The Politics of the Kennedy-Ervin Bill
See page 3

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIII — No. 18 | 222 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY MAY 4, 1959 | Price 10c

Mississippi Lynching Aided by State Officials

Mich. AFL-CIO Calls Lansing Jobless Parley

DETROIT, April 26 — The Michigan AFL-CIO has announced it will hold an unemployed conference in Lansing on May 5. According to the announcements, the unemployed will hear reports on legislation and then visit legislators.

Taking a cue from the recent AFL-CIO conference in Washington, union leaders here seem to be planning to restrict the nature and scope of the Lansing action.

Jobless militants have for some time been asking for a mass demonstration in Lansing (among other places). They want a maximum turnout of the unemployed to express their anger and impatience in terms that the politicians of both capitalist parties will understand.

But the top union leaders have different ideas. They want to limit the size of delegations to small and "manageable" proportions. They don't want the authentic sentiments of the jobless to be heard in Lansing any more than they were heard in Washington (where no unemployed worker was given the floor). They want to put the Republicans on the spot, not their Democratic pals.

How the unemployed workers will respond to this take-it-easy approach will be shown in the next week or two.

Many of them were left with a bad taste in the mouth by the Washington conference.

They want action, not bull.

They didn't enjoy the role of seat-fillers and hand-clappers to which they were confined in Washington.

Some of them noted angrily that the union bureaucrats in Washington referred in passing to the need for a 35-hour week, but that nobody had anything to say about the McNamara 35-hour bill in the Senate.

The Washington conference pledged that it would be followed by a big campaign against unemployment by the entire labor federation.

So far, this promise has remained strictly on paper.

It's something like the big promises to organize the unemployed that Walter Reuther made almost three months ago: Many words, few deeds.

Under prodding from unemployed UAW members who had organized themselves, Reuther at that time laid out a long elaborate campaign that took almost an hour to read.

Reuther's plan was top-heavy because he wanted to make sure that he and his machine would have firm control of any and all unemployed activities. He didn't want them to be "embarrassing" to his Democratic friends.

The organizational structure he outlined was a little ridiculous—it almost creaked from the directives to set up all kinds of local, regional and state centers, staffs and steering committees.

(Continued on Page 4)

Predict Profits This Year Will Set New High

Here are a few facts to ponder while waiting in line at the unemployment office. Net corporation profits hit a record high in the first quarter of this year. Barron's, a financial weekly, reported April 27 that figures for the first three months indicate American corporations will net a cool $24 billion this year.

Manufacturers of textile machinery, for example, are "looming profits." New machines are being turned out that find ready buyers. These include an automatic winding machine which reduces man-hours by nearly 60 per cent. Another is a drying machine which operates on high-frequency electronic principles and reduces drying time for rayon and dyed yarn to five minutes from the conventional 90-140 hours.

Socialist Future Offers You the Best Investment

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

I think I've made a substantial contribution in every fund campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and its forerunners since I joined some 25 years ago. I do it because I don't know of a better place to invest in the future than in the socialist movement. And you don't have to be rich to do it.

Naturally it always gives me a twinge to part with money because of my early training on its sacred nature. But when I think of how it counts for the future, I feel good about it and only wish I could give more.

Now I'm going to let you in on a secret. Much as I enjoy giving to a socialist fund-raising campaign, I enjoy even more opening up the letters containing contributions from others. I know how each contributor felt when it came to parting with those dollars and I also know how good each one feels about getting closer to the goal.

I feel that way even if the accompanying letter only says, "Enclosed herewith . . ." In my vocabulary that's one of the most eloquent phrases in the English language.

This week quite a few correspondents used that phrase. Some of them worked out variations that sounded to me almost like poetry. For instance, R. French boosted Allentown's total to $101 this week, putting the branch in second place and scoring 92% on the board. And here is what she said: "I managed to collect some money."

Newark, one of the three branches ahead of schedule, did not rise to such eloquence this week. But the name on the money order for $79 spoke volumes: "Joe Skivar."

Seattle was another branch in the wonderful "enclosed herewith" category. The three checks totaled $94. They looked like pay checks endorsed over to the fund campaign. That would be in accordance with the high goal set by the Seattle comrades. "Our standard," Clara Kaye explained earlier in the campaign, "is one week's income as the basis of the pledge —with **wages** considered as income, not the unemployment insurance which is all some of us are getting."

When I opened the letter containing Milwaukee's contribution of $16 on the fund this week, I was sorry once more that Wayne Leverenz didn't win in the last election. He would have made a wonderful governor with his succinct way of putting things: "Enclosed is a payment . . ."

The New York Local, I can report after personally interviewing Richard Lopez, is buzz-

(Continued on Page 2)

March Against Jim Crow Schools

Part of International Ladies Garment Workers Union contingent at April 18 Youth March in Washington, D.C., against racial discrimination. Mixed delegations from North Carolina and Virginia participated; 8,000 came from New York; there were contingents from as far away as California to make total number of marchers reach 26,000. Tom Mboya, Harry Belafonte, A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King were among the speakers.

Ranks of British Labor Party Defy Right-Wing over Purges

The British Labor Party's right wing is finding it no cinch to purge the party of revolutionary socialists. Two major Labor Party units refused recently to carry out expulsions of Socialist Labor League adherents decreed by the party's national executive committee. "Protest-the-ban" sentiment is growing throughout the party.

Two weeks ago, the Streatham, London, unit of the Labor Party defeated a motion to expel Gerry Healy and to suspend several other unit members. Healy is provisional national secretary of the Socialist Labor League and a member of the editorial board of the Newsletter, an SLL publication.

[In March, the Labor Party's national executive committee ruled that supporters of the League and of the Newsletter could not hold Labor Party membership. The SLL denounced the ruling as a witch-hunt against left-wing Laborites and demanded the same right to promote its program within the Labor Party as the Fabian society and the Victory-for-Socialism group.]

A few days before the Streatham unit defied the NEC, the Norwood unit's executive committee refused to expel Brian Behan, also a member of the Newsletter's editorial board. Behan, a leading construction union militant, recently served six weeks in prison for strike activities.

The Labor Party tops have threatened to "reorganize" both the Streatham and Norwood units. However, they have not yet acted on their threat. "Morgan Phillips [Secretary of the Labor Party] told the Press that Gerry Healy . . . has ceased to be a Labor Party member," says the April 25 Newsletter. "But the Streatham party insists that he is still a member."

Commenting on the Streatham unit's defiance of the NEC decree, Gerry Healy said, "I am proud of the stand my party [unit] has taken in refusing to expel me. It is the first time the rank and file have had a chance of discussing the matter and shows that every time they have a say they rebuff the bureaucrats at the top. . . . The Streatham decision vindicates our stand against the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb and for a policy against unemployment. The whole rank and file . . . must have an opportunity of discussing what is wrong with Labor's policy and how it can be changed." (April 17 Manchester Guardian.)

A number of other Labor Party and trade-union units throughout Britain have joined the protest against the NEC's ban on the SLL and the Newsletter. By 25 votes to 3, the general management committee of the Hendon North Labor Party unit called on the national executive committee to rescind its undemocratic ruling. Again, after Brian Behan addressed them, 200 building workers at Abbey Wood called for full freedom of discussion in the trade-union movement and the Labor Party.

The April 25 Newsletter also reports that the Brixton branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, the Lambeth Trades Council and the Garston [near Liverpool] unit of the Labor Party denounced the ban on the SLL and the Newsletter. Earlier this month, following the expulsion of nine alleged SLL supporters in Leeds, including two members of the Leeds City Council, party units in North-East and East Leeds protested the NEC's purge.

HOW TO AVOID TAXES

A sure-fire way of avoiding taxes was suggested by Hiram G. Andrews, 83-year-old speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, when he commented on a bill up for passage:

"You can avoid all taxes imposed by this bill if you don't eat, smoke, see anything, do anything, or if you don't live or don't die."

Castro Wins Cheers of U.S. People

Not since they greeted heroes of the 1905 Russian Revolution, have the American people extended the kind of welcome to a revolutionary they accorded to Fidel Castro during his 11-day tour of Washington, D.C., New York City and Boston.

In Washington, "High school students shouted from buses, 'Hi, Fidel!'" In New York, ". . . Dr. Castro received warm welcomes wherever he went." And in Boston, 10,000 people, mostly students, greeted him at a meeting near Harvard University. Thirty-five thousand New Yorkers turned out to hear him at Central Park.

Castro, for his part, played up to his role as a leader of a popular revolution. He did not change from his green "26th of July Movement" uniform into mufti at any time. Wherever he went, his supporters carried banners proclaiming "Long Live the Cuban Revolution!" and "Down with Trujillo!" (Trujillo is the Dominican dictator).

In radio and TV interviews and all his speeches, Castro spoke about the liberationist aims of the Cuban revolution.

Thus despite 12 years of witch-hunting in the United States — designed to kill any open expression of sympathy for revolutionary ideas — the American public cheered Castro as the symbol of revolution.

Not that witch-hunting directed against the Cuban was absent from his visit. Congressmen and TV interviewers pressed him repeatedly for answers about "Communist-infiltration" of the Cuban revolution and of his government. "Why are you worried about Communists?" he answered. "There are no Communists in my government. You should worry about our success as a nation. We are a democracy." Said Senator Smathers of Florida, "It is clear that he hasn't yet learned that you can't play ball with the Communists . . ."

However, this apparently did not diminish Castro's popularity here nor the sympathy of the American people for the Cuban upheaval. In fact, to some Americans, the Cuban events seemed to contain food for further thought. "How do you make a revolution?" one New York taxi driver, for example, asked of his fare, following the Castro visit.

CASE OF RURAL IDIOCY

The Animal Health Institute is studying cows to learn how milk becomes contaminated with strontium 90.

Cop Shoots Negro In New York Police Station

NEW YORK — One more Negro has been added to the list of victims of trigger-happy cops in this city. Al Garrett, 24, was taken to a Brooklyn hospital in critical condition with a bullet wound in his liver. He was shot in a police precinct house April 17 by Patrolman John Cuzzo. The official police version of the incident is that the wounded man tried to hit the cop with a chair.

Garrett, who was arrested after a street argument with the cop, said: "They never asked me any questions. He (Cuzzo) hit me with his billy and I was running around trying to duck. Then he pulled his gun, and I was still running around. Then he shot me. I fell and tried to get up, but he put his foot on me and kept me down."

