

"Toward A Socialist America"

TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA. A Symposium of Essays by Fifteen Contemporary Socialists. Edited by Helen Alfred. New York: Peace Publications. 1958. \$3.50. Cloth. \$1.50. Paper.

There is a revival of interest in socialist ideas in the United States as a result of the Soviet Sputnik and of the recession. Quite fittingly the radical movement is increasing its activities and its output of literature. The book of 15 essays entitled *Toward a Socialist America* is part of that new literature.

As Helen Alfred states in her introduction, "The reader will soon discover that the contributors are not all of one 'hue' of socialist thought. Nor do they approach consideration of a socialist economy from the same, or even similar backgrounds of activity and experience. It may be said, however, that the authors are as one in the belief that the social ownership, planning and management of key sectors of production in the United States are essential, and inevitable."

ON POLITICAL ACTION

The essays are grouped under three headings: Part I, "American Workers Need Socialism"; Part II, "Transition to a Socialist Based Economy"; and Part III, "Wanted: An American People's Party." But because they are so intimately connected in reality, all three questions are dealt with by almost every author. Thus the case for socialists engaging in independent political action against the capitalist parties is convincingly presented by John T. McManus, whose essay appears in Part I.

A number of articles provide first-class ammunition for basic socialist education. Among these are Bertha Capen Reynolds' essay on "The American Family and Socialism," which is a review of the problems that beset the majority of working people in time of capitalist boom. The case for socialism that Mrs. Reynolds makes is only strengthened by the advent of the depression.

"The People and Planning," by Victor Perlo is a well-written explanation of what socialists mean by planned production for use. The author underscores that such planning will be thoroughly democratic in character.

In an article of special interest entitled "Public Power Speeds the Pace to Social Planning and Ownership," Reuben W. Borough urges socialists to draw on this country's experiences with the Tennessee Valley Authority to advocate the taking over of basic industries by regional and national public authorities similar to the TVA. "Particularly," he says, "it is important that the economy be invaded by the appropriate public authority" which would take over "this sector's subsidized 'free enterprise' corporations and their operation . . . not for national pillage, but for public benefit."

APPRAISAL OF USSR

A number of authors draw on achievements in the Soviet Union and China to prove the case for socialism. This is absolutely valid, in my opinion, where the economic successes scored by the socialized economy of these countries are adduced as evidence. (Perlo does so, for instance to indicate how planned production for use in this country would greatly increase the annual rate of economic growth over the one obtaining under capitalism.) But to claim that the Soviet orbit countries enjoy political freedom or trade-union rights, (as Perlo also does), is to weaken the argument because it flies in the face of facts. It is imperative, I believe, that socialists frankly acknowledge the lack of political freedom for working people in the Soviet Union, that they vigorously criticize that lack and that they support the Soviet masses in their struggle for democratic rights.

One contributor, Paul Sweezy, does address himself to the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union in his article "What Is Socialism?" Here, Sweezy holds that democracy will come by means of reforms from on top. Since the book was compiled, Sweezy visited the Soviet Union, and, without changing his generally pro-Soviet outlook, came to the conclusion that democratization "will come . . . not as a gift from above but as the result of struggle from below." (See *Monthly Review*, February 1958.)

Despite important disagreements that revolutionary socialists may have with one or another of the essays, this book deserves study and circulation by every radical worker.

— Daniel Roberts

An Appeal To All Socialists

Dear Friends:

There is growing evidence that 1958 is the year for American socialists to take a big step forward, unite and act together, make many new friends, and further the objective of building a reinvigorated and influential socialist movement in the United States.

Towards this end the Socialist Workers Party is urging socialist groups to combine forces and wage a campaign for United Socialist Tickets in this year's state and congressional elections.

Our members and friends have already raised the necessary number of signatures to place socialist tickets on the ballot in Michigan, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In California various socialist groups and independent radicals, have united behind the candidacy of Holland Roberts for State Superintendent of Schools.

In Chicago socialists have united around Rev. Joseph P. King's candidacy for Congressman from the Second District.

