate of the FBI as a secret police agency directed against labor's struggle for a better world is bound to become the prevailing opinion among the union rank and file. When they organize to restore union democracy and a fighting policy against the employers, they will sweep out the FBI-planted labor spies just as in the 1930's the mighty upsurge of the labor movement swept out the company-hired labor spies from the factories.

Foster's "Left" Arguments for CP Policy

By Murry Weiss

William Z. Foster, who is by far the most authoritative spokesman of the Communist Party of the U.S., has published a second article on the labor party question in the May issue of *Political Affairs*. His first article appeared in the January issue.

The real purpose of the second article is to supply new, more left-sounding arguments than he did in the first for the ruinous Stalinist policy of "multi-class, people's anti-monopoly coalition."

The new arguments, as Foster himself indicates, are designed to meet the pressure of criticism and dissatisfaction in the ranks of the CP and among independent and unaffiliated radicals. It is also clear, for those familiar with the current debate in the socialist movement, that Foster attempts to cope with the arguments and analysis of the Socialist Workers Party.

WHY ARE THEY WEAK?

In our polemic against Foster's first article (*Militant*, Jan. 26, Feb. 23), we made the following central point: Foster said that the American workers were "deplorably weak politically." True, we replied, but what accounts for this weakness?

Foster had failed completely to address himself to this key question whose answer hinges on an examination of the labor leadership's role. "One gets the impression," we said about Foster's first article "that alongside of several generations of effort to build a labor party the workers have been voting for their class enemies year in and year out, for a half-century, with the trade-union leaders merely going along. But this isn't the case at all! The trade-union bureaucracy has fought the formation of a labor party tooth and nail since the stormy rise of the CIO."

In his May article, Foster now declares: The greatest aid to the monopolists . . . in maintaining the two-party system, has been the help of the conservative trade-union leaders . . . They have been the bitterest foes of every real attempt to establish independent working-class political action, down to this very day."

Good! Foster now sheds some light on why the workers' organizations have been chained to the capitalist two-party system and why repeated labor-party attempts have been defeated. The next question then is: What kind of a labor leadership is this? Why does it serve capitalist interests so faithfully?

In our Jan. 26 *Militant* article, we pointed out that the labor leadership is not "a mere reflection of the rank and file, more or less responsive to the will of the organized workers" but is rather a "bureaucracy with interests of its own separate from the workers and tied up with the very capitalist class that exploits the workers."

In his May article, Foster now says, "The leadership of the unions, . . . who are such devotees of the two-party system, are very far from being faithful representatives of their rank and file." He describes the union leaders as "conservative" and as "frank advocates of the capitalist system." He says, "many of them [are] wealthy." He also says, "Many leaders of the AFL-CIO, who have great influence in the Democratic Party, are notorious imperialistic saber-rattlers, and are not a whit behind the biggest capitalists in demanding larger armaments and more war-like policies by the government."

NEW DEAL PERIOD

Word for word and phrase for phrase, Foster wants to match our indictment of the union leaders. But he stops short of the mark in two important re-



Roosevelt, shrewd political representative of America's 60 ruling families, used "New Deal" to create the myth of "FDR" as champion of the common man.

spects. First, he will not specify that the union leaders did their dirtiest work against a labor party and for the two-party system during the Roosevelt era of the 1930's and during the Second World War.

This is exactly the period when the greatest chance for a labor party existed. It is also the period when the modern breed of union leaders consummated their alliance with the Democratic Party and became the agents of the State Department's foreign policy within the labor movement. Finally, it happens to be the period in which the Communist Party worked in close alliance with the present labor leadership in mobilizing labor support for the Democratic Party. The CP, cheek and jowl with the labor bureaucrats, fought against any independent political expression by the working class.

Second, Foster will not develop his description of the labor leaders to the point of a Marxist generalization. He refrains from explaining that the union officials form a labor bureaucracy — that is, a distinct social formation, resting on the labor aristocracy and enjoying special economic privileges. He avoids speaking of them as a caste with an ideology suited to their contradictory functions as administrators of the workers' class organizations, on the one hand, and as agents of capitalism within the labor movement, on the other.

Foster's historical and theoretical shortcomings go to the heart of his political line. After the above-quoted description of the labor leadership, after his statement that "the two parties are animated with the spirit and interest of American imperialism," after saying "it is idle to think that they [the workers] can 'capture' the (Democratic) party, as a whole, saturated as it is from one end to the other with reactionary forces," — after all this, what does Foster propose?

Once again to follow the discredited, self-defeating, demoralizing, opportunist policy of supporting capitalist politicians. He proposes that the radical workers drag after the policy of the labor officials like a limp tail.

(It is true that Foster proposes that the CP supplement a pro-Democratic Party policy with an "independent" role of its own. But this is what it amounts to: The [Communist] Party must put up independent candidates, jointly or alone, against those especially worthless elements on the Democratic or Republican tickets," says Foster, and he adds: "All independent tickets, however, whether of one party or more, must be placed in harmony with the strategy that is being followed by labor in the Democratic Party elections.")

Doesn't Foster know that "those especially worthless elements on the Democratic and Republican tickets" are the very ones who have been elected by "the strategy that is being followed by labor"? How can independent tickets be organized by socialists if they must be "placed in harmony" with the strategy of the labor bureaucrats? This bans independent tickets in situations where they would be most effective in exposing the big business character of both parties.)

WILL CP DO BETTER?

Foster proposes to fight for a labor party with the slogan: "Build the skeleton of the labor party primarily within the ranks of the Democratic Party."

He is constrained to admit at once that "something of all this has been done over the years by the conservative leadership of the trade unions. But in the usual manner of the conservatives, they have achieved only a tiny fragment of the possible." Now, presumably, the CP will do what the labor bureaucracy has failed to do for decades.

It is not a question of the "achievements" of "conservatives." It is a question of contradictory interests and forces. The blurring of the distinction between the workers and the bureaucracy prevails throughout all of Foster's utterances on the labor party.

Why not put matters into focus? The working class built the unions and then found itself under the heel of usurping bureaucrats who frustrated their militant class movement on the economic front and aborted all attempts to achieve independent political expression on the political front. The conservative bureaucrats have enough "achievements" to their credit in carrying out this mission. The problem is how to create the leadership for an insurgent movement against the bureaucracy; how to build a movement that will liberate the workers who have been trapped in the two-party system by the union bosses.