South African Whites Irked By Canings

A reform movement is shaping up in Capetown, South Africa. The Wednesday afternoon caning of Negroes in the central police station is going to be moved down to the basement. Milton Bracker reported in the April 26 New York Times that the beatings, which are administered as legal discipline, have brought many complaints from people in the surrounding business district.

It's the noise, not the beatings, that are at issue. One executive said the sound of the blows and reactions of the prisoners was "upsetting" to his women employes. "We can clearly hear the swish and smack of the cane and the pleadings and screams of people being beaten," he said.

"I don't doubt that these punishments are well deserved, but I feel the place for them should be anywhere but the center of a city business area."

One genteel white woman said: "I sympathize with the police. It cannot be nice to have to deal out these beatings. But I wish we didn't have to listen to it."

A business man complained that conversations with important clients had been interrupted by the "howling of somebody being thrashed."

Victim Left Unguarded In Jail Cell

By George Lavan

A Mississippi mob opened the observance of the period designated by President Eisenhower as National Law Week by lynching Mack C. Parker, a 23-year old Negro. This brutal deed speaks louder and truer about "the equal protection of the law" in the U.S. than all the Law Week speeches of Bar Association officials and capitalist politicians.

As usual with Deep South lynchings, there is little likelihood that the murderers will be arrested. Even if some unusual combination of circumstances should lead to their arrest, it is generally acknowledged that, as with the lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till, the workings of Mississippi's lily-white "justice" would promptly free them.

CONNIVANCE INDICATED

The bare facts of the Poplarville lynching indicate that Mississippi officials all but issued engraved invitations to the lynch mob, if indeed they did not secretly connive with it.

Parker, a truckdriver, was arrested on a charge of raping a 24-year-old white woman from an adjoining county last Feb. 24. The woman's identification of Parker was far from positive. Since the lynching she has described to reporters her original identification of Parker as follows: "When I saw the man I told these police that I wasn't positive it was him, but it looked like him." Again, "When the police showed me all the men, I told them Parker looked like the one but I wasn't certain. Then next day, when I saw his picture in the newspaper, it looked exactly like the man. His voice was different at the police lineup."

Since a Negro accused of raping a white woman in Mississippi is in constant danger of lynching, police initially took special precautions to protect Parker and lodged him in the city jail in Jackson, the state capital.

But twelve days before the lynching, Mississippi Circuit Court Judge Sebe Dale suddenly decided that special precautions were no longer desirable and ordered Parker transferred to the county jail in rural Pearl River County, the area of the alleged crime. This transfer was carried out with the knowledge that the Poplarville jail is completely unguarded at night. The sheriff simply locks the door and retires to his home nine

(Continued on Page 4)

Shorter Week Offers More Jobs than New Boom

A reduction of the work-week to 35 hours without reduction in pay is the only way to eliminate unemployment, according to Dr. W.S. Woytinsky, a prominent labor economist, writing in the April 13 New Leader. He does not believe that the economy can develop a boom of sufficient proportions in the foreseeable future to absorb those who are jobless at present plus about a million new jobseekers a year.

"Unless such action [reducing the work-week] is taken," Woytinsky says, "more than 4 million will probably remain unemployed at the end of 1959.

"A slowdown of economic expansion in 1960 is fairly probable; the best one can expect is that unemployment will fluctuate around 4 million during that year. If a new recession develops in 1961, it will start with unemployment of about 4.5 million and raise the figure to a new peak of 6.5 or 7 million.

"I see no other way of reversing this trend except by readjusting hours of work—shifting from the 40-hour week to a 35-hour week."

Woytinsky reviews the curve of employment in nonagricultural establishments since the end of World War II. He shows that though employment increased from 40 million in 1945 to 52.6 million in September, 1957, the **rate** of increase tapered off markedly in 1956 and 1957 before going into reverse in the 1958 recession.

Recovery from the recession began in April 1958. But the figures from April to December show employment increasing at a far slower rate than production. Production rose an average of 12% throughout all manufacturing, while employment increased only 5.6%. In durable goods, where a large proportion of the unemployed have been concentrated, production increased 16% and employment 6.5%.

"A closer analysis of employment and unemployment trends," says Woytinsky, "suggests that recently there has been a substantial expansion of production with little or no reabsorption of unemployment."

The 1951-53 boom wiped out the unemployment of the 1949-50 recession. But "The expanding economy did not absorb unemployment in 1955-57. The number of unemployed remained close to the level during the preceding recession [3.1 to 3.8 million]. The country entered the third postwar recession with considerable unemployment. To this backlog, fresh unemployment was added with the increase in the labor force and lay-offs in industry."

NEW WORKERS

The official statistics do not tell the whole tale: ". . . many young workers who entered the labor market around June-July 1958 without previous experience did not find jobs and were classified as 'not in labor force' rather than 'unemployed.' If this explanation is correct, there was considerable hidden unemployment in the summer of 1958."

With the civilian labor force increasing 2% a year, total output must rise 2% annually to absorb the new workers assuming no technological and economic progress. "Assuming a productivity growth of 2-3% a year, production must advance 4-5% to prevent the further growth of unemployment." On the other hand, ". . . unemployment will increase by 500,000 if production expands by 5 per cent while productivity of labor rises 4 per cent."

Reviewing the overall performance of the economy and its prospects, Woytinsky concludes, "There is a very slim chance that economic recovery and growth will absorb or reduce mass unemployment." The solution thus lies in a reduction in the work-week.

The last cutback in hours of work, says Woytinsky, was effected during the Great Depression when part-time work at 40 hours a week instead of 44-48 hours became common practice. This was later legalized through the Wages and Hours Law. "Since that time very little has been done to adjust hours of work to changing economic and technological conditions."

In the postwar recessions, though hours were cut to some extent, the reduction was not as drastic as in the Great Depression since unemployment compensation reduced the need for "work-sharing."

Woytinsky believes that union-contract changes must now embody reductions in the work week. His appeal is both to the employers and unions to work out the problem through "mutual understanding." Concretely he proposes three or five-year agreements providing for yearly reduction of hours until the 35-hour week is achieved. The contract would also call for yearly wage increases of 5% to prevent loss in take-home pay.

Most capitalist economists, both liberal and conservative, have opposed shortening the work-week on the pretext that it would cut production at a time when this country is in an economic race with the USSR. Even labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther opposed the shorter work-week on this ground until recently.

The significance of Woytinsky's article is that it thoroughly demolishes the "we-must-increase-production-not-cut-hours" approach. However, his recommendation that the work-week be cut to 35 hours over a three- or five-year span is inadequate.

The pace would be too slow to absorb unemployment, particularly in view of the fact that the average work-week in January 1959 embodied 37.6 normal hours plus 2.3 hours of overtime. Thus hours actually worked already tend to average below 40.

Speculative Fever On Wall Street

The biggest speculative fever in the stock market since 1929 is now under way, says Richard Phalon in the April 27 N.Y. Herald Tribune. ". . . the speculative tone of the market was enough to make some worried Wall Streeters feel they'd seen it all before. . . . It was a rare broker who did not have his own variation on the tale of the '$80 a week ribbon clerk' who plunked his 'life savings of $300' down on the desk and asked to be put into a 'good $2 stock that's going to 50.'" Actually many $2 stocks are going to 50, says Phalon, "on nothing more than a prayer and a promise."

The April 27 Wall Street Journal also compares today's stock market with 1929.

J. Edgar Hoover — Labor Spy Number 1

By Henry Gitano

Traditionally in the labor movement, "labor spies" means private detectives hired by employers in their war against unions. The Senate Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Senator Robert La Follette, investigated the activities of labor spies in the 1930's and exposed some of their shocking practices. The labor movement used the Senate committee's investigation to weed out labor spies from their ranks.

The labor-spy racket, however, has taken a new form. The services for which the employers used to pay fink agencies are now performed, at taxpayers' expense, by the FBI, as part of the bi-partisan witch-hunt program.

An old-style, private labor-spy outfit once informed a prospective client, "We help eliminate the agitator and organizer quietly and with little friction." The "Industrial Security" program, with its provisions for "security screenings," has been touted in a similar vein.

A 1952 report by the National Industrial Conference Board tells the employers, "Even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, Industrial Security can . . . help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote labor grievances, slowdowns and strikes and encourage worker antipathy towards management."

BRAND ALL LABOR ACTIVITIES

Note that this employers' organization deems the whole gamut of union activities — and not merely "communism" — to be "subversive" and thus a fit subject for "screening." The Democrats who began the "security" program and the Republicans who continued it have both entrusted the FBI with its administration. J. Edgar Hoover has thus become the nation's number one labor spy.

Testifying for the FBI's 1953 appropriations, Hoover stated: "In these very important key industries our investigative responsibility has increased. We must keep abreast of all activities which may jeopardize the internal security of our country."

Although Hoover claims that keeping union activities under surveillance is only incidental to sleuthing on "subversives," the record testifies otherwise. Thus during the May 1958 Smith-Act trial of Julius Hellman in Butte, Montana, it was revealed that Arthur Moralez, a paid FBI informer, had been reporting to the FBI on the business of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. An official FBI memorandum based on Moralez' oral report of a meeting of the union's Local 1 in Butte makes no mention whatever of "subversives."

Again, in proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board to have the independent United Electrical Workers designated as "communist-infiltrated," Isaac Alexander Wright testified that he was hired by the FBI in 1942 or 1943 to spy on the "communists" and on union activities in the Pittsburgh area. The government produced a record showing that over a period of 15 years, the FBI paid Wright more than $27,000. During that time, Wright testified, he sought union support against milk-price increases, trolley-fare increases or the use of state police as strikebreakers. Then he would report to the FBI which union locals had supported the issues he had raised.

On the basis of admissions made by his own stool pigeon, U.S. Attorney W. Ford Maddrix could not seriously challenge the UE's charge that the FBI had planted labor-espionage agents to concoct "evidence" against the union. He was placed on the defensive when union attorneys cited laws against labor spying. He pleaded that this legislation dealt "exclusively with the employer-employee relation," and did not apply to the FBI.

It is noteworthy that the Justice Department began its SACB action during the hard-fought Westinghouse Corporation strike of 1955. The majority of strikers belonged not to UE but to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, (AFL-CIO), whose leadership had carried through many purges against alleged "communists." The Justice Department, however, sought to smear the entire strike by singling out UE as "communist-infiltrated." (Last month, the Department withdrew its action against UE.)