In New York State, socialists, independents and various progressive forces are discussing the possibility of launching a United Independent-Socialist Ticket in the elections for governor and senator. If such a ticket is launched and gains sufficient support (50,000 votes) the ticket would acquire legal party status.

The \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund drive, now being conducted by the SWP, will be used to advance the movement for United Socialist Tickets. The drive started on March 1 and will end May 31. Extraordinary efforts are being made by socialist workers throughout the country to raise this sum in full and on time.

Do you agree with the aim of the Socialist Expansion Fund? If you do, will you help by making a contribution? Any contribution, however small, will be deeply appreciated.

Fraternally Yours,
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Brief Tito-Kremlin Rift

By George Lavan

Relations between the Kremlin and the Tito regime appear now to be on the mend, but the lesson of the sudden flare-up has not been lost on the countries of East Europe. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that Moscow staged the whole blow-up as a way of warning these countries against seeking national independence from the Kremlin such as Yugoslavia has achieved.

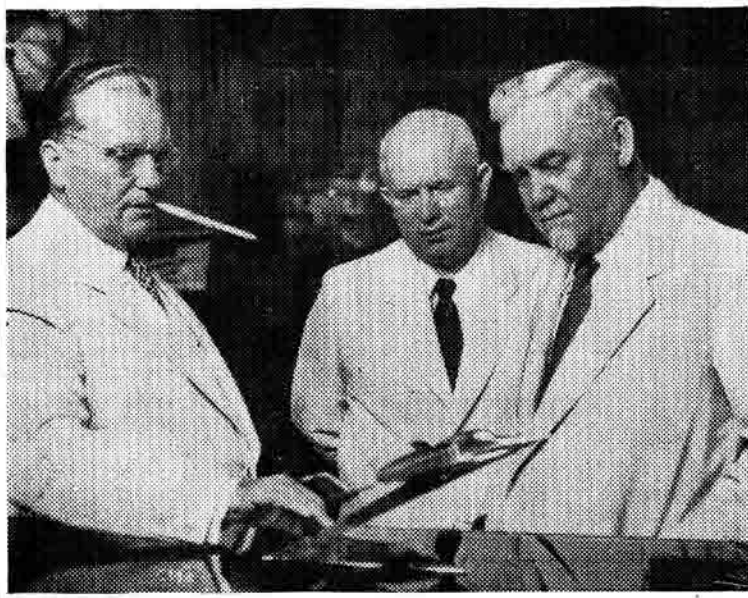
The setting was the Seventh Congress of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, the first congress to be held since the death of Stalin and the resumption of diplomatic relations with the USSR. It was to be a gala event and, in token of the growing rapprochement between Tito and Khrushchev since their falling-out over Hungary, invitations had been extended to 51 Communist Parties throughout the world to send fraternal delegations. Most had already accepted and named their delegations.

STANDARD POSITIONS

In mid-March the Yugoslavs sent out the draft of the program which would be submitted to the Congress for adoption. This 100,000-word document contained nothing new. In it were the standard theoretical formulations of their points of difference with Moscow, notably: 1) the "separate roads to socialism" position; 2) justification of Yugoslavia's neutralism by deploring the division of the world into two great power blocs; 3) equality among the non-capitalist countries rather than primacy of any one (the USSR).

While the Kremlin may not have been pleased by the Yugoslav positions, it certainly was not surprised by them. In 1956 Khrushchev had even accepted the "separate roads to socialism" formulation. After the Hungarian Revolution he had second thoughts about it, but finally a mutual truce on the subject appeared to have been worked out. The 12-nation declaration, which issued from the meeting in Moscow following last November's 40th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution, reverted to the old thesis of the USSR's hegemony in the Soviet bloc and for that reason the Yugoslav delegation abstained from signing it. But on the other hand it did sign the Peace Appeal.