For this, it is above all necessary to rearm the radical workers in the United States with the Leninist policy of implac-

able hostility and struggle against the coalition of labor fakery and H-Bomb liberals. Foster, however, wants to get the Communist Party into this coalition via the "tactic" of "working in the two-party system." He hopes that within the coalition the CP will cleverly manipulate forces and turn the cold-war wolves into peace-loving sheep. This is no more realizable than the scheme of the alchemists to transform manure into gold.

Foster's whole perspective is a hideous deception. It can only derail and disorient the politically advanced workers. It must be fought vigorously and tenaciously until the radical workers have utterly rejected the cruel illusion of Stalinist people's frontism and have once again become imbued with the concept of class-struggle socialism.

DON'T GET ALARMED

Reporting differences among scientific witnesses at a Congressional hearing on the danger of fallout, the Scripps Howard papers said that we need not be "ALARMED by radioactive bomb ashes falling from the skies to lodge in our bodies." However, there is reason to be "CONCERNED — because we dare not expose the human race to so much radiation that we'll pass a 'point of no return' and seal our own doom."

Just Out! Proceedings: National Conference of American Socialists

A transcript of the discussion on lessons of the 1958 united-independent socialist election campaigns and prospects for 1960.

This landmark conference was held in Cleveland, Nov. 28-30, 1958. Read the speeches by Vincent Hallinan, John T. McManus, Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein, Hsryve O'Connor, William F. Warde, Dr. Holland Roberts, Arnold Johnson, Myra Tanner Weiss and many others.

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GLASSY-EYED OFFICIALS

New York customs officials have officially defined a glass mosaic by world-famed artist Pablo Picasso "an object made of colored glass." They want a 30 per cent tax from the owner who paid \$2,850 for it. Works of art are duty free.

SHIPTO MALAYA

But business interests on the island fear the PAP may be pushed further leftward by the Singapore workers and are putting on the squeeze by transferring assets and some operations from the island to neighboring Malaya where a "responsible" native government was installed in 1957.

Calif. Labor Learns Bitter Lesson Again

Labor in California "is learning again the bitter lesson that the Democratic Party is not a labor party." This is what George Johns, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council told the convention of the International Upholsterers Union on June 4.

Johns said that when the unions backed Governor "Pat" Brown for governor last November, they expected him to keep "his campaign pledge to repeal the jurisdictional strikes act and to oppose additional consumer taxes."

"But in these closing weeks of the Legislature, we find ourselves fighting desperately to prevent the imposition of repressive legislation aimed at the democratic processes of labor unions."

Actually, labor was not alone in supporting Brown, whose motley array of backers included the Hearst press on the right and the *People's World* on the left.

It would appear that the Hearst publishers knew better than the labor leaders (or *People's World* editors) which side of the road, the "middle-of-the-road" Brown would prefer to travel once he took office.

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Why not put matters into focus? The working class built the unions and then found itself under the heel of usurping bureaucrats who frustrated their militant class movement on the economic front and aborted all attempts to achieve independent political expression on the political front. The conservative bureaucrats have enough "achievements" to their credit in carrying out this mission. The problem is how to create the leadership for an insurgent movement against the bureaucracy; how to build a movement that will liberate the workers who have been trapped in the two-party system by the union bosses.

For this, it is above all necessary to rearm the radical workers in the United States with the Leninist policy of implac-

British, U. S. Firms Threaten Singapore's New Popular Govt.

British and American firms in Singapore are using economic pressure to counter the landslide victory of the socialist People's Action Party which elected 43 candidates to the new 51-seat Legislative Assembly. The election was held May 30 under a new constitution granting partial freedom from long-time dictatorial British rule.

The PAP victory dramatically expressed the strong anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiment of the workers of the key Asian port. Eighty per cent of these are Chinese. They enthusiastically support the social changes made in their homeland since the revolution.

Under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, general secretary of the party and now Prime Minister, the PAP government is pledged to work for "a future socialist society." At the same time Lee has declared his government does not intend to nationalize foreign firms in the new city-state which, next to London, is the busiest port in the British empire.

SHIPTO MALAYA

But business interests on the island fear the PAP may be pushed further leftward by the Singapore workers and are putting on the squeeze by transferring assets and some operations from the island to neighboring Malaya where a "responsible" native government was installed in 1957.

The first fruit of the PAP victory was the release by British authorities of eight party members jailed for two years without trial under local "internal security" decrees. The PAP had declared it would not take office until they were freed. Most of the eight had been leaders of Singapore unions which recently enjoyed a swift growth despite British crackdowns.

According to reports, the imprisoned men had been supporters of the illegal Communist Party but while in jail had gone over to the viewpoint of the PAP leadership which declares it favors "an independent, democratic, non-communist socialist state" that merges Singapore and Malaya.

The new government faces thorny problems in trying to improve the lot of the people. For decades the island has played a prime role in Asian trade. All of Malaya's and most of Indonesia's exports are funneled through its excellent harbor facilities. But British fear of anti-imperialist sentiment on the island has led to efforts to develop alternate shipping routes, and harbor activity has dropped significantly in recent years.

In addition to dock and warehouse work, an important source of employment in Singapore has been the processing of crude rubber being shipped from Sumatra. Now most of that rubber arrives in port semi-processed.

The island's population of 1,500,000 is growing rapidly. Eleven per cent of the half-million labor force are jobless and an equal number are working only part time.

MILITARY BASE

Singapore is Britain's principal Asian military base, and the British are hanging on to it as best they can. The new constitution provides for continuing British control over foreign affairs and "external defense." A seven-man "internal security" commission will include three British representatives and one Malayan.

But concessions to the Singapore workers are on the order of the day. A hundred thousand people celebrated the PAP's electoral sweep on a huge grassy area traditionally reserved for cricket games. Lee told the rally that during the election campaign colonial authorities had refused the PAP permission to use the area for an election rally. "Well, times have changed — and they will stay changed," he added.

GLASSY-EYED OFFICIALS

New York customs officials have officially defined a glass mosaic by world-famed artist Pablo Picasso "an object made of colored glass." They want a 30 per cent tax from the owner who paid \$2,850 for it. Works of art are duty free.

... Socialist Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

Hope to have the rest of the dough shortly."

Chicago is breathing hot on that 100% goal. This week, \$50 made it look like a sure thing if they can keep that pace up.

In New York I heard Richard Lopez saying the other day that he was amazed. Amazed at what? At the way the comrades are responding. "If you'd asked me a month ago, if New York would make \$4,200, I would have been afraid to bet. Now I think we'll make it. I don't know what it was, but something sure happened and comrades and friends increased their pledges." Should I let a gambling man like that in on the secret? It was the spirit of socialism that did it!

