

U.S. WORKERS FACE LONG RECESSION

SAC Brink-of-War Flights Menace Peace of World

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

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

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

WAR OF NERVES
The "categorical" U.S. denial of provocation was utterly exposed by a cynically candid report from the UN to the Christian Science Monitor, April 19. The dispatch said:
"It has been common know-

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

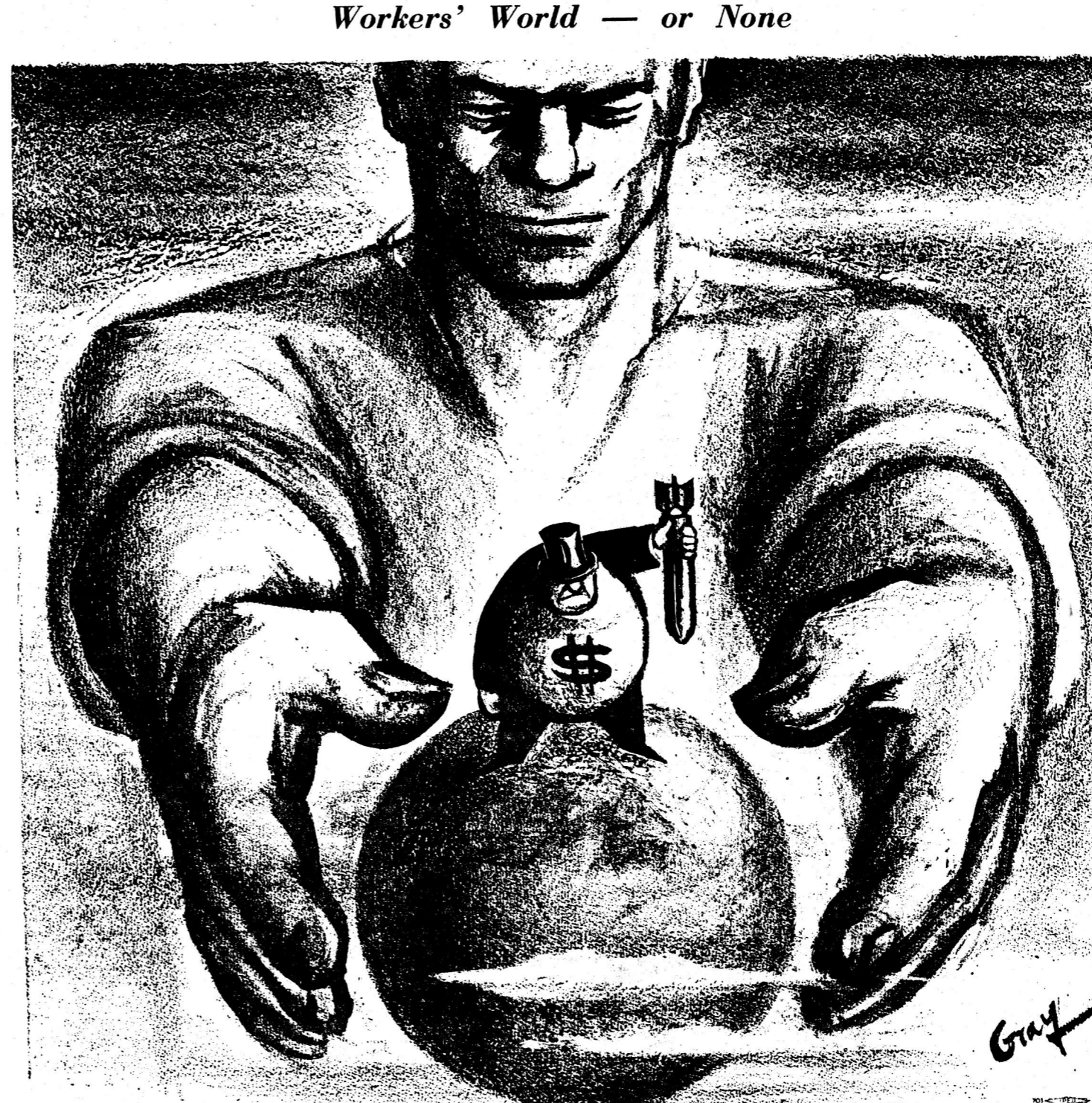
The waging of this fantastic "war of nerves" risks the very existence of humanity. There simply is no truth to the SAC claim that its "fail safe" system — under which the SAC sends its bombers speeding toward the Soviet Union — guarantees against an accidental start of war.