FBI WIRE-TAPPING

FBI spying is not confined to alleged "subversives" nor to allegedly "communist-infiltrated" unions. In 1948, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, accused Attorney General Tom Clark of using FBI men to tap UMW telephones. "Surely," said Lewis, "old Tom hasn't forgotten the day he sent one of his gumshoe men in to tap our telephones in our office and our boys threw him out on his ear. They caught him right at the control box in the basement, tapping her up, and they threw him out."

Again, at the National Maritime Union's council meeting in February 1954, NMU Vice-President Warner complained that, "The halls have been flooded with investigators who have been snooping all over the place." Warner reported that Hoyt Haddock, the union's Washington representative, had expressed concern over a charge by government sources that the union gave Negroes and Puerto Ricans preferential treatment. Then "came the FBI with the same story, only the FBI went further. The FBI said, 'You will go back to New York and you will bring us back information concerning this matter.'" The NMU officials are expert red-baiters and cooperate with the government's maritime "screening" program. Evidently, this doesn't protect the union from FBI spying into its internal affairs.

Finally, there is the case of how the Hat and Millinery Workers Union — whose president, Alex Rose, once proposed creation of a "Labor FBI" — was victimized by J. Edgar Hoover's "gumshoe men."

"FBI Jails Organizer in Louisville," was the front page streamer headline in the March 15, 1959, Hat Worker. International Representative Alfred May, active in the organizing strike against the Louisville Hat Company, was jailed by three FBI men who converged on his home from the front and rear. The FBI agents handcuffed their victim as if he were a desperado. Before being taken to jail overnight, "May was again handcuffed and chained, with the handcuffs attached to the chain around his waist." Since then, May has been sentenced to nine months in jail and is out on bail.

". . . the only basis of the indictment" against May, says the April 15 Hat Worker, "was a conflict of words spoken at a Board hearing resulting from an employer appeal. Contradictory testimony at NLRB hearings is an every-day occurrence. The implications of the May case for the entire labor movement are thus enormous."

'HAT WORKER'S' LAMENT

In an editorial, the Hat Worker lamented that "it would be tragic for the Bureau and a real loss to the nation if the FBI at this late day and juncture should turn from its normal tasks to serve as a club for employers in a labor dispute . . ."

Following the March 15 editorial, the FBI went to see the Hat Worker's editor J. C. Rich regarding May's arrest. Rich "was pleased that the FBI had taken this trouble . . . Known as something of an admirer and a partisan of the FBI, I was embarassed to see it make a boor of itself in my own front yard."

Rich was sadly disappointed. The FBI agents said that in arresting May they were only performing a police task, and they denied any harsh treatment. On rechecking his story, Rich was convinced that the FBI had indeed manhandled May. After the manacling, neighbors noticed an FBI agent scouting and taking photographs of May's premises. "During the trial one of the arresting officers was also noticed coaching some of the witnesses who appeared against May."

An editorial on April 15, states: "It took exactly ten days from indictment to conviction for the wheels of Justice to move in the railroading expedition."

Henry Gitano Wins Citation from American Legion

The following endorsement appeared in the March 15 issue of the American Legion's "Firing Line":

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a sizeable splinter group of the CPUSA, has been viciously attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation through a series of articles appearing in recent issues of The Militant, the SWP's official weekly organ. Edited by HENRY GITANO, the articles are clever distortions of the daily operations of this efficient investigative arm of the United States Department of Justice. The author utilized numerous sources of information to write his story, including the following: American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, 'The FBI' by MAX LOWENTHAL, **The Nation** and CYRUS S. EATON."

. . . Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

sawing its way toward its goal. Among the ways of heaping up the sawdust is a weekly table bazaar that has bargains that out-Macy Macy's. I know, because I can't resist some of those pre-inflation, even pre-war (World War I) prices.

Finally, before the editor cuts me short, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles and the Bay Area sent the kind of letters a fund campaign director has an ear especially tuned to. The only talking was the kind money does—but they were welcome words!

Total for the week was $808. As you can see on the scoreboard below, that brought the national total up to $5,781. That's 36% of the goal.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	$ 10	$ 10	100
Allentown	110	101	92
Newark	265	142	54
Twin Cities	1,700	766	45
St. Louis	80	35	44
San Diego	245	100	41
New York	4,200	1,700	40
Los Angeles	4,400	1,715	39
Connecticut	200	65	33
Detroit	600	184	31
Seattle	500	155	31
Chicago	1,000	300	30
Milwaukee	250	73	29
Cleveland	750	200	27
Boston	450	55	12
Philadelphia	500	55	11
Bay Area	800	56	7
Denver	25	0	0
General	15	69	—
Total through April 27	$16,100	$5,781	36

Advertisement Advertisement

The United Nations

Can world peace be won through the United Nations? A study of how this organization was set up and what its forerunner, the League of Nations, accomplished, leads to some thought-provoking conclusions about what is needed to win enduring peace.

For a careful presentation of the facts and a lucid Marxist analysis, read this article by Theodore Edwards in the spring issue of the International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

What Unions Are Saying on Unemployment

By Alex Harte and Flora Carpenter

"AFL-CIO Sets Off Massive Attack on Unemployment."

"The Bitter Face of Unemployment — Endless Lines of People Seeking Work—Frustrated Jobless Face Grim Future."

"This Is Happening in America—Misery, Despair and Want."

These are some of the headlines in the April 11 AFL-CIO News. Two-thirds of the articles, an editorial and a cartoon are devoted to the plight of the jobless.

Unemployment has received extensive coverage in virtually every issue of the paper since the middle of last February, just prior to the AFL-CIO national council meeting that decided to call the April 8 Washington jobless conference.

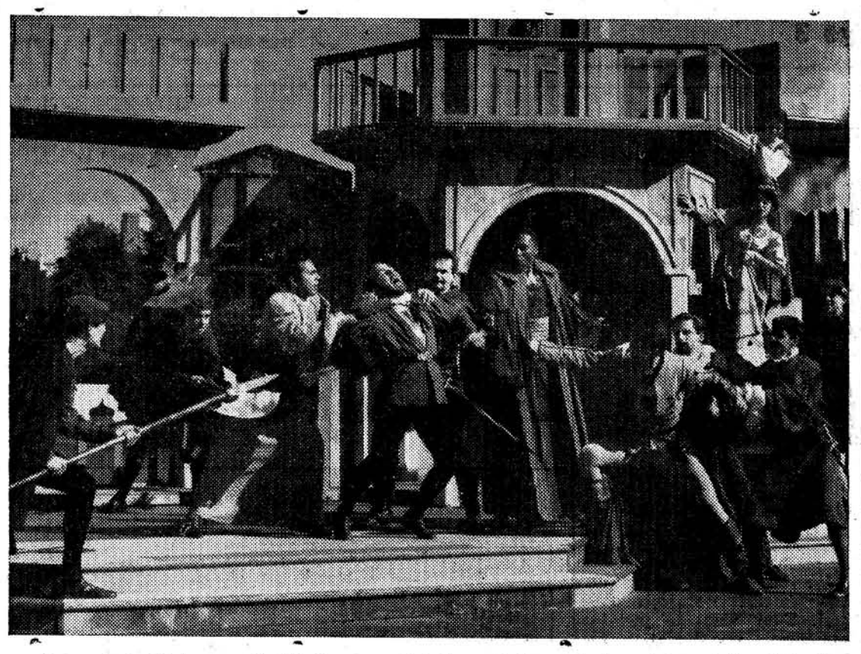
Such sustained, serious treatment of the problem is relatively new for this staid and conservative voice of the top union brass. It reflects a concern that is now finding expression in almost every publication of the various international unions and most of the local ones. A sampling of the union press makes clear that throughout the labor movement significant unemployment in a period of peak production is recognized as a prime problem.

What to do about it? Most union papers support the AFL-CIO program put forward at the Washington rally. The AFL-CIO News is pressing for action on the legislative front. Central demands are for a 35-hour week law, federal standards for unemployment compensation, federal aid to depressed areas, and increased government spending to stimulate production.

Heaviest fire is directed against the Republican administration and its do-nothing approach to unemployment. But there is also a note of irritation over the Democrats elected to Congress with the support of the union officialdom.

To those who recall that in the early thirties the top AFL bureaucrats opposed unemployment insurance as not in the American tradition, the present stand of the AFL-CIO News may sound almost radical. An April 25 editorial declares: "Since 1935 the unemployment compensation system has deteriorated badly and is no longer capable of meeting the needs of the unemployed. It is time, therefore, for a complete overhauling of the system, including additional federal standards to repair the glaring deficiencies that have been written into state systems . . . this critical job of providing for the unemployed and maintaining the nation's economic health cannot be left to the states. It's a job that needs doing now, by the 86th Congress."

Under the title, "Shorter Work Week Solution to Technological Unemployment," the same issue reprints from the April 13 New Leader an article by economist W. S. Woytinsky which marshals data in support of the demand for a 35-hour week. **(See page 1 for a review of this article.)**



Scene from Shakespeare's Othello presented free of charge last summer at the Belvedere Lake Theater in New York's Central Park. This year City Parks Commissioner Robert Moses has aroused indignation by denying further use of the lawns to the theater unless admission is charged to help "keep up the grass." To counter city-wide sentiment favoring free Shakespeare, Moses is circulating a McCarthy-type unsigned letter accusing Joseph Papp, sponsor of the presentations, of having a "Communist" background.

"My Job Has Disappeared"

An impressive roundup of interviews with unemployed unionists in key areas of the country was featured in the April 11 AFL-CIO News.

A report from Cleveland describes "the tortures of unemployment" that fall heaviest "on the poorest paid levels of the economy—the women in industry."

Mrs. Marybelle Hathman, mother of three children, who worked as a sorter at a woolen and waste mill until she was laid off just before Christmas in 1958, describes what she faces: "When I'm working, I'm just barely living. When I'm not working, I know what it's like to be in hell. Can someone do something to find work for poor people like me?"

How does the Hathman family get by? "Soldiers and Sailors Relief pays the rent," reports the AFL-CIO News. "Food and a few clothes are paid for with an Ohio unemployment compensation check of $24 a week." After the checks run out, the Hathmans "and thousands like them" will have to look to city welfare and "hope" for another job.

In New England, the paper reports, the new greeting is "Are you working?"—not "How are you?" In the textile industry, long a major source of jobs in the area, production has plummeted 55% in the past eight years. "New England's distressed areas are now experiencing a rising tide of repossession of automobiles, TV sets and household appliances."