Milwaukee closed in on 85% this week with a check for \$15.50. Someday I'm sure that what will make that city really famous is not some kind of beer or municipal reform socialism, but the pioneering of the revolutionary socialists who have kept genuine Marxism going there. (Before this gets to the political editor's desk, let me hasten to add that I'm not against beer.)

Cleveland gained a few more yards with \$50 and Gene F. wrote that there will be "more later this week."

In the Twin Cities June 14 is the day, says Fannie C. "We are having our Party Building Fund social next Saturday, June 13. All money realized at that affair plus whatever is

needed to complete our quota will be sent to you on Sunday, June 14. That will be a happy day!" Happy day for the socialist fund, too, if I know how the Twin Cities comrades do things when they decide to put something over.

I hate to single out a "best thing" for the week. I always feel too tossed and turned between all the good things. But the Seattle comrades gave me such a glow that I think I'll make it them. Tom W. sent in \$142, almost doubling their percentage. And here's his masterpiece of condensation: "Fund drive progressing with deliberate speed."

The Los Angeles comrades are moving along at a much stronger pace as they see the end of the fund drive looming up. They sent a check for \$321, but gave no indication of what they're cooking up for the last lap.

The Bay Area took a long jump toward their goal this week, too. The \$176.50 they sent was a welcome sight.

Ben Starr, recently elected organizer of the East Bay Branch, wrote: "We have been slow in getting underway . . . but the point at the very top of our agenda is the Party Building Fund and we are devoting all our energies in these last weeks to going from the bottom to the top of the scoreboard."

The Bay Area has a long way to go, but Ben is an accurate reporter. So some of you who may have thought they were going to stay down there forever had better make sure they don't pass you, the way dark horses do in races.

Series by Trotsky

Written in the tense days when the German workers faced the rise of Hitler, Trotsky's writings on the Nazi danger proved prophetic. What others said at the time is largely forgotten, but Trotsky's observations still retain their vitality and meaning for the political struggle today.

As part of your basic political education you need "The Only Road for Germany" (\$65), "Germany, the Key to the International Situation" (\$35), and "The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation" (\$20).

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San Diego	245	261	106
Allentown	110	110	100
Pittsburgh	10	10	100
Detroit	600	550	92
Newark	265	243	92
Chicago	1,000	900	90
New York	4,200	3,774	90
Milwaukee	250	218	87
Twin Cities	1,700	1,404	83
Cleveland	750	590	79
Seattle	500	356	71
Los Angeles	4,400	3,031	69
St. Louis	80	50	63
Bay Area	800	475	59
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Total through June 8	\$16,100	\$12,935	80

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William Worthy's Right to Travel

Newspaperman William Worthy, Jr. deserves full support in his struggle for the right to cover the major news developments of our time. On June 9, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected his appeal for an order directing the State Department to issue him a passport for travel to China. He will now either seek a rehearing by the full Court of Appeals or appeal directly to the Supreme Court.

Worthy was denied a new passport after he went to China in 1956 — in defiance of a State Department ban — as a correspondent for the Afro-American, the New York Post and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The Appeal Court's decision upholding the State Department hits at freedom of travel in general and at freedom of the press in particular.

The State Department contends that, since the U.S. government has no diplomatic relations with China, it can't assume responsibility for travel in that country and must therefore restrict it. But many people discount this reasoning. They believe that the State Department's real concern is the opposite — namely, that it fears the development of normal relations with China (such as regular news coverage) lest this further undermine its policy of refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China.

Peace Through Secrecy?

In his June 3 column on the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal, William Henry Chamberlin suggests that the Foreign Ministers conference at Geneva might get somewhere if the "full glare of publicity" were ended.

He urges that the diplomats retire "far away from the klieg lights of publicity"; and, "in private conversations without tape-recorders and earphones," arrange for that bit of "progress" which Eisenhower has demanded as the preliminary price for meeting with Khrushchev in a "summit" conference.

What are the concessions that could be expected from each side? Chamberlin does not indicate them. He simply adheres to the view that secrecy is a good thing; and that if nothing can be accomplished in public then there is nothing to be lost by trying in secret. However, in this tradition, anything that was agreed upon would have to remain secret, too, as it did at Yalta. What good is that in easing world tensions?

In an adjoining column, the editor of the Wall Street Journal seems to see no prospect of any concessions whatever from the Soviet side; and, naturally, he is 100 per cent opposed to any concessions from the Anglo-American side. In fact he is disappointed over what he considers to be a certain softness in the British camp. As for the Kremlin, he foresees only further moves to strengthen the Soviet Union, all of which is helped by talking with its representatives.

The fact is that the basic positions are hard. The Soviet Union is on the defensive. It cannot grant the concessions Wall Street wants—such as giving up East Ger-

many—without undermining its military defenses. Held down by the bureaucracy from opening a political offensive, as in Lenin's day, along revolutionary socialist lines, the sole offensive undertaken is in the diplomatic field.

The U.S., on the military offensive, as is evident in the colossal war preparations that have been going on since the end of World War II, is on the defensive in the diplomatic arena.

There it has suffered defeat after defeat, and rightly so. Outside of the giant monopolies of Western capitalism, the inhabitants of the earth dread another war. They want peace.

It is out of deference to this sentiment, that Washington goes to the conferences. It does the best it can at these meetings—but with little success—to try to throw the onus of the blame for world tensions on the Soviet Union.

Can the world-wide sentiment for peace force concessions from Washington? Say, an end to the testing of A-bombs and H-bombs? Dismantling of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons? Recognition of the People's Republic of China?

That depends on how well organized that sentiment is, what revolutionary forces it sets in motion, how many more countries it can take out of the capitalist orbit.

The real struggle for peace, therefore, will never be settled at Geneva, whether in the glare of klieg lights or in the dim recesses of a beer garden.

Enduring peace will be won for the world only through development of the class struggle, the extension of planned economies and new socialist victories.

Reminder

Fifty-three Polish women, who were brought to the United States last summer, have "regained their faith in humanity," an item in the May 31 press informs us.

They are the survivors of Nazi "scientific" experiments with human guinea pigs at Ravensbruck concentration camp. Neither the West German nor East German governments had granted them disability compensation and they were badly in need of "extended medical, surgical and rehabilitation services."

These women had their legs lacerated and the bones shattered. Bacteria and gangrene-producing materials such as dirty rags and dirt were sealed in the wounds to simulate the plight of casualties left unattended on battlefields. After high fevers had developed, various sulfa drugs were tested on them.