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

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

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

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



Workers' World — or None

It's Labor's Task to Halt Blight

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

Program to Fight Unemployment

(See Page 3)
enterprise will be about 20% below the 1957 level.
This is the grim message contained in the statistics of the authoritative McGraw-Hill 11th annual survey of capital spending. Such spending which covers new plants, machinery, plant expansion, etc., is the basic indicator for the capitalist economy which booms only when expanding (i.e. plowing profits into new capital expenditure) and busts when such expansion halts.
Capital spending this year has dropped \$4.4 billion. Planned investment for 1959 will drop it another \$2.7 billion to \$31.3 billion. However, the worst drop will come in the heartland of the U.S. economy—manufacturing. There the cutbacks run from a total investment of \$13.6 billion in 1957 to \$11.1 billion in 1958 to \$9.1 billion in 1959, at which level McGraw-Hill figures say it will stay through 1961.

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

Appeal to Readers Of the Militant

We appeal to Militant readers to support the \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party.
Every dollar of this fund will go to expanding the volume of socialist information in 1958, creating a more powerful and more effective socialist movement.
The Socialist Expansion Fund helps sustain the publication of the Militant and the International Socialist Review; it provides means to publish books and pamphlets and conduct frequent national and regional socialist lecture tours.
Above all, in this election year, the Expansion Fund will pour ammunition into the fight to place United Socialist Tickets on the ballot in the state and congressional elections. It will back the devoted efforts of socialists in all parts of the country to qualify socialist tickets despite the obstacles erected by the Big Business two-party monopoly.
It is imperative that the voice of socialism reach wider circles of the American people than ever before. We socialists want to tell the American people the truth about the capitalist bi-partisan war drive; we want to present the program of social ownership of industry versus capitalist anarchy of production; we want to expose the cold-war lies about the efforts of the people of the Soviet Union and China to build a socialist world in the face of all obstacles; we want to champion the heroic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialist tyranny.
Through the medium of 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

A May Day Message

By THE EDITORS

May Day — the holiday contributed to the international working class by American labor back in 1886 when it launched the struggle for the eight-hour day — should serve American workers this year as an occasion for considering the basic propositions of socialism.
For two fatefully clear and present dangers — stemming from Big Business rule of the country — confront the American workers of 1958. These are the danger of want and hunger resulting from unemployment and the danger of annihilation in a split-second outbreak of an atomic world war. These two specters cannot be dismissed as the alarmed imaginings of Marxist theoreticians or "soapbox orators." These are the facts of life in present-day America.
himself must give the necessary order — but it is no reassurance that world holocaust depends on one person's judgment or willingness to take a military gamble. President Truman launched the Korean war as his personal decision.
Depression and war are the pressing dangers facing American workers in 1958. Fortunately the workers already give evidence that instead of passively accepting these dangers, they are going to take action against them. The initial unemployment of this recession has not demoralized the workers. They are beginning to stir, to put pressure on the union leadership for action on behalf of the jobless. They show determination not to tolerate the suffering and misery that was the workers' lot during American capitalism's last great depression.
We are now also witnessing the beginnings of widespread sentiment against the government's H-bomb and cold-war policies. Though as yet organized manifestations of opposition have been by radicals, by pacifists and scientists, there are heartening signs that the mass of workers are emerging from their former feeling of hopelessness — the feeling that they could stop the bi-partisan drive towards war as little as they could the tides of the ocean. An end of their apathy and acquiescence in Washington's H-bomb and cold-war program would immediately change the whole political situation.

Mass Unemployment

The "recession" of the capitalist economy has already produced mass unemployment. Behind the impersonal statistics stands tremendous personal sufferings: the loss by working-class families of the material gains of the past decade — homes, autos and minor luxuries. While for that layer of workers, which even in "boom" times had but marginal security, "recession" is being translated into terms of actual hunger, lack of shelter and ill-clad children. For those working short weeks, and even those still fully employed, there is well-justified fear — for who, unequipped with Eisenhower's rose-colored glasses, cannot see the dark clouds ahead?
As for the danger of nuclear war — the facts speak more strongly than any argumentation. There now exist 20-megaton (equal to 20 million tons of TNT) nuclear bombs. They are over 1,300 times as destructive as those with which the U.S. Air Force incinerated hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only do these bombs exist, they are in the racks of U.S. planes constantly flying over this country, England and perhaps other countries. "Not once, not twice, but many times," to quote the president of the United Press, the U.S. Strategic Air Command has sent "vast fleets" of B-52 jets, loaded with these bombs, across the Arctic toward the USSR with its major cities as specific targets. So far they have always been turned back in time.