In Milwaukee, the manufacture of heavy machinery "has suffered cruelly . . . Many of the unemployed are growing increasingly bitter as they find management has no use for their talents."

A jobless auto worker is quoted: "I spent a long time learning how to operate practically every machine in my department and I think I'm as good a mechanic as the next man. Now I'm told my job has disappeared because it can be done quicker and cheaper by automatic machinery. Not only am I without a job, but I've apparently wasted all those years in learning how to do something for which there is no longer any market."

Worried attention to the jobless problem is also found in the IUD Bulletin, publication of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. The April issue cites figures from various industries and areas to indicate the extent of technological unemployment. "Everywhere," it says, "fewer workers were being required as the nation's output of goods and services rose to new high levels."

The Bulletin reports that rail shipments are running ahead of last year, "Yet, in February of this year, rail employment was down to 839,000 against 888,000 in the depths of the recession a year ago."

"Output Rises; Jobs Decline"

The Bulletin quotes Steelworkers President David J. McDonald on the situation in that industry: "As of today there are more than 200,000 members of this union who are still unemployed despite the production boom. There is a good chance that many may never be called back because technological advances have eliminated their jobs, or so reduced crew sizes that there is no place for them."

It's the same story in meat packing: "The Packinghouse Worker estimates that there are 23,700 fewer jobs in meat packing than in 1956. It estimates that 4,200 of the 7,000 meat workers who lost jobs in Chicago in 1955 because of moves to more modern plants are still jobless."

The Bulletin's lead article declares, "It's Time for Performance." In its opinion, "The American people gave the 86th Congress, and the Democratic Party in particular, a mandate to move forward. With the session half over, it is time for the Congress to demonstrate that it is responsive to the people's needs, regardless of the position of the Administration."

Unemployment in the steel industry is analyzed in detail in Steel Labor, monthly voice of the United Steelworkers. "There's No Real Recovery Without Full Employment — Steel Output Rises But Job Gains Decline," reads the lead headline in the March issue. Otis Brubaker, the union's research director points to the example of Buffalo where a return to full steel production has meant between one to two thousand fewer workers back on the job than there were two years ago.

Pointing to new technical processes in the industry, Brubaker explains: "It's just another way of saying they are getting more productivity per man hour which means simply less people turning out more tonnage."

The April Steel Labor declares: "Shorter Hours Needed for Full Employment." On the basis of a long term study, it reports that in the decade ahead "steel production and maintenance employment is not likely to exceed an average of 500,000 as compared with 535,200 in 1957."

Pointing out that 14 million new jobs will be needed by 1965 just to provide for new entrants to the labor force, the report adds: "Even assuming a more rapid growth of the national economy, it is apparent that a reduction in working hours is also essential to achieve full employment."

The report also says that the steel union must undertake the organization of salaried employes "in order to halt the declining role of the union as a representative of the industry's work force."

Railroad workers are likewise trying to cope with chronic unemployment. Less than half the number of workers are employed on the railroads today than in the twenties. But contrary to the carefully cultivated public impression, the railroad magnates are still doing all right profit-wise. "Rail Freight and Profits Soar, But Jobs Just Creep Along—Traffic Goes Up Five Times as Fast as Employment," reports the April 18 issue of Labor, voice of 17 railway unions.

Carloadings in March were up 12% over a year ago but less people are working than in March 1958. Class 1 railroads netted $20 million in February as compared with a loss of $10 million the same month a year ago. But the rail barons are still complaining about losing their shirts as a result of alleged "featherbedding" practices of the unions. At the same time the rail lobby is trying to push a measure through Congress to reduce federal unemployment and retirement benefits for railroad workers.

The paper charges that the propaganda campaign against "featherbedding" is a smokescreen in a drive to steadily reduce rail employment beyond the amount ascribable to technological advances. It reports that many lines are closing down small stations, consolidating others, and reducing services **Torturing worn-out equipment, they are cutting back on car-repair and car-building programs. By these and other methods, they have wiped out 600,000 jobs in the industry since the end of World War II.**

The last three issues of the United Mineworkers Journal also hammer at the jobless issue. "Ike's 'Rising Prosperity' Will Not Feed Hungry Americans." "What's 'Up' on the Hill—Nothing for Working People, That's What!" "The Jobless Take a Beating — Congress Versus the Unemployed" are the titles of three recent editorials. The magazine is pushing for the aid-to-depressed areas bill introduced by Senator Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) and for enactment of federal standards for unemployment compensation.

"Strong Leadership Needed"

"Unemployment: National Problem," reads the front page of the April 1 issue of Advance, published by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The article urges passage of the Karsten - Machrowicz jobless compensation bill, "along with a $1.25 federal minimum wage with broader coverage, and a 35-hour work week to absorb thousands and thousands of workers thrown out of jobs by automation."

The issue features a speech in favor of the 35-hour week by Joseph Salerno, vice president of the union and New England regional director. "Legislation is better than strikes," Salerno said. "A 35-hour work-week law would prevent strikes for reduced hours. It would establish uniform hours for all industries and help promote industrial peace. It would protect fair employers against the unfair employers whose workers would be forced to strike in order to obtain the shorter work week if no legislation was adopted."

A more militant view of the fight for a shorter work week is expressed in the March MESA Educator, voice of the Mechanics Educational Society, AFL-CIO. An editorial declares: "Big business and industry and politicians, as always, must be FORCED to make changes in the hours, wages and working conditions of the working class. This cannot be done by the hat-in-hand policy being pursued by the present leadership of the AFL-CIO. **Strong, forceful leadership, that has no fear of using the legal weapons it has at its disposal, is needed now as urgently as at any time in the past.**

"The work week must be reduced drastically or large segments of our people must resign themselves to the status of second-rate citizens doomed to be permanently unemployed and permanently on the welfare rolls . . . If industry will not make it possible to employ all our work force, then industry should be forced to pay a worker his full wages for as long as he is available for work."

The Black Worker, official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hits out in a February editorial against the curtailment of passenger service on the fake plea made by the railroad companies of vanishing profits. It urges support of current efforts by rail unions to win amendment of the Railway Transportation Act so as to require an increase in railroad passenger service.

The editorial also warns: "Labor in every area of industry must give special attention to the question of the reduction of hours of work. Unless hours in all forms of production are drastically limited, millions of workers will be added to the jobless throughout the nation because of the march of automation."

The April 10 issue of the Dispatcher, published by the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, reports that the thirteenth biennial convention of the union, then in progress, devoted major attention to automation and unemployment.

A resolution on automation, the paper said, suggested a combination of approaches, "including tax on new machines to meet the needs of displaced workers, a shorter work week without loss of take-home pay, early retirements, substantial serverance pay, extended vacations, industry-wide seniority and retraining."

Automation and decentralization have dealt a heavy jobless jolt to the electrical industry. The April 13 IUE News, voice of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, gives excerpts from a report to the union's international executive board April 7 by Pres. James Carey:

"In the electrical machinery and equipment industry real output has been increasing two and a half times faster than employment. The recession resulted in a job drop of 162,200 for production workers and 12,000 for non-production workers. After nine months, 53 per cent of the lost production jobs had NOT been restored. All non-production jobs over the same period were completely restored and 7,600 new jobs were added.

"The situation of lagging employment in our industry is found in the highly automated lamp plants. Some 69 per cent of the lost production jobs have NOT been regained in this industry.

"The need for a substantial reduction in the work week . . . is amply demonstrated by our industry . . . A work week of 32 hours rather than 40 hours is needed to keep production workers employed in our industry."

During the thirties, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers mounted a nationwide campaign for the 30-hour week. The April 15 issue of Electrical Union World, newspaper of New York Local 3 of the IBEW, gives special coverage to the "Shorter Work Week Committee" set up by the N.Y. City Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO under the leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, president of the council and business manager of Local 3. The paper reprints a leaflet distributed by the Shorter Work Week Committee at the Washington jobless conference.

The leaflet urged formation of similar committees throughout the labor movement and coordinated activity by such groups.

The paper also reports the proposal made by Van Arsdale at the conference in behalf of the N.Y. Central Labor Council that the national AFL-CIO undertake the organization of the jobless.

The various publications of the United Auto Workers, which has been hit heavily by unemployment, are giving major attention to the problem, with the shorter work week and improved jobless compensation standards their major demands.

Something of the mood of the workers in this union, with their long militant tradition, was expressed in a front page article in the March 2 Searchlight, the paper of Flint Chevrolet Local 659:

"Friends, it's going to take the kind of shop level action now to alleviate the unemployment as it took in 1936 to shake the tyranny and fear of the boss. Let's not expect the ruling class to become suddenly repentant and start treating us right because that isn't on their agenda.

"Come on, let's get going and shove hard for a shorter work day and week at no reduction in pay. Stop all overtime, put everyone to work."

HENS AND MIDDLE MAN

"Our hens are eating better than we are," say upstate N.Y. farmers whose 29-cents-a-dozen eggs retail at 45 cents.

Combination Offer

Get acquainted with the International Socialist Review and save money too. A six-months subscription to the Militant plus one-year to the International Socialist Review—only $2.

The Militant
116 University Pl.
New York 3, N. Y.

Yes, I want to take advantage of your combination offer. I am enclosing $2 for a six-months subscription to the Militant and one-year to the International Socialist Review.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Subscription: $3 a year; Canadian, $3.50; foreign, $4.50.

THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIII — No. 18 Monday, May 4, 1959

Politics of the Kennedy-Ervin Bill

The passage of the union-backed Kennedy "labor regulation" bill along with the revised McClellan amendments by a 90-to-1 vote in the U.S. Senate April 25 raises the problem of the labor movement's policy on two basic questions: union democracy and union independence from government control.

In our opinion the most fruitful approach to the politics of this bill is offered along the following lines:

(1) No law which permits the capitalist government or any of its agencies to increase its control over the unions is of benefit to the rank and file of the labor movement.

(2) No matter how such a law may be "sweetened" with provisions apparently designed to protect the democratic rights of union members, workers should oppose it. Government control of the unions is contrary to the very essence of union democracy.

(3) The struggle for union democracy is absolutely indispensable. It is the number one task of the American labor movement.

McClellan on the Prowl

The fight for union democracy is a fight to preserve and expand the capacity of the organized working class to defend its economic and political interests in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters. For that very reason it cannot be entrusted to the mortal enemies of unionism — the capitalists, their political parties and their government.