Further indications of collaboration between Moscow and Belgrade were the recent visit of Hungarian puppet Kadar to Yugoslavia, the announcement of impending visits to Belgrade by Soviet President Voroshilov and by Tito to Warsaw. Thus, as far as the Yugoslavs were



Tito, Khrushchev and Bulganin, shown at time of Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation in 1955. Since then there has been: strife during 1956 Polish and Hungarian events; reconciliation last summer; sudden new Kremlin attack on Tito last month, which ended just as suddenly.

concerned, their Congress with its fraternal delegations from the USSR, China and East Europe was to mark the extent to which the Tito regime had patched up relations with the Kremlin despite adherence to its own political positions.

AMEND DRAFT
Indeed, to make its draft program more palatable to the Kremlin, a series of amendments, including one placing the blame on NATO for division of the world into rival military blocs, were publicly offered by the Yugoslav Central Committee on April 18 — four days before the Congress was due to convene in Ljubljana. This was supposed to have been done on the urging of the Gomulka regime in Poland, which as a result of its 1956 defiance of the Kremlin has achieved, not full independence

like Yugoslavia but, a semi-independence.

But the mollifying amendments did not have the desired effect. Moscow had decided to make a dramatic, public demonstration. It was like the firing of both barrels of a shotgun at once. On April 19, the day of Tito's inauguration for a new term as President of Yugoslavia, Kommunist, the magazine of the Soviet Communist Party, issued a lengthy and bitter attack on the draft program of the Yugoslav CP. At the same time Belgrade was forced to announce that all Communist Parties had cancelled their acceptances of invitations to the Congress in Ljubljana.

The unusually long (6,000 words) article in Kommunist, which was reprinted and quoted throughout the Soviet bloc, blasted the Yugoslav draft program as a gross departure from Marx and Lenin and as an example of revisionist "national communism," whose adoption would undermine the Yugoslav's position with all Communist Parties. The Moscow-imposed boycott of the Yugoslav Congress was complete, including significantly the Polish party.

TITO HITS BACK

As might be expected, the Yugoslavs reacted with anger. Tito's opening speech to the Congress was scornful of the Kremlin's criticisms and reiterated some of the Yugoslav positions which the proposed amendments sought to soften or delete. On the second day Soviet-bloc diplomats who attended solely as "observers" staged a demonstration walkout during the speech of Yugoslav Vice-President Rankovic just prior to a session which, as they could see from their advance copies of the speech, was particularly critical of the Kremlin. Only the Polish ambassador "by accident" remained in the diplomatic gallery.

By the evening of the Congress' third day, however, anxieties as to how far Moscow intended to push its campaign against Titoism were considerably allayed. Ekaterina Furtseva, a member of the Soviet CP's powerful Presidium, visiting Warsaw, told reporters that "of course" Soviet President Voroshilov would still visit Belgrade next month and that there could never be a repetition of the Soviet-Yugoslav break of 1948. "We have been and we will be friends with Yugoslavia — always," declared Mme. Furtseva.

ATTACK STOPS

Then, almost as if it were a matter of turning off a faucet, the Soviet-bloc press campaign against the Tito party was turned off. The Yugoslav Congress responded in kind. The speeches on the last two days (April 25 and 26) no longer breathed defiance of the Kremlin but rather were filled with moderation and appeals for "comradely relations." For example, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Koca Popovic told the Congress the "conflict with the Russian comrades in essence is a very good thing" because it brought differences into the open and this experience would stimulate more cooperation within the "socialist" camp. Several days after the Congress it was announced that Marshal Tito's scheduled visit to Warsaw, which had been called into question by the boycott, was on again.

New York Spring Bazaar

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

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Detroit

Friday, May 9, 8 P.M. — A talk on "Revolution in Algeria." At Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Admissions: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

King Hits Dulles on Bomb Tests

CHICAGO, April 25 — The right of the American people to decide the issue of nuclear testing was vigorously pressed in a statement issued today by Reverend Joseph P. King, independent socialist candidate for Congress from the Second District.

"In the name of the cherished traditions of American democracy," declared King, "I challenge Secretary of State Dulles' right to decide for the American people, or for humanity (as he claims), that U.S. bomb-testing shall continue."