No Safety Margin

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

End Big Business Rule! Say Socialist Candidates

By Herman Chauka
Are the Big Business parties — Democrat and Republican — fit to rule America? Socialists don't think so. In the 1958 elections they are nominating candidates to challenge that rule and to offer the working people a meaningful alternative.
These socialist candidates are challenging the capitalist politicians on their refusal to aid the growing army of jobless, to safeguard the rights of the Negro people, to provide the homes, schools and social services so urgently needed.
At the same time, the socialist campaigners will speak out in opposition to the policy of the top labor leaders, who continue to support the Democratic Party despite its repeated sell-outs.
Socialist candidates will present the case for a break by labor from the Democratic Party and the creation of a labor party. They will also urge all socialists to record their opposition to capitalism at the polls and not follow the course of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, who are going along with the pro-Democratic party policy of the labor leaders.

Seattle May-Day Meeting

"The Changing Character Of Capitalism and Communism"
Speakers' Panel:
SIDNEY LENS, National Secretary, American Forum for Socialist Education.
WILLIAM F. WARDE, Marxist writer, Socialist Workers Party spokesman.
DR. HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, Marxist lecturer and writer, former Professor of Philosophy at University of Washington.
DR. JAY FRIEDMAN, Chairman, Seattle Chapter, American Forum for Socialist Education.
Thursday, May 1 — 8 P.M.
Friends Hall, 3959 15th Ave. N. E.
(Across from University of Washington)

The Basic Answer

A search for effective means to halt unemployment and the war threat will lead American workers to an examination of the basic propositions of socialism. This will be facilitated by the fact that in coming elections socialists will be campaigning on a wider scale than for many years. Listeners, moreover, will discern signs of a rebirth of the socialist movement in America. The discovery by many socialist-minded Americans that Stalinism was a false and evil god, did more than send them reeling — it freed them and made possible their collaboration with others for a regroupment of radical forces in America.
Such regroupment, already foreshadowed in various joint actions, will rededicate itself to true socialist goals: an America which has abolished poverty, insecurity and discrimination through the common ownership of the means of production; an America with a fraternal attitude towards the other peoples of the world without any desire to dominate them politically, economically or by war; a socialist America ruled democratically by the majority — for socialism has always meant a tremendous extension of democracy — from mere political democracy to democracy in industry and all social relations.

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

The March Against the H-Bomb

An American Reports On Aldermaston Protest

By Marvel Scholl
(Special to the Militant)

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

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

BRITONS ANGRY AT U.S.

One gets a feeling of terrifying nakedness in the face of such a probability. The British people feel that their government has capitulated abjectly to the State Department (and that is the only identification necessary when the man on the street talks about the U.S. government). The projected building of American missile sites in Great Britain, and the transportation of H-bombs by American and Royal Air Force bombers over their heads has made the British people angry to the core.

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

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

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



marchers started off for Aldermaston in the early morning.

Four thousand marchers arrived at the demonstration site here.

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

The marchers filed silently onto the demonstration grounds.

The pacifist leadership had urged them to be quiet, stressing that this was an act of passive resistance. But I wondered if the stillness of that crowd was entirely in response to these pleas, or if it was awe at what they saw there at the Aldermaston Nuclear Weapons Research Establishment.

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

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

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

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

The Establishment itself, its enormity, probably did more than a million words to convince many of those honest pacifists who were there of the weakness of the weapon they were proposing to use and made more realistic the slogans of one group of marchers under the banner of the Newsletter (edited by Peter Fryer) — "Black the Bomb," "Black the Sites," "For Industrial Action." (To "black" means to declare a job or a project 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 classes on both sides of the Atlantic realize that the foreign policies of heads of government are very personal things indeed. Nuclear warfare can be set off at any moment — mistakes in reading a radar screen have sent American bombers loaded with H-bombs on their way to Russia! They were called back in the nick of time.

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

There is only one answer — Socialism.

Labor Party Rally Against Tests



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

...Brink-of-War Flights

(Continued from Page 1) Washington that he "can sleep well at night" because he knows there is no danger of a Soviet attack on the U. S.

WEDEMAYER TESTIMONY

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

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

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

Could there be any greater basis for such a "misunderstanding" than H-bomb-laden jets approaching Soviet borders? Clearly, the American people must demand that these planes and their weapons of nuclear destruction be grounded immediately and that the brink-of-war flights be stopped.