Unfortunately the present leadership of the unions will not and cannot view the problem this way. This leadership follows the policy of class collaboration, the policy that led it to support the Kennedy bill in the first place.

The chain of events that led to this false step is instructive.

For two years Senator McClellan (D-Ark.) has been bombarding the country with his Senate Committee investigations into union racketeering, treasury looting, dictatorial rule, goon tactics against the rank and file, taking bribes and gifts from business men, etc., etc. The big-business press has had a field day, conveniently overlooking the crimes of its moneyed backers. But many of the facts were ugly, as only too many unionists already knew from bitter experience.

The tragic irony of this is that McClellan hasn't the slightest interest in union democracy or in "clean unionism." He was engaged only in creating a national atmosphere favorable to such union-busting legislation as state "Right to Work" laws and federal laws that would put a government dog collar on the unions. Taking advantage of the fact that the union leadership was badly compromised by all their nefarious practices, he converted "union democracy" into a banner of the anti-union campaign. At the same time his investigations were used as a club to soften the union leadership into agreeing to go along with at least some of the planned legislation.

Panic Among the Brass

The union leaders cowered under the pounding. They opened a campaign to clean out racketeers and wrongdoers under the slogan: "Let's clean our own house before they clean it for us." This, of course, has its progressive side. Every step of the union officials, however inconsistent and limited and for whatever motives, to curb the evils of bureaucratic rule in the unions is a step forward and should be supported. Moreover, in such a development the rank and file can find openings to introduce more basic progressive changes.

But the bureaucracy also sought to appease the anti-union legislation drive by seeking a "milder" version of what McClellan and his Republican allies were presenting. They found this in the Kennedy-Ervin bill. This bill in its original form combined in one package measures that ostensibly gave union members a greater say in their organizations and measures that really gave the government more hooks for intervening in union affairs. And as "sweeteners" some minor amendments of the Taft-Hartley Law were added.

As the Kennedy bill moved through committee, the union leaders hailed it as "pro-labor," apparently crossing their fingers as they said it. When the bill hit the floor of the Senate McClellan played his trump card. He proposed a series of amendments as a "bill of rights" for union members. Among other things these included: The right of members to sue a union or its officers; the right of a candidate for union office to use the membership list; the right of a union member to bring grievance actions to the Secretary of Labor; the right of this government official to enforce these guarantees by taking injunctive action against a union.

In other words, in the guise of sharpening the provisions guaranteeing democratic rights to rank-and-file unionists, the McClellan amendments sharpened the provisions giving the government power, through the Secretary of Labor, to practically seize control of a union.

Nevertheless the McClellan "bill of rights" amendments cannot just be dismissed. Sinister as they are with their present government-control gimmicks, some of them would be sound if they were put into effect by the union movement itself and if they included the basic principle of unyielding opposition to government intervention in union affairs, including the "investigations" of such committees as the one McClellan heads.

Kennedy's tactic in response to McClellan's move was what might be expected from a leader of the Democratic Party. As a capitalist politician on McClellan's side, he was unwilling to expose McClellan's real game; but as a presidential aspirant he wanted to preserve his "friend of labor" image. His solution to this dilemma was to appear to be a better witch-hunter than McClellan and at the same time more pro-labor. McClellan's amendments, he argued, would help the "Communists"; while the ostensible democratic aims of McClellan's amendments would be better served by the Kennedy bill, the Taft-Hartley Act and state laws already on the books.

However, in the U.S. Senate crass interests count, not persuasive arguments. McClellan had succeeded in passing his amendments when Nixon broke a tie vote in his favor. How was Kennedy to alter this? His group of Northern liberals—the labor-backed Democrats—turned to their Southern brothers. They suggested that injunctions used to enforce McClellan's amendments could also be used to enforce civil-rights measures in the South. The racists understood. They arranged a compromise between Kennedy and McClellan.

Why They Act That Way

In the process the Senate adopted several other amendments, including one "that substantially hardened the ban on 'hot cargo' clauses and provided for mandatory injunctions against unions whenever an employer complained that the union was seeking such a clause."

The amended version of the Kennedy bill now goes to the House. There big-business forces are already clamoring for the addition of more anti-labor, government-control clauses. At this point we cannot say what the final version will be.

The tendency of the capitalist system in its present-day stage of complete domination by big business is to absorb the unions into the government apparatus. The extreme expression of this process is the corporate unions under fascism. To achieve this "ideal," however, the union movement in its independent form must first be smashed. Meanwhile, what we are witnessing now in the U.S. is this process at work under capitalist "democracy."

One of the symptoms is government "regulation" of the unions. Another is the transformation of the summits of the unions into a privileged bureaucratized caste that destroys union democracy. As the bureaucracy strangles union democracy, it becomes increasingly the instrument of **indirect** control of the capitalist class and the government over the unions.

The bureaucracy is caught in a contradiction. In order to defend its special function as a transmitter of capitalist control over the unions, it must in some measure defend the independence of the unions. Yet by trampling on union democracy it weakens the power of the unions to such an extent that the ruling class can move aggressively towards **direct** control of the unions, further weaking them as fighting organizations capable of defending the living standards of the workers.

Problem of Leadership

Is it any wonder, then, that in the face of such a legislative offensive, the bureaucrats, torn between their function as administrators of independent union organizations and their captivity to the Democratic Party, flounder and fumble even though their own special interests are seriously endangered?

In the fight for union democracy as in the fight for union independence from government control—and these are interrelated issues—the progressive unionist cannot depend on the labor bureaucracy for leadership. One section of the bureaucracy or another can be forced to take a correct step, and when they do they should be supported. But on the whole the struggle requires the forging of a new leadership and a new policy.

Interview with a Twentieth Century Pioneer

By Harry Ring

Vincent R.Dunne became nationally famous in the bitterly fought teamsters strikes of 1934-35 that transformed Minneapolis from a notorious open-shop fortress into a stronghold of unionism. This was one of the key victories that inspired workers from coast to coast and contributed significantly to the great upsurge that culminated in the organization of the CIO.

In his book, "American City," a history of the dramatic strike struggles in Minneapolis, Charles R. Walker judged Dunne to be the principal leader. In sketching Dunne's role, Walker wrote that "his whole life and character prepared him for the position he took in the strike crisis of 1934."

This has stuck in my mind since I first read it. What was it in Dunne's life and character that prepared him to lead one of America's most crucial union-organizing struggles?

On April 17 Dunne celebrated his seventieth birthday and 55 years of continuous activity in the labor and socialist movement. He was in New York that week end and the editor of the Militant asked me to interview him. I decided to satisfy my own curiosity about Ray's early background.

"Did you have any idea as a youngster that you would become a workers' leader?" I asked him by way of an opener.

He seemed a little taken aback. "I had no thought of ever becoming a leader. That was only accidental. I was surprised to observe people looking at me and thinking of me as some kind of leader. It was a strange feeling."

"But you seem to have handled the responsibility all right."

"I did the best I could."

That turned out to be one of the threads in the fascinating pattern of his life. He was loaded with responsibility at an age that nowadays would be considered somewhat tender.

He was born in Kansas City, Kansas, in 1889. His mother was the daughter of a Wisconsin shoemaker. His father, an itinerant worker, was an immigrant from County Clare, Ireland. Coming up one day from repairing cables for the cable car company, Ray's father stepped accidentally into a hole and broke a knee cap.

In those days there was no workmen's compensation. The family lost the small house they had been struggling to buy. Things looked bleak in Kansas City for the Irish immigrant when he got out of the hospital.

The mother took the three-year-old Ray and his older brother, Bill, to live with her parents who had settled on a farm east of Little Falls, Minnesota. When Ray's father could move about, enough money was scraped together to get him up to the farm and the family moved into an old log house.

Aside from more children, the family continued to be blessed with not much more than hardships. Among other things their log home burned down.

"We lost everything," Ray recalled. "We had to go to my grandfather's house a quarter of a mile away in the middle of the night in freezing weather. Bill and I had to carry some of our younger brothers and sisters. I was about six or seven."

Solidarity was a powerful force among these frontier dwellers and the neighbors organized a building bee to put up a new home for the Dunnes. Things like that stuck in Ray's mind.

"By that time my father had sufficient strength in his leg and he went back to his former occupation as an itinerant worker, taking what he could find — building railroads, felling trees as a sawyer in the lumber woods."

Such rough circumstances shaped the children. "As we grew up we went out to work on nearby farms, on threshing rigs in the fall, helping with the plowing in the spring. We used to work by the month — plow, take care of the horses. We could drive a team by the time we were eight or nine years old. We were useful that way, you see. By the time we were twelve or thirteen, we could take the place of a man at any task around the farm.

"We worked for farmers for $7 or $8 a month. That included board of course. We worked from four o'clock in the morning until it was dark at night. After dark, and before daylight, you cleaned the stable and curried your team and milked a few cows. After a quick breakfast — but a hearty one, I assure you — the day's work began."

School was sandwiched into the winter months when work around the farms slacked off. "I went from the first through the seventh reader. They didn't go by grades then but the McGuffey reader. You could make two or three readers in one term, depending on how fast the teacher pushed and how much you could do. The important thing was to get through as fast as you could. The determining factor in finishing your education was your height and weight. The faster you grew, the less education you got. The average was about six years. I think I had five."

VINCENT R. DUNNE

Then came his first "man's" job. Ray graduated to this at the age of eleven or twelve. He had the reins on a team pulling a water wagon for the threshing machine at harvest time. Like any boy of those days, Ray was proud of the trust placed in him. "You took care of your team. That was the special charge. A team was valuable, you know. If you hurt a horse, that was a terrible thing. Besides, you fell in love with the horses. You wanted to take care of them."

"I don't know if I can understand that," I said to Ray. "Being a pavement kid, I never drove a team of horses. But didn't you miss school?"

Ray laughed. "You didn't regret that so much. Sometimes you missed playing with the other children, but on the other hand you felt a little bit superior to them.

"Besides, you knew that you were earning money that you could send home to your mother, and that was an all-encompassing responsibility. It was a responsibility you liked. You didn't feel that you were put upon or abused by it. You were proud to bring home a whole dollar, even two sometimes. It went a long way."

At fourteen, Ray got his "cork shoes" and struck up an acquaintance with logs in the Minnesota lumber camps. At fifteen, he had ranged far enough to reach the Montana camps. That was a significant year in Ray's life, for unionism had not reached Minnesota, but in Montana the Western Federation of Miners was already a power.