"Dulles argues," he said, "that the Administration decided to continue exploding U.S. bombs — although the Soviet Union announced it would stop its tests — in 'fairness' to the people. When was the American people ever consulted? Yet wouldn't letting them decide whether to stop or go ahead with the testing be the really fair thing to do?"

King did not confine his criticisms to the Republicans but attacked the Democrats as well by pointing out that they



Rev. Joseph P. King, socialist candidate for Congress, Second District, Illinois.

had conducted the first tests — the atomic bombing of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hailing the great anti-bomb demonstrations now taking place in many countries, King

urged the American people to demonstrate their solidarity and friendship for these movements.

"We should make it clear to the people of the entire world that Dulles and his associates speak for the ruling clique of war-minded capitalists and not the majority of Americans," he said.

It was also announced by the Washington Park Forum, of which King is President, that a United Protest Meeting to "Ban the Bomb" will be held on Sunday, May 11, 3 p.m., at 306 East 43rd Street.

In addition to Rev. King, speakers at the rally will include: Truman Kirkpatrick of the American Friends Service Committee; Eleanor Franklin of the Women for Peace and Unity; Jack Hirsch, a socialist youth leader; Sam Kushner of the staff of the Worker; Howard Mayhew of the Socialist Workers Party; Rev. W. T. Baird of Essex Community Church; and John Hamilton, chairman of the Washington Park Forum.

Canada Socialists Trade Views

The process of socialist regrouping in Canada took an important step forward when over 160 socialists of various persuasions participated in a Montreal forum in March sponsored by the Council of Socialist Clubs. The meeting is reported in the April issue of *Workers Vanguard*, voice of the Socialist Educational League.

The Council of Socialist Clubs comprises a group of seven clubs in Montreal recently expelled from the Labor Progressive (Communist) Party. The LPP has suffered a

devastating decline since the 20th Congress under the bureaucratic control of Tim Buck. Participants in the forum included Jacques Rouleau and Henri Cagnon, former LPP leaders who ran in the recent elections as independent socialists, Ross Dowson, independent socialist candidate in Toronto, and George (Paddy) Stanton, chairman of the Socialist Educational League.

The meeting was opened by Danny Daniels, a former leader of the now-defunct Canadian Seamen's Union, one-time editor of the LPP youth, and now

Canadian correspondent for the *National Guardian*. Hailing the candidacies of Cagnon, Rouleau and Dowson, Daniels said: "We should not hide that we are socialists but openly proclaim our aims, our views, and thus let the people that are involved in mass struggles be aware that it is socialists that are fighting for the needs of the people."

In an apparent reference to his experience in the LPP, for which he had been a leading French-Canadian spokesman, Cagnon declared, "We must change all our concepts of the struggle . . . ideas we've held about the 'vanguard' which has all the good ideas, which can't err, and which has been singled out by destiny."

SOCIALIST TASKS

Bob Haddon, long-time leader of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, greeted the forum as an important step toward the unification of socialists in Canada. If the socialists were united, he said, and had a clear, firm perspective, "they could very quickly transform the situation."

Gerald Fortin, former LPP national committee member, hailed the gathering — together of forces that had left the LPP and urged them to find their way back into socialist activity to avoid political demoralization.

Stanton praised the forum as an avenue for free discussion through which "we shall hammer out a program" to forge an effective socialist movement in Canada.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
SOUTH	\$200	\$215.00	108
DETROIT	825	579.50	70
SEATTLE	550	377.00	69
BUFFALO	1500	1015.93	68
Twin Cities	1742	1136.00	65
Los Angeles	4600	2850.90	62
New York	5000	3063.70	61
Newark	265	160.00	60
St. Louis	80	48.00	60
Allentown	112	60.00	54
Philadelphia	528	286.00	54
Cleveland	750	381.00	50
Youngstown	300	150.00	50
Oakland	265	124.00	45
Boston	600	265.00	44
Chicago	1716	682.00	40
Denver	40	16.00	40
San Francisco	440	175.00	40
Milwaukee	300	83.00	28
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
General	177	52.38	30
Totals through April 29	\$20,000	\$11,720.41	59

Harriman Beats Drum For "Liberation"

By Harry Ring

Along with "massive retaliation," John Foster Dulles has made the phrase "liberation of the enslaved people of East Europe" synonymous with the drive toward World War III. But during recent years, world-wide anti-war sentiment has forced a slowing down of the U.S. war drive. This is why the issue of East Europe was not raised at the 1955 Geneva conference and why it probably will not be on the agenda of the summit conference now projected.