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

...Sobell Group Rally Socialist Expansion Fund Has Best Week; South Hits 108%

By Murry Weiss
National Fund Drive Director

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

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

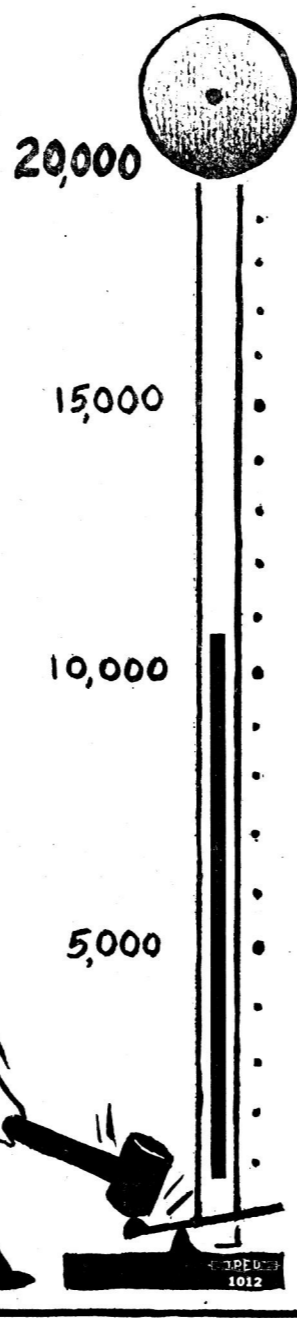
The newest group to participate in a national fund drive of the Socialist Workers Party, the South, is the first to complete its quota and go over the top. The South jumped from fourth to first place with a 108% score on a \$200 quota.

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

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

Radioactive Gift to Eisenhower

Crates of radioactive asparagus were shipped April 15 to President Eisenhower. British Prime Minister Macmillan and Soviet Premier Khrushchev by the Berkeley, Calif. Society of Friends, a Quaker group. The asparagus had been tested at a radiation laboratory and found to have a higher than normal amount of radioactivity as a result of nuclear fallout carried by rain. The White House said, April 18, that the crate shipped to Eisenhower "has been disposed of." Details of the disposition were not disclosed. Authorities had found the asparagus "safe" for public sale.



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

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

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

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

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

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
SOUTH	\$200	\$215.00	108
DETROIT	825	574.50	70
BUFFALO	1500	1015.93	68
TWIN CITIES	1742	1093.50	62
LOS ANGELES	4600	2691.90	59
NEWARK	265	155.00	59
New York	5000	2632.70	53
Seattle	550	287.00	52
Youngstown	300	150.00	50
Cleveland	750	359.10	48
Boston	600	265.00	44
Chicago	1716	682.00	40
Denver	40	16.00	40
San Francisco	440	175.00	40
Philadelphia	528	176.50	33
Oakland	265	84.00	32
Milwaukee	300	83.00	28
St. Louis	80	20.00	25
Allentown	112	15.00	13
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
General	177	51.38	29
Totals through April 22	\$20,000	\$10,732.51	54

I'll Help

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

Name
Street
City

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

POPE COURTEOUS TO HER

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

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

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

SURE SOBELL INNOCENT

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



HELEN SOBELL

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

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

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

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

OTHER SPEAKERS

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

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

King Sees Labor Party As Vital to Jobs Fight

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

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

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

BEGIN NOW

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

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

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

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

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



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

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

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

NO ROOM AT TOP

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

The Negro Struggle

The Problem of Negro Leadership

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

In this respect [understanding leadership in relation to its cultural and social environment] it is interesting to note that a new pattern of Negro leadership seems to be emerging in certain sections of the South. Some Southern Negro communities appear to have experienced a spontaneous upsurge in the initiation of action and in the pressures brought to bear on their leaders. The traditional Negro leaders, both local and national, have been forced into the position of following more than leading; they have tended to abandon their usual role as initiators of action. This seems largely due to the inadequacy of the old leadership structure in the face of changing conditions and to an inverse of the normal channels of communication 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. Elliott) upon which the Supreme Court ruled in its decision of May 17, 1954, with the recent Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Each of these events brings out a different aspect of the inadequacy of the Negro leadership structure and communication system. They also demonstrate the problems involved in the future role of the NAACP in the movement toward racial integration.

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

Montgomery Bus Boycott

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

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

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

Rank-and-File Pressure

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

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

Tallahassee Experience

The Tallahassee bus boycott was also spontaneously organized, this time by local university students. Spontaneous pressure and action has thus become more probable on the part of the Negro masses, with less chance afforded for control by traditional leaders. This is particularly true in the early stages. The point is that structural flaws in the NAACP, which were evident to some degree at least six or seven years ago, have now come home to roost. Montgomery in a sense is the by-product of those flaws. The NAACP, preoccupied with winning court victories, was unprepared for the development of alternate methods of protest. The result has been a gradual and continuing divorce of the national and local NAACPs from the mass of the Negro people at the same time that these individuals continue looking to it for cues and guidance.