Some were subjected to such torture as many as six times.

Other human guinea pigs suffered even more horrible tortures at the hands of the Nazi experimenters. Shoulders and arms were amputated in transplantation attempts. Gasoline was injected directly into the veins of others in studies to develop speedy ways of producing death. More than 300 were exposed to freezing water for prolonged periods to see what would happen. Others were put in decompression chambers where altitudes up to 69,000 feet were simulated.

Such horrors, when they were discovered 14 years ago, seemed incredible to civilized humanity. Actually, even more unspeakable things were tried by the Nazis.

It was good to learn that something had finally been done to help the victims of this bestiality. In the same news item, however, we were reminded that the Nazis were not alone in guilt.

The same organization that brought the Polish women to the United States, had previously brought 35 Japanese women to this country for "reconstructive plastic surgery and psychological rehabilitation." These were women who had been disfigured in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

The American government, too, carried on its experiments in World War II. The meticulous Nazi eye for detailed research was missing, but what Roosevelt and Truman lacked in quality they made up in quantity.

In Hamburg some 60,000 civilians were roasted alive when fire-bombs were dropped on the city. Tokyo suffered comparable casualties. And in the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, of course, entire cities were put to the nuclear torch: Again in Korea, towns and villages were flooded with jellied gasoline, a material that sticks to the skins of the victims as it flames and cooks their flesh.

Whether the Polish women's faith in humanity was really restored, we have no way of knowing. But their cruel ordeal, like that of the 35 Japanese women victims of the American experimenters, should serve to remind us that we had better put no faith in capitalism lest we become guinea pigs in the experiment of a third world war.



"But, General, now that they've put monkeys into outer space, won't they pick you next?"

Report Increasing Sentiment For Giving Freedom to Sobell

Public opinion is shifting in one of America's bitterest witch-hunt cases. As a result chances are improving for release of Morton Sobell, who was sentenced to 30 years as a "spy." Recent progress in winning public support will be reported at a meeting, June 19, sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

(The meeting will be at Webster Hall, Broadway and 11th Street, at 8 p.m.)

The meeting will be chaired by Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale University Law School. Dr. Horace Kallen, author and professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research and Professor Murray Branch, professor of religion at Morehouse College at Atlanta will be the main speakers. Morton Sobell's wife, Mrs. Helen Sobell, and his mother, Mrs. Rose Sobell, will report on the Committee's latest gains.

A frame-up victim at the height of the witch-hunt, when McCarthy was becoming a dominant figure in the country, Sobell went on trial in 1951 with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death on a trumped-up charge of espionage. June 19 will be the sixth anniversary of their execution. Sobell was convicted of "conspiracy to commit espionage."

Author Waldo Frank says of



MORTON SOBELL

Los Angeles Sobell Parley And Banquet

LOS ANGELES — Rising national support for the demand to free Morton Sobell is now reflected in plans for establishment of a western regional organization of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

Delegates from major cities in California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona and Western Canada will meet here June 26-28 to map plans for expanded regional activity on behalf of Sobell. The Los Angeles committee will celebrate the weekend meeting with a banquet honoring the regional delegates at the new Embassy Banquet Room, 847 South Grand Avenue. Dinner and entertainment will begin at 7 P.M. and will be preceded by a cocktail hour. Tickets may be obtained by phoning Hollywood 4-4725 or by writing to the committee's office at 462 No. Western Ave., Los Angeles 4, Calif.

the trial, "The atmosphere of that courtroom where the Rosenbergs and Sobell were tried was thick with prejudice, with hatred, so thick with the blind hysteria of guilty fear that literally humanity could not breathe there and humanity was stifled."

But people from all walks of life are breaking through the hatred and are speaking out against this tragic violation of justice.

The list of honorary sponsors of the Committee for Morton Sobell is constantly increasing. Among those who have backed the case for several years is Rev. Peter McCormack, former Protestant chaplain at Alcatraz where Sobell spent six of his nine years in prison. "Falsely accused, cruelly treated, sentenced on the testimony of a self-confessed perjurer," says Rev. McCormack, "this man of fine character and brilliant mind still suffers within prison walls..."

Another sponsor, Rev. Erwin A. Gaede of the Unitarian Society of Westwood in Los Angeles is on a nationwide tour seeking signatures for an appeal to President Eisenhower on Sobell's behalf. He is one of 38 West Coast ministers and rabbis who have initiated a national appeal to the president.

When he visited in Minneapolis two weeks ago, Rev. Gaede spoke before the Central Labor Union Council.

Explaining that the Sobell case deeply concerns civil liberties, he urged that the council study it carefully. After he spoke the case was referred to the human rights committee of the Central Labor Union for further consideration.

At a YMCA "Soap Box" Rev. Gaede declared that the FBI and the prosecution have continued to apply pressure on Sobell in their desire to obtain a confession of "guilt." Throughout his imprisonment they have intimidated Sobell that he might regain his freedom if he made such a "confession."

Calling it another Sacco-Vanzetti case, Rev. Gaede said he hopes "Sobell will either be granted a new trial or have his sentence commuted."

Among the others sponsoring the Sobell Committee are Bertrand Russell, England; Dr. Harold C. Urey, La Jolla, Calif.; Prof. Kermit Eby, Chicago; Howard Crane, Labor Attorney for UAW.

Recent backing for the campaign to release Sobell has come from Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Vice-President of Union Theological Seminary. He and six other prominent theologians and law professors sent an appeal to President Eisenhower for a commutation of Sobell's sentence.

The Committee now has people in Washington, D.C. busy seeing congressmen and senators. They are meeting with some success, but Mrs. Helen Sobell requests that others add their pressure by writing their congressmen and senators asking them to study the case. She said that this would help bolster up the interest and receptivity that "we actually find there."

For example Senator Frank E. Moss (D-Utah) sent a letter to Eisenhower in which he said: "Because of the many letters I am receiving on the subject, I am writing to ask you to interest yourself in this case to see whether perhaps within the dictates of your conscience, you

would like to ask the Attorney General to decide whether a new trial should be granted to Morton Sobell."

Helen Sobell speaks of the support the case is receiving in Atlanta, Ga., where Sobell is now imprisoned. Through the efforts of Professor Murray Branch she was able to speak to 1,500 students at Spellman and Morehouse colleges (two Negro colleges) in Atlanta.