The Administration's tactical retreat on East Europe has drawn steady fire from the get-tough-with-Russia spokesmen in the Democratic party. The latest such attack was leveled in an April 27 speech by Averell Harriman, Democratic candidate for re-election as Governor of New York, and a man who is being touted in some liberal and radical circles as a "progressive" alternative to cold-war Republicans.

Harriman declared that the U.S. must insist that East Europe be on the agenda of a summit parley and must "keep raising the question over and over again." Castigating Eisenhower for not having made the issue a focal one at Geneva, Harriman asserted, "This must not happen again."

Inveterate Cold-Warrior

This declaration by Harriman is consistent with his cold-war record. He has frequently assailed the Administration for an alleged "softening" of attitude toward the Soviet Union, and during his 1956 bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination, his backers publicized him as one of the very first advocates of the cold war. For this multi-millionaire banker, the restoration of capitalism in East Europe by U.S. military forces — in the lying name of "liberation" — remains an unswerving perspective. His goal, however, runs directly counter to the avowed aims of the East European masses.

These masses badly want emancipation from Kremlin tyranny — there can be no question about that. But they intend to secure it without turning back the economic and social clock. They want democracy based on the present nationalized property forms. As in the Soviet Union itself, the elimination of capitalism in East Europe and the establishment of the planned nationalized economy has laid the foundation for genuine social progress. The masses of East Europe want an end to bureaucratic dictatorship precisely to proceed further with the construction of socialism.

Their deep conviction on this score can readily be understood simply by recalling the horrible conditions that existed in most of these countries prior to the post-war social transformations. Recall the blighted, semi-feudal economy — the tyrannical, pro-fascist dictatorships, including Horthy's in Hungary, Pilsudski's in Poland, the reactionary regency in Yugoslavia and Iron-Guard rule in Rumania.

To Whom Is Harriman Pitching?

One is given a forecast of what the restoration of capitalism in East Europe would mean by noting the activity of the various cliques in this country who present themselves as representatives of mythical "governments in exile." They are the vilest, most vociferous advocates of "preventive war" against the Soviet Union and of heightened witch-hunt hysteria. New Yorkers were given a taste of their politics when the Hungarian group led by Bela Fabian tried to disrupt an anti-nuclear test rally and Fabian sought to smear pacifist leader A. J. Muste as a "Kremlin agent."

Yet it is precisely these groups that Harriman is pitching to with his demagogic talk about bringing "freedom" to East Europe. His speech was delivered to a gathering of the nationalities division of the Democratic Party as part of such a vote-catching operation.

The people of East Europe, along with the people of the Soviet Union, will finally win their political freedom. But they will do it without the Harrimans and against the Harrimans.

Those in this country who recognize how progressive this will be, can best lend their support by building an effective political opposition to both Democratic and Republican cold-war parties. Among other things, such a movement will help assure that the people of East Europe can settle accounts with the bureaucrats without risk of being exploited by Wall Street and its political spokesmen.

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TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA

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Editor, Helen Alfred

Authors: Stephen H. Fritchman, Bertha C. Reynolds, John Howard Lawson, John T. McManus, Broadus Mitchell, Herbert Aptheker, Paul M. Sweezy, Carl Dreher, Victor Perlo, George Olshausen, Scott Nearing, Reuben W. Borough, Homer Ayers, W. E. B. DuBois and Philip S. Foner.