"When I arrived at the camp, I was met by a man that turned out to be the union steward. He didn't talk about the union right off. He first introduced me to some of the benefits of unionism. He took me down to the bath house. They had a stove going and plenty of hot water. All new men had to scrub themselves and boil their clothes — sometimes the steward lent a hand. This was to prevent bedbugs and lice from being brought in.

FIRST UNION CARD

"Then he took me to the bunk house. I had never seen anything like it. In Minnesota the bunk houses were dark and dirty, the chinks packed with mud. Here they were light and airy with high ceilings and plenty of windows. Everything was spotless and the bunks even had sheets!

"I was amazed at the difference the union made. I had known very little about unions except for some talk I had heard as I made my way to Montana. But after the steward had let my impressions sink in and then casually asked me if I wanted to join up, I didn't wait."

That was how the union man was born in Vincent R. Dunne. "The union made all the difference in the world. There was no starting out before dawn and working until dark, and never any Sunday work. They couldn't fire a man at will the way they did back in Minnesota. And if a foreman cursed out a man, he cursed him right back."

Ray soon learned that the steward had other responsibilities besides seeing to it that standards of cleanliness were maintained. Among other things, he appeared to be a literature agent with a stock of books for sale. Some of the books might even have been called somewhat radical. As literature agent, the steward took an interest in furthering young Ray's education and suggested some titles that seemed to fit his age level.

The first of these was "The Origin of Species" by an Englishman named Charles Darwin. A dictionary went with the order.

"The book made a deep impression on me," Ray said. "I read it and reread it throughout the entire season. It was a big factor in shaping my thinking."

The young evolutionist graduated next into a revolutionist. It was in the lumber camp that Ray heard about the Russian Revolution of 1905. Speakers from the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the Worker, occasionally came through for a friendly visit with the steward and other comrades and they brought ideas that widened the world for the lumberjacks. One of them told about the uprising of the Russian people against the Czar.

"When we heard about this, we regarded it as part of our own struggle, our comrades in Russia fighting the same enemy." The IWW had done well in inspiring the young lumber worker with the view that the American workers' own struggle wasn't just for wages and better conditions but for an end to capitalist exploitation as a whole.

Then came 1907 and the "money panic." Men were laid off in droves. Many were paid in script, and since this wasn't legal tender, they found themselves stranded in a Montana winter.

Ray and some of his comrades headed toward warmer climate and rumors of jobs in the Pacific Northwest. At eighteen, the young worker enjoyed his first ride on a passenger train — "on top, that is."

In Seattle thousands of jobless were camped waiting for something to turn up. The IWW campaigned militantly for aid to the unemployed and Ray became one of the "agitators." He learned how to speak from a soap box. He felt a policeman's stick. He was arrested in one of the historic "free speech fights."

The local capitalist politicians conceded to the pressure organized by the IWW and authorized a state road-building project. But this meant work for only some of the unemployed. Ray headed down to California, using the type of transportation to which he had now become accustomed. It was a dangerous way to travel, for besides the hazards of riding the blinds, the tops, or the rods, railroad dicks were free with their clubs and would not hesitate to shoot.

In Los Angeles, the 18-year-old agitator was sentenced to a road gang and he helped briefly in laying out what he later recognized as Sunset Boulevard. After a few days he was made a trustee and the ball and chain was removed so that he could fetch water for the men. A few trips with the bucket brought him to an old Wobbly — at least he seemed old to Ray.

"He told me if I came back once more, he'd beat the daylight out of me." Ray smiled. "He was pretty big so I took him at his word and headed to places where speakers and organizers were needed."

From Los Angeles, the IWW trail took Ray into the South. In Louisiana he worked in a saw mill. It was unorganized and conditions were fierce. Ray found himself the center of those who wanted to do something about it. But the effort was defeated and they lost their jobs. It was Vincent R. Dunne's first attempt to organize a strike.

On an Arkansas road gang, he saw how brutally Negro prisoners are treated, "far worse even than white prisoners."

SICKENED BY JIM CROW

In Clifton, Texas, working as second cook in a restaurant, he got another taste of racist prejudice. "I had to stand there and serve whites at the counter and hand plates out the back door to Negroes who had to pay for whatever was given them. I had to listen to these fellows at the counter plan and organize rapes for Saturday nights, picking out the Negro girls they were going to get. For three solid months I listened. I was pretty hardened from my association with itinerant workers in the lumber camps and harvest fields, but I was sick to my stomach. These were things I had heard about but never seen. It seemed to set my radical thinking so that it never changed."

Two years after leaving Montana, Ray finally made it back to his family in Minnesota. They had moved to Minneapolis. "I was happy to be in the Twin Cities where the Wobblies had their biggest local. But I was no longer just a Wobbly, a syndicalist, even then. I knew about Debs and about socialism. I had heard it discussed in the jungles, on jobs, in the box cars. I had absorbed a lot. And my experiences on the road made my belief in socialism deeply ingrained."

As a skilled teamster, Ray went to work for various express companies. Attempts to organize under the AFL were frustrated because of the conservatism of the small craft union. Ray kept up with the IWW and plunged deeper into the study of socialism.

In 1914 he married. He and Jenny reared two children of their own and three adopted children. Ray took care of his family obligations, but his main goal in life remained the advancement of socialism.

Activities consisted of recruiting, organizing meetings, advertising speakers, such as Debs, who came to town, selling literature, and reading everything possible about socialism.

In 1917 the Russian Revolution stirred the entire radical movement to its depths. New alignments appeared. Some of the old formations began to wither. Ray, together with some of his closest associates, became members of the Communist Party.

In 1928 Ray was elected to his second term on the Minnesota district committee of the party. It was then that three members of the central committee, Cannon, Shachtman and Abern, were expelled for opposing Stalin and supporting the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the Soviet Union.

"This had to be challenged," said Ray. "We had to protest this expulsion, this bureaucratic disregard of all rights in the party. When we made our protest we were expelled too."

As a consequence, Ray and some 30 of his Minnesota comrades became founding members of the organization that eventually developed into the Socialist Workers Party.

Throughout the fight, first to reform the Communist Party and then to build a new movement to continue the program of revolutionary socialism, Ray and his comrades continued their union organizing work. They finally succeeded in the Minneapolis coal yards in 1934 and this precipitated the great struggle that ended by bringing the bulk of the city's truckdrivers into the union.

SMITH-ACT VICTIM

Then came World War II and a conspiracy among Teamsters' boss Tobin and state and federal government officials to smash the militant leadership of the Minneapolis teamsters. In 1941, Dunne and 17 other leaders of the union and of the Socialist Workers Party became the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act.

The sentence of 16 months in Sandstone penitentiary did nothing to change Ray's mind about the evils of capitalism and the desirability of socialism. He came out as convinced as ever of the correctness of his socialist beliefs, and he turned even more energetically to the work of building the Socialist Workers Party.

Today he is chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota; and at 70 he feels that he still has energy to keep going at the task he chose as a youth — building for socialism.

"But haven't you ever thought about a socialist victory in America being postponed more than you expected?" I asked.

"I never was concerned too much about when it would come exactly, although I would sure like to see it soon. For me the main thing was to work for it. That's a job and a responsibility in itself. You're working for a cause, for the future. That's enough."

"And looking back from the age of 70, you don't have any regrets?"

"Of course. I suppose everyone has some regrets. I wish I could have done more."

Headlines in Other Lands

Rank-and-File Paper Published by British Miners

The Bradford Branch of the National Union of Miners is publishing a rank-and-file paper, The Miner, and distributing it nationally in the industry. The April 10 issue refutes the claim made by the National Coal Board, the government agency which runs the nationalized coal industry, that it can't afford to grant the mine workers' demands. These are for a seven-hour day for underground workers, a 40-hour week for surface workers and three weeks vacation with pay.

The Miner points to the £25 million ($70 million) paid every year to the ex-owners as one source from which the miners' demands could be met. The Miner calls on the top leadership of the NUM to give leadership in pressing the mine workers' demands instead of retreating and allowing the issues to go to arbitration.

Swedish Experts Advocate Stockpile Of Atomic Weapons

A book written by six experts and edited by Per Edvin Skold, Minister of Defense during World War II and a leader of the Social Democratic party, advocates atomic weapons for Sweden.

The authors believe that the cost of manufacturing nuclear bombs is within Sweden's means.

Two atomic reactors have been under construction in Sweden, and the government is also participating in a 12-nation agreement to build in England a gas-cooled atomic reactor for the production of electricity.

Sweden managed to stay out of both World War I and World War II but powerful voices are now being raised, it appears, in favor of participating in a war that could put the human race in the same category as the dinosaurs.

1,000,000 Victims Face Starvation In Algerian War

Because "pacification requires it, a million men, women and children are virtually menaced by famine" in Algeria, says Le Monde, leading Paris daily, in an April 18 article dealing with the plight of "regrouped" Algerians. The designation covers Algerians uprooted from their homes and shifted to new areas as part of French military operations against the National Liberation Army.

Kadar's 'Amnesty' Excludes Left-Wing Opponents

A piddling and vindictive "amnesty" is what the Kadar regime in Hungary decreed for political prisoners last month. Individuals condemned to "less" than two years in prison for allegedly "counter-revolutionary" acts committed before May 1, 1957 — i.e. almost two years ago — were freed immediately. Those who drew four-year sentences had their prison terms cut in half. But the amnesty does not extend to "persons who played an important role in the preparation or the leadership of the insurrection"; that is, the November 1956 revolution against Stalinist rule.

Consequently — says the socialist weekly France Observateur — Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Istvan Bibo and a number of other writers, intellectuals, artists, as well as the leaders of the Central Workers' Council of Budapest will remain in prison for their full terms. However, Zoltan Tildy, one-time leader of the Small Owners party is being freed because of his repentant attitude and his advanced age.

"Dery is not much younger than Tildy," says France Observateur: "But this is another confirmation that the regime hits the conservative elements much less rigorously than dissident, non-conformist socialists or Communists." (Dery and Hay were leading Communist Party intellectuals, who dated their membership from before 1919.)

The case of the publicist Fekete strikes France Observateur as the most vicious of all. He is in prison because he was accused — and wrongly, at that — of having authored the "Hungaricus" document. This document, which circulated widely among Budapest left-wing intellectual circles, sought a revolutionary-socialist program for Hungary. Fekete was also charged with having forwarded a copy to Paris in the spring of 1957.