She visited Sobell in Atlanta last week. Of the visit she said: "Morton and I spoke of all of the new support and it was particularly encouraging to Morton that he had been able to see in the original print the editorial article in the Catholic Worker and a very fine letter by the well-known Washington attorney Gerhard van Arkel in the Washington Post. We spoke too of the support that we were finding in Atlanta but most of all of our hope and longing for Morton's home-coming."

Workers, Students Fight Dictators In Latin America

Strikes, demonstrations and street fighting hit three Latin American countries last week.

In Nicaragua, a general strike closed most commercial activity in the capital city of Managua. It resulted from the breakdown of negotiations for economic reforms between President Somoza and a committee of businessmen, professional people and labor leaders. Somoza then claimed that the country was being invaded by rebels, and proclaimed a limited stage of siege "until the Nicaraguan people cool off a little."

In Paraguay, students at Asuncion, the capital, staged a general demonstration against President Stroessner's dictatorship. Stroessner proclaimed a state of siege.

In Ecuador, street fighting and "looting" broke out in the capital city of Guayaquil. This followed demonstrations by soldiers and students in the town of Portoviejo in protest against mistreatment of the soldiers by the officers. Two students were killed in Portoviejo, and 24 died and 150 were injured in Guayaquil. President Ponce Enriquez proclaimed martial law "to save the republic."

"Recent Latin-American history indicates that... the nations in the hemisphere have been developing in two successive phases," says Tad Szulc in the June 7 New York Times. First came the drive to obtain liberties and the erection of democratic governments. Then the concentration was on remedying the region's traditional social economic ills and inequalities. The struggles in Nicaragua and Paraguay were of the first kind, while the fighting in Ecuador, a democracy, was of the second kind.

New Indian Party Opposes Socialism Faces Minor Role

A new political party was recently launched in India devoted to the defense of private property and free enterprise. "Polite good wishes but no very confident predictions of success have greeted" its formation, says

The American Way of Life

Keep that Man Buried!

The American Way is to bury Karl Marx. If he won't stay buried, bury him again. And if he still insists on kicking over his tombstone, lay him down ten feet deeper. Whatever else happens, keep that man buried!

But they can't shovel fast enough. This was proved again last week when an opinion survey of 86 high schools was reported in Los Angeles.

At a luncheon of the World Affairs Council June 3, Walter P. Coombs, executive director, revealed that 55 per cent of the students, asked to indicate their preference for various statements descriptive of economic systems, "selected the old Socialist slogan from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs."

Horrified at this choice of Marx's description of the communist society of the future, Coombs tried to explain it away with the declaration that America's youth "by and large, do not know their economic facts of life."

Then, suspecting that they do know their economic facts of life, having tasted how discouraging it is to look for work during a recession, or having found out what a rat race the belt line is, he thought of a different explanation: lack of "bride" in the capitalist system.

Still another explanation occurred to this high-pressure salesman of the glories of capitalism: the students don't "understand" what communism is about.

The consequences of this terrified Coombs: "If our youth have no understanding of, or pride in, their own economic system, how can we be sure they won't be pushovers for the salesman of antagonistic systems?"

You can't be sure, can you? And so Coombs drew the necessary lesson: it's high time to bury Karl Marx. "Communism must be understood," he declared, "its origins and history, its strengths, weaknesses, techniques, together with its special appeal—if it is to be combatted effectively."

Coombs needn't worry too much. No one less than the president of the United States

has been giving the problem his attention. At his June 3 press conference, Eisenhower gave the following message to be sent over the world's news wires:

"You know, I am disturbed by what seems to be becoming habit in this country, to adopt certain theories that Marx advanced. One is that there is inevitably a bitter and implacable warfare against the man that works, between the man that works and the man that hires him. To my mind this is absolutely and completely un-American. It is not the way a free country must work. Every last workman, down to the lowliest, the most menial task you can think of, is just as important as any manager or any capitalist who invests in a company."

In paying respect to labor, Eisenhower almost slipped into repeating something from Marx, but he managed to miss that catastrophe by hailing the stockholders.

As for the warfare between capital and labor, Eisenhower is not exactly an authority on that—at least from the viewpoint of labor. His field is the kind of warfare that expands capitalism no matter what it costs in wealth, in misery, in suffering and lives.

In the warfare between capital and labor, Eisenhower can't even conceive of the workingman's point of view because he has never been faced with the problem of trying to feed a family with an income that continually lags behind prices. He has never looked at profits from the viewpoint of an underpaid workman badly in need of a raise.

While it is definitely the American Way to bury Marx, something else is happening: that's the inclination of more and more working people and their children to make it the American Way to think like Marx did even if they don't know it yet.

— Paul Abbott

Headlines in Other Lands

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Germany, he thinks this can and must be done. Otherwise, he is persuaded Africa will go Communist.

In turn, says Sulzberger, "the French indicate they will back the Common Market vigorously only so long as Germany backs them with equal vigor in Africa."

Ever since de Gaulle took power in France last year, he and Adenauer have developed close ties. This led to French and German big businessmen collaborating in setting up the six-nation Common Market tariff agreement. The Common Market aims at joint exploitation of the European working class by Franco-German capitalists and, as Sulzberger indicates, at jointly keeping French and Belgian colonial slaves in bondage. Britain is excluded from the Common Market.

Soviet CP 'History' Downgrades Zhukov

The role of Marshall Zhukov in World War II was "greatly exaggerated" and out of all proportion to his real contribution to the war effort, says the latest edition of "A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." This book has gone through many editions. It was periodically rewritten in Stalin's time to take care of the switches in line, to record the latest frame-ups against Trotsky and to trumpet the latest claims of Stalin's achievements.

Under Khrushchev too the "History" serves to degrade his opponents and magnify his own achievements. Thus in the most recent edition, Khrushchev is awarded the main credit for the de-Stalinization campaign.

Adenauer Remains Boss in W. Germany

Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany pulled a sudden switch on June 5 when he announced he would stay on as head of the government. A few weeks ago he had declared himself candidate for West German president — a position which, under the Bonn constitution, carries no real powers.

According to C. L. Sulzberger in the June 8 New York Times, what motivated the 63-year-old Chancellor to keep his present post was "not merely a matter of obduracy but of essential policy." Adenauer has increasingly become impressed with the possibility of building "a newly organized Europe tightly linked to a newly organized Africa. He feels that neither France nor Belgium, for example, can alone develop their African wealth. But as Europeans together with

Pro-Western Ruling Party Gains in Japan

Premier Kishi's Liberal-Democratic Party increased its representation in the Upper House of Parliament in elections held June 2. However, the Socialist Party also increased its representation. It is still able to block constitutional changes sought by Kishi that would open the way for rearming the country. Under Japan's constitution one-third of the votes in Parliament can block such changes. Kishi's party gained five seats for a total of 132. The Socialist Party gained seven for a total of 85. The Communist Party gained one member for a total of three.