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

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THE MILITANT

Buffalo Auto Local Sets Up Jobless Comm.

A good start toward dealing with the immediate problems of the unemployed has been taken by United Auto Workers Local 774 at the Chevrolet-Tonawanda plant in Buffalo, New York. The local has set up an unemployment committee of five persons to handle any problems of unemployed members who call the local office. All unemployed members have been notified of this service and of the fact that they still have the right to attend and participate at all union meetings. The notice also contains a detailed list of welfare, community and free medical agencies, surplus food outlets, and union services connected with aiding the unemployed as well as instructions on applying for unemployment compensation and aid of various kinds. Seniority rights, and how to protect them while unemployed, are also carefully explained in the notice.

Youngstown CIO Fights For Food

The Mahoning County CIO Council, which includes the severely depressed Youngstown, Ohio steel district, is engaged in a determined effort to bring surplus food into the area for free distribution. Such food is already available in the adjoining state of Pennsylvania, but the Mahoning County Commissioners have consistently opposed free food distribution out of consideration for merchants who don't want the competition. The demand for surplus food has become an important issue among Youngstown steel workers. The CIO Council took action after pressure was generated in several locals. The Militant Steelworker, published by Socialist Workers Party branches in the Ohio and Buffalo steel areas, says in its April 11 issue: "No one can say that there is not enough of this food available. The record shows that more than \$6 billion worth of this food is stored in this country's warehouses. Much of this food is destined to spoil because of age and because of inadequate storage facilities. YOU are paying almost a million dollars every day to the owners of these storage facilities to store food that should be consumed! The fight for Surplus Free Food must be carried into all communities. It should be distributed to help lighten the burden of the unemployed and of the needy."

NUMBER OF FARMS

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



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

... Face Long Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)
downward even more drastically.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jobs and Bias Parley Called by B'klyn NAACP

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

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

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

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

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

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

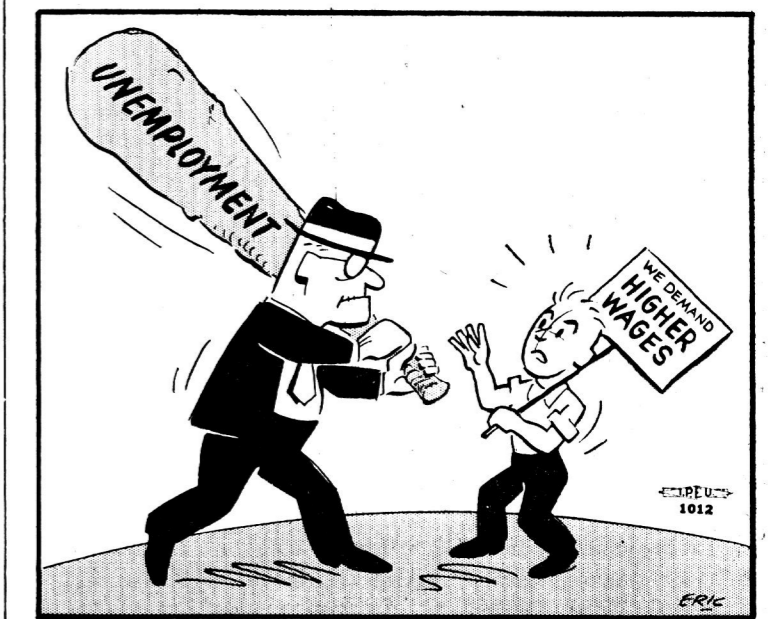
SPECIAL PROBLEMS

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

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

TEENAGE DEATH PENALTY

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



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.:
Socialist Workers Party

Out of the Depths

By Barron Beshoar
Most complete account of the miners' strike and massacre at Ludlow, Colorado. Indispensable source book in U. S. labor history. 372 pp. \$3.50 (plus 15¢ for postage)
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Labor Council In No. California To Aid Jobless

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

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

Negroes On the March

A Frenchman's report on the American Negro struggle. By DANIEL GUERIN
192 pages Paper \$1.50 Cloth \$2.00
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Tuscarora Indians Picket to Keep Land

By John Black

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

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

Tired faces lit up with enthusiasm when the news reached us that the order had been signed. For four days the 750 Tuscarora had prevented surveyors from doing the preliminary work on the planned power reservoir. At stake are 1,300 acres of reservation land. Some of the men had stayed around grapevine post fires. The women had played an active part in all phases of the resistance and had set up a kitchen for the feeding of the roving pickets. Indians from many other tribes had gathered to help in the fight.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GET SUPPORT

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

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



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