Washington Advised On How to Salvage Baghdad Pact Name

That Soviet writers are not without a sense of humor is indicated by the ironic comment in Sovetskaya Rossiya over the collapse of the Baghdad pact. The magazine suggested that the alliance, which Dulles had laboriously put together to further his "containment of communism" and "brink of war" policy, could still keep its name even though Iraq, the key piece, had withdrawn:

"There is a backwoods town called Bagdad in the State of Florida. It, too, could put up the necessary quantity of Turkish, Iranian and Pakistani officials. It would be more convenient to supervise them at close range and some saving might be made by keeping the old forms and rubber stamps."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIII — MONDAY, MAY 4, 1959 — NUMBER 18

Letters from Our Readers

New Moral Lesson Seen in Bay Area Bank Robbery

Editor:

The West Coast is currently witnessing a rash of hold-ups, particularly of banks, big and small.

The unusual feature of this epidemic is that the crooks are mostly amateurs. In fact things have gone to such lengths that a few weeks ago a woman held up a bank in San Francisco and after taking the money from one teller tossed it back to another teller.

When the police arrived, she explained: "I just wanted to see how easy it was."

The other evening while reading in the Chronicle about the latest hold-ups, two sentences caught my eye:

"One of the hold-up men was described as a Negro, about 35, six feet tall, weighing 160.

"The second man was described as white, about 40, six feet tall, with a pug nose and wearing a brown suit."

In the picture "The Defiant Ones," the two escaped prisoners grew to like and respect one another, but their integration was hardly voluntary since they were bound together by chains. The integration in this San Francisco hold-up was a voluntary partnership.

I don't advocate burglary, hold-ups, or any other form of robbery, but surely a moral can be drawn: If crooks can integrate, honest folk can do no less.

B.S.
San Francisco

TV Programs Not All Bad

Editor:

Some of my friends are turning their TV sets on less and less because of the bad programs. However, I recently saw a program that I thought was excellent in counteracting some of the propaganda you read in the papers.

It was a newscast of the textile strike in Henderson, N.C. Some of the strikers were interviewed.

First, scenes of "strike violence" were flashed on the screen. This consisted mainly of police and state troopers pouring gasoline and oil on the ground in front of the plant gates and then setting fire to it. Then came the carloads of strikebreakers careening around the flames and through the gates.

This testimony as to who is really responsible for the violence connected with the strike was more than sufficient, in my opinion, to counteract the running commentary about the "illegal" offenses committed by workers seeking to defend their jobs and standard of living against a viciously anti-labor company.

Then came the interview with the strikers. They showed that they understood very well that the reporters were trying to get them to confirm the propaganda about them being responsible for the violence. They managed instead to show that the responsibility was with the company, its strikebreakers and the cops.

N. W.
Brooklyn

Disagrees

Editor:

In your April 27 letters column, "E.H." wrote that unions are the main bulwark of capitalism. I agree that union leaders do everything they can to keep capitalism going. But if unions are the main bulwark, then why do they pass anti-union laws?

N. K.
New Jersey

A Mother Stops Running

By Joseph Keller

I've never had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Janice Smith of Manhattan and chances are I never will. But my hat goes off to her. She's given my faith in humanity and my hope for the future a big boost. There must be a lot more people like her. Anyway, I believe so.

What did she do? She sat in City Hall Park on a bench with her two children. This 23-year-old mother just sat out in the sunlight with Melissa, 4, and Kirk, 2, and calmly absorbed what passes for fresh air here, as the air-raid sirens wailed, all traffic halted and hundreds of thousands of pedestrians scurried into doorways, building arcades and subways.

It was 1:30 in the afternoon of Friday, April 17. An imaginary enemy was supposed to be waging a theoretical attack on New York state with nine two-megaton hydrogen bombs, each equal in destructiveness to two million tons of TNT. Since this was a very obliging imaginary enemy, crowded New York City was to escape a direct hit. One bomb was to drop on Glen Cove, Long Island, about 20 miles from Times Square.

Mrs. Smith didn't budge when the ear-piercing sirens let out their howls. And she just kept sitting pretty when a cop came over and said, "You know there's an air raid going on." As she recounted it later:

"I told him I knew it. He told me twice to go to a shelter and then started to take me to a paddy wagon. But, apparently, because of the children, we finally were taken to the police station in a police car instead. I think they didn't quite know what to do with us after they found I had no connection with any organization. They finally just told me to go home."

You see, she went to the park deliberately to protest. She had begun thinking what it was all about:

"Here I am teaching my daughter to run at the sound of a whistle she doesn't understand. It bothered me. Then I took her up to the school where she'll start in kindergarten next fall, and the principal didn't have time to talk to us before we had to listen to the special air raid program on the Conelrad radio stations.

"We walked home and outside our building children no older than Melissa were talking about how they were going to run for cover, and I got even more aggravated. I decided all of a sudden to go to City Hall Park. I had read about the people who demonstrate there each year and I thought to myself, 'Well, this year there'll be one just plain mother who'll protest, too.'"

So she did.

Now Mrs. Janice Smith didn't act on simple impulse. She had done some quiet thinking and had come to some very sound conclusions. She explained:

"I see no reason for war planning and preparation. I think we can work with our enemy—if we, in fact, have one, which I am beginning to question. And I also believe that if we actually were attacked we wouldn't get that much warning anyway."

Who wants to start a nuclear war with the U.S.? The Soviet Union? Why, some of our leading government spokesmen are now complaining that the Soviet Union is more of an "economic threat" than a military one. And suppose a war did start, what good would these air-raid drills be?

The Office of Civil Defense reported that a theoretical two-megaton H-bomb on Glen Cove had caused 870,000 hypothetical casualties in a Nassau County population of 1,200,000. Civil Defense Chief Robert E. Condon also estimated that 161,000 reached shelters safely and 25,000 "uncontrolled evacuees" were heading into Queens. Mayor Wagner and Condon thought this drill was "the best we have ever seen."

Of course, if some 18,000-mile per hour missiles with hydrogen bomb warheads were launched toward New York City there'd be no air raid sirens. Moreover, they might not be two-megaton but 20, 40, 60 or 80 megatons. I read in a Marquis Childs' column on April 14 that the Pentagon is planning a 60-megaton job. If one of those hit New York City, all that would be left would be a huge hole in the ground, with the ocean pouring in and deadly radiation clouds raining on folks hundreds of miles away. There'd be no one left even to compile the statistics of destruction.

I'm not advocating that people go out and make individual protests like Mrs. Smith. But I'm glad she did it, because if she was able to figure out the senselessness and futility of the war preparations then others must be doing the same thing. And when enough of us think that way and have the courage of our convictions like Mrs. Janice Smith, we are going to get together and do something to stop the whole insane business.

Notes in the News

INCREASED FALLOUT IN CANADA — U.S. officials have admitted that the northern states and southern Canada are areas of high concentration of strontium 90. Now the Canadian government has unwrapped a top secret 1958 report of the National Health and Welfare Department indicating that some areas in northern Canada have been even more heavily polluted. When questioned about the report, Ontario. Health Minister Dymond refused to discuss increased contamination of drinking milk due to fallout of radioactive poisons. He said he could see "no point in creating fear and panic of the unknown."

* * *

"LUSCIOUS GLOW"— The Food and Drug Administration has announced that it is "preparing" to ban 17 colors used in lipstick. Two years of tests proved that seven of the alluring coal-tar dyes caused "definite injury" when tested in animals. A spokesman of the agency was unable to specify which lipstick brands are poisonous. A chemist of an unnamed cosmetic house said that the dangerous synthetics might be combined with harmless colors "to produce a lipstick that was given an exotic or poetic name not descriptive of its color."

* * *

PREDICT MORE STRAWS IN WIND— The Chamber of Commerce views the recent boost of taxes in New York State as only a "straw in the wind." The Chamber reports that expenditures of state governments have risen from $7.1 billion in 1946 to $24.2 billion in 1957. State debts have gone up from $2.4 billion to $13.7 billion. Consequently all states are looking for more revenue. The Chamber believes—and it has considerable influence in making its beliefs come true—that the 50 states will levy still higher taxes on personal income, general sales, motor fuels, tobacco and alcoholic beverages.

* * *

SALES TAX ON GRAVES — During its recent session the Washington State Legislature extended the 4% sales tax to earth moving. On April 21 the State Tax Commission ruled that under this law the sales tax applies to grave digging.

* * *

WIDE TROUGH—The U.S. Treasury pours a lot of swill into the armaments-contracts trough. The favored ones get a fixed fee, plus whatever they calculate their "costs" to be. The less-favored ones get consolation prizes, it was discovered at a congressional hearing April 14. Even though they fail to win a contract, aircraft and missile companies are "paid in full" for the cost of preparing bids.

* * *

SWEAT-SHOP WAGES—A revealing light was cast on wage levels in some sections of the garment industry when the International Ladies Garment Workers Union signed an agreement with the Slate Belt Apparel Contractors Association ending a three-week strike of Pennsylvania blousemakers. The contract called for an increase in minimum hourly pay from $1.10 an hour to $1.27½, with the minimum to go up to $1.35 after one year.

* * *

SLIDING SCALE OF RENT—In Birmingham, Ala., a landlord offers a lease which ties rents to the government's consumer price index. If the index rises, so do rents. If it goes down, rents drop too. How about a similar sliding scale to protect the wage levels of tenants?

* * *

THANK J. EDGAR HOOVER—The cult of America's chief political cop includes the National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers. In a recent article the organization lauded their living patron saint for the protection bestowed from "robberies, burglaries, and embezzlements." Highest gratitude was expressed for his protective role against the "Communist" danger. Members were admonished to "become vocal and active in our defense of the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover, its Director . . . Remember, private banking cannot exist in a Communist state."

. . . Lynching

(Continued from Page 1)

miles outside town. No special precautions for protecting Parker were ordered by the judge or taken by the sheriff. And it was known throughout the county, as well as in adjoining Forrest County, where the woman in the case lives, that the Negro accused of raping the white woman was in the Poplarville jailhouse.

A possible clue to the judge's sudden action in transferring the victim to a jail that is practically a self-service market for lynchers is that the Negro attorneys defending Parker were laying the basis for an appeal of the case to the federal courts. The grounds would have been the systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries in Pearl River County where only voters are called for jury duty and where Negroes are not permitted to vote. A N.Y. Times dispatch (April 27) from Poplarville notes: "Local authorities said privately that there they were certain that had Parker been convicted his case would have been appealed to the federal courts. They conceded that the chances for overturning a conviction under the circumstances were good."