North Viet Nam Goes Slow on Collectivization

Peasants in North Viet Nam have apparently not yet been won to a program of land collectivization and the government is slowly developing a system of farm cooperatives and work-exchange teams.

A recent report from the capital city of Hanoi said that 67.6 per cent of the country's 12,000,000 peasants were enrolled in one or another of these organizations and that it was hoped to have cooperatives established throughout the country by 1960.

Appreciates News You Can't Get Anywhere Else

Editor: I like your news coverage, the foreign headlines. Try to get news that is banned in the big dailies.

Also would appreciate something about the plight of the American Indians.

Give us the truth! F. C. Seattle

Vote for Rogers

Editor: What the "friends of labor" in Congress are really interested in is getting all their relatives on that government payroll.

I'm thinking of writing in the name of Will Rogers for congressman in 1960 unless, naturally, I get a chance to vote for a socialist.

If we have to leave politics to the clowns, let's at least get a funny one if we have to resurrect him. Will Rogers said more in two

sentences than some of them say in two terms.

"All I know is what I read in the newspapers." Old Timer New York

Urges Socialists To Push Pamphlet On Where to Work

Editor: I received a copy of the pamphlet recently mimeographed in Detroit called "Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?"

I found it a very worthwhile pamphlet. It proves the statement someone once made that some of the more valuable works of man have had their existence often as only a few mimeographed sheets of paper.

I hope that everyone will be able to get hold of and read this little pamphlet. They are obtainable in Detroit from the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward, and cost only a quarter — 18 cents each for orders over 10.

The reason I am touting this pamphlet is because for the so-

cialist movement, in the next period, pushing the idea of independent political action and a labor party can really pay off. We need material exposing the true nature of the Democratic Party.

A great deal of useful information and stimulating ideas is contained in this pamphlet. It can aid greatly in convincing workers that they must break with the two parties.

I know from my own experience that they sell the way hot cakes are supposed to sell. All you have to do is call attention to the title and the contents.

B. F. Detroit

Favors Federal Aid To Health Research

Editor: I am sending you a cartoon showing Uncle Sam pouring billions of dollars into missiles and their not putting any money in health research.

I think they ought to give money to health research, teachers, etc.

Sherry T. (Age 12 1/2)

Admits Sharp Class War In America

The capitalist propaganda about Karl Marx being refuted by absence of a class struggle between workers and bosses in the United States was forgotten last week by the editors of U.S. News & World Report.

"There are signs of new and growing antagonism between employers and unions," said the magazine in its June 15 issue. "There is a war on that shows no sign of ending."

What caused the magazine to admit the truth is the fact that things are looking up on the class struggle front for the big corporations. "Strikes are not being won as easily as they once were. Employers are holding out longer against union demands. There is more and more talk of holding the wage line, even of pay cuts."

The magazine cites impressive evidence for its conclusion about a sharpening of class warfare:

"A strike of textile workers in North Carolina has dragged on for 6 1/2 months. Coal miners in eastern Kentucky have been on strike since March 9. At Kohler, Wis., a strike has been going on against the Kohler Company for five years, and there is no sign of settlement."

In addition, the steel barons "have taken a strong stand against wage increases."

"Railroad companies are proposing that their employees take pay cuts of 15 cents an hour — countering union demands for raises of 12 per cent or more. The railroad managements also are insisting that so-called 'featherbedding' practices — 'make work' rules — be revised to lower labor costs."

Another trend noted approvingly by the magazine is increasing solidarity among capitalists. Six airlines will share profits if one is shut down by a strike. The steel barons are considering a similar arrangement.

The increasing belligerency of the corporations is noted in such cases as the North Carolina lockout, where the company decided to eliminate an arbitration clause which had been in the union contract for 14 years.

Material confirming what Marxists say about the government serving the interests of the capitalist class is also contained in the article. This includes government approval of the airlines' "mutual-aid pact," and the use of National Guard troops to protect scabs in the North Carolina strike.

The sharpening of the class struggle is further illustrated by statistics showing more than twice as many man-days lost due to strikes so far this year compared to the same period in 1958.

June Graduate



That isn't a diploma Thelma Mothershed and her mother are looking at, but Thelma did win automatic graduation this month from Little Rock's Central High School, now shut down by Gov. Faubus. One of the nine Negro students who entered Central High, Thelma continued studies by correspondence course from the University of Arkansas and passed all courses with high grades.

Fight Continues To Block Return Of Reid to Fla.

By Lillian Kiesel

Willie Reid knows that return to a Florida chain gang will mean certain death. He fears his chances of escaping this fate are slim. "There is no justice involved in my case — just politics," he told Rev. Milton A. Galamison, President of the NAACP in Brooklyn. But Reid wants the world to know why he was forced to escape from the chain gang.

Rev. Galamison visited Reid recently in New York City's Tombs where he is being held pending decision of an appeal made by his attorneys for a U.S. Supreme Court hearing. This is Reid's story, as Galamison related it to me. He was sentenced by a racist judge to 15 years at hard labor for cutting another Negro on the wrist in 1950. Soon after he was sent to the chain gang in Oakella, Florida.

Reid describes the chain gang as "rough" and "bossed by the 'lowest people on earth.'" The job to which he was assigned involved cutting down rotting trees that bordered the highways. These trees were so decayed that they might fall and injure people passing by. The prisoners worked from "sunup to dusk." All the prisoners wore heavy metal rings around their legs with connecting chains.

One overseer named Roy Howard wanted timber for some personal project he had in mind. "Actually he was building private cabins for his own use." He instructed Reid and another prisoner to "cut down good timber" which was sent "to this man's property."

As it happened an official from outside the prison caught the men cutting down good timber and began making inquiries. An investigation and scandal followed. This resulted in the firing of some of the prison guards.

THREATEN REID'S LIFE "Reid was left holding the bag," says Galamison. The guards had warned him not to say anything at the inquiry. But there was nothing left for him to say anyway because the investigation had already uncovered all the facts in the case. The guards, acting in a manner typical of the bestial chain-gang system, decided to vent their pent-up fury over the investigation on Reid. Constantly punished, Reid was "in and out of the sweat box." They threatened his life, Reid says. "I realized I had to get away from there."