But in the early hours of April 25 a well organized lynch gang saved Judge Dale and the State of Mississippi from the worries of what was promising to be a troublesome case by dragging Parker from the unguarded jail and brutally killing him. Thus was the court docket conveniently cleared of the case of Mississippi vs. Parker.

LYNCHERS HAD KEY

The lynch gang either had been well briefed on the layout of the sheriff's office and jail or had with them people personally familiar with it. The county attorney admits that "there had to be at least two men in the crowd who knew exactly what they were doing." There was no battering down of doors. The courthouse door was unlocked by key and part of the gang waited in the courtroom. **Others had gone into the sheriff's office and without disturbing anything else took the cell block keys from the filing cabinet in which the sheriff had left them. They knew exactly which cell Parker was in and went directly to it.**

Parker pleaded with the lynchers that he was innocent. He tried to resist. He was beaten and dragged by the feet down three flights of steel stairs, his head banging on each step, leaving a trail of blood visible out to the pavement where he was thrown into the back seat of a car and driven away to what further tortures may never be known.

The official reaction to the lynching both in Mississippi and Washington is a compound of hypocrisy and play acting. Governor Coleman of Mississippi, one of the worst inciters of anti-Negro feeling in the South, sent President Eisenhower a telegram expressing the thanks of the people of Mississippi for the dispatch of FBI agents to investigate the lynching. The President replied that the FBI agents would continue to help Mississippi police in hunting for the lynchers.

'WASTE OF TIME'

But the reality underlying the hypocritical statements of these state and national politicians was expressed by a Poplarville business man, who said about the state police and FBI investigation: "Why do they waste their time when they know that even if they catch them, no jury would convict that mob."

Why, indeed, is there such a great show of searching for the lynchers, and why the statements from the officials in Mississippi and Washington?

For the racist officials of Mississippi it is a clever tactic with two aims. (1) to soften and dissipate Northern indignation at Mississippi's Jim Crow "justice" and (2) to forestall mass pressure for passage of a federal anti-lynching law. Immediately after the lynching Southern Congressmen chorused that no federal anti-lynch legislation was needed because their state laws were adequate and because Mississippi was demonstrating that Southern officials were earnestly trying to enforce them. Attorney General Gallion of Alabama told a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee that two civil-rights bills presently before it, containing anti-lynch provisions, were unnecessary because his state's laws provided sterner penalties. Since lynching is a form of murder all states have laws against it; the nub of the issue is that in the Deep South they are not enforced.

The White House statements and dispatch of the FBI to Poplarville also have the aim of forestalling mass pressure for strong civil-rights laws. Ardent statesrighter Eisenhower only recently had Attorney General Rogers further water down the administration's anemic civil rights "program." An equally important White House motive is to counteract as much as possible the effect of the lynching on foreign opinion.

Less than 24 hours before the lynch mob entered the Poplarville jail, the following statement was made to a bored Congressional committee by C. R. Darden, head of the NAACP in Mississippi. The Big Business press displayed no interest in the statement at the time and has ignored it since. Darden said: "The colored citizens of Mississippi can expect no justice, freedom or equality from state and local officials in Mississippi. Therefore we must look to the Congress to enact the necessary legislation to guarantee equal protection under the law."

Migrant Workers

Many of the 850,000 farm migrant workers in the U.S. live under conditions similar to these. Yearly earnings of adults in a family average about $1,700 and are supplemented by children working in the fields. The children thus get little schooling. Added to their parents' economic needs is the fact that many schools do not welcome migrant children.

. . . Michigan Jobless

(Continued from Page 1)

But UAW militants welcomed it anyhow because he promised the full weight of the UAW would be used to organize the jobless and give them some voice in the fight against unemployment.

Judging by the situation in Detroit, little or nothing has been accomplished in almost three months. A number of local centers have been set up, but all they do is function as semi-social work agencies, referring the jobless to welfare offices, etc.

That isn't the main need of the unemployed, and that isn't what is going to attract them. As a result, few of them go to the centers, and most of them are empty shells. The only UAW jobless organized are the ones that organized themselves before Reuther stepped in.

Reuther managed to take some of the heat off himself by his proposal for a "march" to Washington, rather than the "conference" Meany insisted on. By comparison with Meany, Reuther was able to look militant. His organizers tell the unemployed that Reuther really wants to do much more but his hands are tied by Meany and other conservative bureaucrats.

DETROIT SITUATION

Some people may believe this story, but it's hard to swallow if you see what is going on here in Detroit, where Meany has no power to stop anything at all.

Detroit is in the grip of an acute welfare crisis. 16,000 families are on relief, and additional thousands run out of unemployment compensation every week.

Detroit exhausted its relief appropriation last January, and the state took over the bill for the period ending June 30. Last week the state informed the city that no funds would be forthcoming beginning this week because of a temporary state financial crisis.

Before this happened, Mayor Miriani had proposed a budget for the new fiscal year starting July 1 that would cut the city's welfare appropriation from $8 million down to $5½ million.

What has the powerful UAW done about this crisis? It's almost unbelievable.

Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey has called it "a colossal blunder." And the UAW regional directors have written a friendly letter to the City Council, now considering the budget, in which they call Miriani's brutal attack on the jobless "a gigantic risk" and "gamble." And that's all!

WHAT IS NEEDED

If Reuther and Co. really believe in unemployed marches, in mobilizing the jobless for effective protest action, then they have a ready-made opportunity right in their lap.

They can and should call a mass demonstration in Cadillac Square or around City Hall and turn out hundreds of thousands of unemployed, to say nothing about employed workers who would show solidarity with such an action.

That's what the situation cries for, not friendly letters and polite appeals behind the scenes.

If Reuther doesn't do it, he should at least have the decency to quit pretending that he wants to go beyond Meany.

The reasons the top union leaders have failed so far to take such an elementary, necessary and EASY action are:

(1) They supported the election of Miriani and a majority of the City Council, and don't want to "embarrass" them too much.

(2) They are scared of the idea of MASS action by the unemployed, and of starting any action that will involve them in a real struggle, not mere "lobbying."

The unemployed can be organized, and be a powerful ally of the employed workers against their common enemies, the capitalists. The UAW can organize them in Michigan. What's lacking is the will among the leaders.

This is one of the key problems militant UAW members have to tackle.

TAX COLLECTOR COLLECTS

New York's Gov. Rockefeller says he is demanding a "full accounting" from a state deputy tax commissioner who divides his time between New York City and Albany. It seems that he has been collecting $7 a night for lodging and $6 a day for meals provided by his wife at his New York apartment. His wife signed the vouchers under her maiden name. The tax sleuth has been with the department for 25 years.

Mboya Charges America Puts Satellites First

By Austin Johnson

"The cost of one of your satellites is equivalent to the budget of some of our countries for the next 32 years. You would rather built satellites than to see us advance. And still you expect us to be your friends and allies."

These were among the remarks that drew applause from a packed house at Detroit's Rackham Auditorium April 23 as Tom Mboya, 28-year-old independence leader from Kenya, explained the struggle of 200,000,000 Africans for independence.

Besides his main public meeting, Mboya addressed the Detroit City Council and spoke at Wayne State University and the University of Michigan. He is on a national tour.

Introduced by Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers president, who acted as chairman, Mboya began by reminding his audience that 1958 was the turning point in Africa's history. No longer is it possible to speak of "darkest" Africa as a place for romantic safaris, he said.

TOM MBOYA

THE "QUESTION"

He posed as the "question" (the continent of Africa is shaped like a question mark), the need for people to understand the "human" problems of the African people today. Most people reach old age in Africa without even owning a pair of shoes. "Our struggle is not to get a television set, but just the simple one of a second shirt or a pair of shoes."

He was repeatedly interrupted by laughter and applause as he graphically described the failure of the "Western Powers" to appreciate what the people of Africa want. They seek an end to exploitation, he said.

In Portguese East Africa "thousands of Africans are shipped to slave labor camps." Those "who dare to ask questions are shipped by the thousands to the island of Sao Tome on the west coast of the continent. They are never heard of again."

While it is true that the European powers which "senselessly" partitioned Africa 74 years ago have "developed" us, their purpose has been purely "extractive," so that overlords in Brussels, for instance, can enjoy themselves while the Africans suffer from disease, want and ignorance.

RISE IN LITERACY

It is no longer possible, he warned, for "colonialism" to raise the argument that Africans must be first "educated" to self-government. Pointing to Ghana, he cited the fact that at the time of her independence from Britain the country was 20% literate, yet today, five years later, she is 80% literate.

He took issue with the argument that Africa must help the West defend "democracy against the threat of communism." "We in Africa know all about the power struggle between the East and the West."

When this sally was greeted with laughter, he asked, "How am I as a representative of my people going to tell them to defend democracy when they cannot get the simplest rights for themselves? They want to know, 'What is this democracy?'"

Colonialism must go, he told the audience. The people of Africa have already made up their minds to be rid of it. The question is not "whether" America should support the African freedom struggle, but "how" and "when." And the time to do so is "not five years hence, but now."

Mboya's confidence in the African people's freedom struggle was echoed by the audience. Predominantly Negro, filling the auditorium's 1,000 seats and overflowing into the aisles, the stage and entrances, they displayed the excitement and enthusiasm which the rise of the African people has inspired in them.

Seek to Deport Gov't Kidnap Victim Again

A year ago, on April 19, William Heikkila, a resident of San Francisco, was kidnapped by U.S. Immigration authorities and flown out of the country while he was in the process of appealing a deportation order. An indignant public outcry here and abroad forced the government to bring him back home. At the time the U.S. Immigration Commissioner, Lt. General Joseph M. Swing, publicly vowed he would get Heikkila deported to his native Finland if it was the last thing he did.

Swing wasn't just talking. Just a year to the day from the date of the abduction, one of his underlings in the immigration service signed an order for Heikkila's deportation on several grounds including past Communist Party membership.

At present his deportation is blocked by an injunction which is being appealed in the courts. Meanwhile, Heikkila's attorneys will appeal the new deportation order.

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

David Dreiser will speak on "Nuclear Tests—Atomic Fallout and Genetic Mutation." Fri., May 8, 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contribution 50 cents.

DETROIT

Debate! "Should Progressives Work in the Democratic Party?" "Yes," says Carl Haessler. "No," says George Breitman. Moderator: Dr. Henry Herrmann. Fri., May 8, 8 p.m. at 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND - BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4; Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

SEATTLE
1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.