He escaped in January 1952. If returned to Florida, Reid will face more than the chain-gang guards who are "out to get him." He will be placed in the hands of Sheriff Willis McCall, notorious for his killing of Samuel Shepherd in the "Little Scottsboro Case" of 1949.

"Obviously this man cannot go back to this situation and live," said Galamison who has appealed to Governor Rockefeller for another hearing on the case. Last month, Rockefeller refused to revoke a writ for Reid's extradition originally signed in 1955 by former Gov. Harriman.

"Honoring Florida's request for Willie Reid's extradition is like honoring the fugitive slave laws of pre-civil war days — a law which great men like Ralph Waldo Emerson defied," Galamison said.

The Brooklyn NAACP president hopes that people will keep up a steady flow of letters and telegrams to Rockefeller calling on him to set Reid free. A Committee to Free Reid will be set up shortly to organize broader support and interest in the case.

"Let Them Get What Our Boys Would Get"

"Just let them get what our boys would have gotten if they had done to a white girl what was done to me." This was what Betty, a Negro coed, told reporters as a Tallahassee court began empanelling a jury to try four young white men accused of raping her last May 2.

Her mother shared her sentiments: "Should they get less? After what they did to my child? Let them do to them what they would do to us."

Although police arrested the rapists while the girl was still tied up in the back seat of their car, all four pleaded "innocent."

Plan Socialist Vacation School In New Jersey

A week long Socialist Vacation School will be held from June 29 to July 5 at Mountain Spring Camp in New Jersey. The Socialist Workers Party, New York Local, has reserved the facilities of this inter-racial resort in the foothills of the Pocono mountains for the entire week and offers all participants in the Vacation School excellent food, recreational activities for both adults and children and an educational program of the highest quality.

William F. Warde, nationally known socialist lecturer, teacher and author will give a series of lectures on "The Problem of Alienation in Society—A Marxist View."

Arne Swabeck, an active participant in the American labor and socialist movement for over four decades, will give two lectures on "Science, Society and Marxism."

The educational program will also include lectures on anthropology, seminars on "A Socialist Program for American Labor" and on historical materialism.

All guests attending the Vacation School will be welcome to participate in discussions following the lectures and to present their own views at the seminar meetings.

For further information about the School or for reservations write to: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. The rates are low, ranging from \$37.50 to \$50.00 per person for the entire week. Early reservations accompanied by part or full payment will be given accommodation preference.

Calendar Of Events

LOS ANGELES "Report on China" by Richard Corden, former prisoner of war who just returned from China. Fri., June 18, 8:15 p.m. Friday Night Forum, 1702 East 4th St. Donation 75 cents.

A Model Cop

By Herman Chauka

In my book George P. Monaghan is a model cop. He first earned the title of "gang-buster" during a 12-year tenure as a New York assistant district attorney. He started as a member of the celebrated anti-crime team headed by Thomas E. Dewey, when he was District Attorney.

The crusade was a huge success. Gangs were driven out of pool rooms and into City Hall. Dewey became governor and Monaghan city police commissioner, a post he held from 1951 to 1954.

As commissioner, Monaghan demonstrated he was every inch a cop, and this got him into some difficulties. Inspired by his crusading zeal, a number of policemen developed such sensitive trigger fingers that they killed about a dozen Negroes and Puerto Ricans during Monaghan's reign.

The Negro and Puerto Rican communities didn't seem to grasp that Monaghan was defending them from themselves, and angry mass meetings demanded his ouster.

The situation became more difficult when it was made public that Monaghan really went to bat for his men. It seems he made an agreement with the FBI that it would not act on complaints of civil rights violations by New York police. To avoid embarrassing those involved, Monaghan insisted he hadn't made the agreement, but he admitted, under oath, that he "may have" told the G-men that the civil rights law was "for south of the Mason-Dixon line."

This remark was widely misunderstood. So his old friend Dewey got him off the hot spot by appointing him state harness-racing commissioner with orders to clean up the scandal-ridden tracks.

In recent weeks a state investigating commission has been trying to determine how clean Monaghan has kept the tracks. The commission has revealed the following:

• Local raceway officials paid more than \$15,000 for trips to Florida tracks by Monaghan and members of his staff. (Always the soul of discretion, Monaghan reportedly registered at one hotel as "G. P. Miller." But the hotel knew who he was and where to send the bill.

• During the past three years, Monaghan and his staff accepted \$31,000 worth of free liquor and food from Roosevelt and Yonkers Raceways.

• A contractor did \$1,800 worth of free repairs on Monaghan's home and, shortly after, was awarded a million-dollar construction job by Monticello Raceway.

• Under Monaghan's pressure, a catering firm at Yonkers Raceway had to borrow \$134-million at 4% interest to lend it to the track at 2%.

• Monaghan and his staff didn't make a principle of being taken care of. They refunded a number of expenses paid for them by tracks and cancelled some questionable deals — after the current investigation began.

Monaghan says its a bum rap. (He knows something about bum raps. He says he won't attend the hearing unless he's compelled to. He also refuses to resign since his "personal integrity" is in no way involved.

In 1951 Monaghan gave a fatherly talk on the evils of graft to a graduating class of rookies at the New York Police Academy.

With almost prophetic insight, he said: "Be aware of the temptations put in your way and you will have nothing to worry about."

Notes in the News

RUSSIAN KNOW HOW — Engineers of the Soviet Union have invented a novel way of driving piles for building foundations. Instead of hammering them down in the antiquated way, they shake them down. A machine attached to the pile vibrates it back and forth and it sinks down five to six times faster than can be done in America.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE — The Soviet Union sent the Bolshoi dancers to give America a taste of Russian culture. They have received rave notices. The dancers, in turn, are collecting examples of American culture to take back home. The women have acquired torador pants, high-heel shoes and harlequin sunglasses. The men have gone in for raw silk suits and multicolored sweater shirts. One bought a Mercedes-Benz for delivery in Berlin; another picked up a portable swimming pool. The number of jazz records they have acquired is said to be "staggering." They have indicated considerable irritation, however, over the commercials for pills and other nostrums that interrupt TV programs; and they seemed bewildered over the number of automobiles they saw in Los Angeles. One dancer said, "I think there are more cars here than people. Where do they find the people to drive all these cars?"

LOYALTY OATH TO GO? — A subcommittee of the Senate unanimously approved a bill June 4 to eliminate the witch-hunt loyalty-oath provision from the National Defense Education Act. The law at present requires a disclaimer of membership in the Communist Party

POST OFFICE MUM ON KLAN — Trees and utility poles on roads leading into Texarkana, Ark., have been plastered with posters bearing the KKK symbol, a hooded horseman, and a dagger dripping blood. The posters bear the legend, "In God we trust. Join the Association of Arkansas KKK." Postal officials said they could not divulge who rented the post-office box given as the address for applications.

INTEGRATION BREAKTHROUGH — A breach in segregationist union practices in New York was registered June 3 when the Clerks and Checkers Union, Local 1 of the International Longshoremen's Association, agreed to admit two Negroes to membership. They had filed a complaint with the State Commission Against Discrimination. The all-white union local bowed to the pressure, but indicated that it might try other means of maintaining a lily-white policy. A spokesman of the local was reported to have said that the institution of seniority in hiring "might limit severely the job opportunities for the new members."

NAACP FILES SUIT IN TEXAS — Immediate integration of Houston and Dallas schools has been demanded in petitions filed by the

NAACP in Texas federal district courts. The motion was filed two years to the day after a federal judge had ordered the Houston school board to integrate the city's schools "with all deliberate speed." With over 157,000 students, Houston has the country's largest segregated school district.

A LIKELY STORY — Florida segregationists, seeking to ban a version of "The Three Little Pigs" because the publishers illustrated the book with porkers of mixed hues, lifted a suspicious eyebrow at the defense offered by the Whitman Publishing Company of Racine, Wis. "Black and white are sharply contrasting colors as shown by black ink being universally used for printing words on a white page," said the publishers. "For this uncomplicated reason black and white animals are sometimes shown together in children's books." But David Hawthorn of Miami, who is pushing the bill to clean the book out of Florida's libraries, knew better. He saw the intermingling of colors, not as some kind of literary sausage, but as a plot by "clever integrationists" to use "the tale to brainwash youngsters."

RELIGIOUS LOYALTY OATH — Texas public school teachers may be required to express belief in a Supreme Being to hold their jobs, according to an interpretation of the state constitution handed down by Attorney General Wilson. He announced that barring atheists from public employment would not conflict with the provision in the federal constitution guaranteeing freedom of conscience.

NEWARK WITCH-HUNT VICTIM — Dr. Frederick M. Raubinger, New Jersey Commissioner of Education has backed the Newark school board firing of Dr. Robert Lowenstein for refusing to bow to government witch-hunters. Lowenstein was discharged May 20, 1955, for refusal to co-operate with the House Un-American Activities Committee. To get around the Supreme Court ruling that a teacher cannot be fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment, Raubinger declared that the teacher was not being fired for refusing to answer questions of the congressional committee, but for refusing to answer the same questions when put by the superintendent of schools two years later.

NOT SO AFFLUENT — The world's richest ruling class lives in what they like to call "affluent" America. Their wealth is balanced by the poverty of 2,000,000 migratory farm workers whose average yearly income is only \$892. A recent government report describes this forgotten layer as living in shacks, tents, barracks and trucks. They lack elementary sanitation facilities. Their children are denied educational opportunities. They are rarely protected by minimum wage laws, compensation, unemployment insurance or collective bargaining. In wealthy America, some are not so affluent.

Ban Williams

(Continued from Page 1)

in which he said: "These court decisions open the way to violence. I do not mean that Negroes should go out and attempt to get revenge for mistreatments or injustice. But it is apparent that there is no 14th Amendment nor court protection of Negroes' rights here, and Negroes have to defend themselves on the spot whenever they are attacked by whites." This has been the position which he has maintained since and on which he stood at the June 3 hearing.

BEFORE OR AFTER? There is an implied difference between the self-defense position of Williams and the self-defense position which the NAACP claims it has upheld all along. This difference appears to be a case of before and after. Williams' position is one of informing Negroes beforehand of their legal rights to defend themselves against attack and to make "citizen's arrests" of whites committing crimes against Negroes and of urging Negroes to prepare to utilize these legal rights.

The NAACP claim is based on its support in the past of a number of court cases where Negroes did fight back against attackers. But the reason so many people are now surprised

to hear that the NAACP is for self-defense by violence when necessary is that the NAACP has not and does not advise or urge Negroes in the South to defend themselves.

However, the mere assertion by the NAACP national office that "it firmly supports the right of Negroes individually and collectively to defend their person, their homes and their property from attack" is a victory for Williams and other militants in the NAACP. The victory will be brought to completion, however, only when the leadership translates this support of self-defense from what some of its lawyers have said in court cases to what its organizers are saying in the South and to what steps its branches in areas marked by racist lawlessness take to protect Negroes.

Court Backtracks

(Continued from Page 1)

low any group which has some political aims or ideas to be driven from the ballot and from the battle for men's minds — no group is safe." (Chief Justice Warren, who had written the Watkins ruling, and Justice Douglas supported Black's dissent. Justice Brennan wrote a milder dissent.)

Black further stated: "Finally, I think Barenblatt's conviction violates the Constitution because the chief aim, purpose and practice of the House Un-American Activities Committee, as disclosed by its many reports, is to try witnesses and punish them. . . . There is nothing strange or novel about this kind of punishment. It is in fact one of the oldest forms of governmental punishment known to mankind; branding, the pillory, ostracism and subjection to public hatred being but a few examples of it."

Black's closing paragraph declared: "Ultimately all the questions in this case really boil down to one—whether we as a people will try fearfully and futilely to preserve democracy by adopting totalitarian methods, or whether in accordance with our traditions and our Constitution we will have the confidence and courage to be free."

The high court's upholding of the jail sentence given Dr. Willard Uphaus — elderly pacifist who refused to turn over membership lists of the World Fellowship Center and correspondence with speakers to the New Hampshire Attorney General—reinstates the state sedition laws, which had been overturned in the Nelson case. The Nelson decision held that prosecution for sedition had become a

federal field "preempted" from use by the 50 individual states.

Under the Uphaus decision the states can prosecute people for "sedition" against the state government, while the federal government may simultaneously prosecute for "sedition" against the federal government. This is a particular plum for the Southern politicians who will undoubtedly now pass state laws declaring advocacy of integration to be "seditious" and "subversive" of the state government. (They would claim, for example, that it undermined "the Mississippi Way of Life.")

The Uphaus ruling was also a 5-4 decision. Justice Brennan wrote the dissenting opinion, which was endorsed by the same justices—Black, Warren, and Douglas—who denounced the Barenblatt ruling. The majority opinion was written by Tom Clark, who, when Attorney General, became notorious as Truman's witch hunter-in-chief.

NO PLANNING "It's our own fault," muttered the man to his wife, "if we had saved our money during the recession we could afford to live through this prosperity."

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