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An Injury to One

That labor has a vital stake in defending the Negro people against racist attacks is something that socialists have steadily maintained. Every act of violence against the Negro people—and against the Jewish people, too—is a blow ultimately aimed at the unions. Labor cannot stand by idly but must act in accordance with the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

The truth of this proposition is amply demonstrated by the organized campaign of terrorism launched in past weeks in major cities in the South. It is directed simultaneously against Negroes, Jews and unionists.

The Jacksonville Jewish Center and a Negro school, the James Weldon Johnson School, were both dynamited in Jacksonville, Florida, April 28. On the same day an unsuccessful attempt was made to blow up a synagogue in Birmingham, Alabama. Also on April 28 a death threat was made against Wallace Marlowe, president of Local 1197, Amalgamated Motor

Coach and Electric Street Car Workers, now on strike.

The newspaper, the Florida Times Union, received a call, April 28, from the same person who told of the bombings. The anonymous caller said, "I just wanted to tell you we would have blown up the Labor Temple 48 hours ago (Saturday) when it was full of people if our fuse hadn't gone bad, and we're going to succeed this time. We want to get at that Wallace Marlowe especially. We're going to get him, too."

Who are the authors of this violence? It is no secret that the White Citizens Councils in the South abet violence and that the Ku Klux Klan perpetrates it. To these racist organizations is now added a third outfit called the "Confederate Underground."

The FBI claims lack of jurisdiction and refuses to investigate. Defense against the racists must be organized jointly by the labor movement and the Negro and Jewish people. Union leaders in the North must rush aid to help them achieve this.

The Accra Conference

To the chagrin of the Wall Street imperialists and what are now their junior partners—the British, French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese colonialists—the wave of anti-imperialism continues to roll on. It started in Asia at the end of World War II, inundated the Middle East a few years later and now is penetrating Africa.

A new high-water mark is the recently concluded conference of African states in Accra, the capital of Ghana. There the foreign ministers of the United Arab Republic (Egypt, Syria and Yemen), Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana met for two weeks. The coming together of the independent Arab and Negro nations marks a great step forward in the struggle for a completely independent Africa.

Fittingly, the conference seated Algerian freedom-fighters and demanded that France end its military occupation of their country and that the U.S. stop direct and indirect aid to that occupation. Spokesmen for the independence movements in the Cameroons and Italian Somaliland also addressed the conference.

The conference denounced white supremacy in African colonies and South Africa, called for increased economic, cultural and diplomatic cooperation between member states, a foreign policy of "non-entanglement" with the great power blocs, and an end to the production and testing of nuclear bombs. These were the resolutions of a new and important force—nations representing a third of Africa's 200 million people. And this force will grow. The nationalist movement in Nigeria has already forced from Great Britain a promise of independence in 1960 and five days after the conference's close the independence forces in French Togoland won a smashing election victory.

The promise of this first conference of African states was well summed up by Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, in the closing words of his keynote address: "Today we are one. If in the past the Sahara divided us, now it unites us. And an injury to one is an injury to all of us. From this conference must go out a new message—Hands off Africa! Africa must be free."

Socialism's Appeal in Asia

Speaking at an anti-colonialism rally April 24, Indonesian President Sukarno told his cheering audience, "The dangers of the A-bomb and the H-bomb—all born of the capitalist system—should be wiped out." Declaring that the movement to accomplish this end was growing rapidly, Sukarno said: "The new era will be marked by socialism and the brotherhood of man and the fall of capitalism and imperialism, which is an historical certainty."

Sukarno's declaration is a dramatic testimonial to the socialist consciousness that now pervades the ranks of the Asian national independence movement. His remarks assume particular significance in that he is himself not a socialist but a spokesman for the Indonesian capitalist class. Resisting the continuing pressures of Dutch and U.S. imperialism, Indonesian capitalists would be helpless without the support of the Indonesian masses. Consequently, they are increasingly compelled to speak in terms of the socialist future

which the Indonesian people are determined to achieve.

The revolutionary direction of the Indonesian workers was sharply expressed during the period of the nationalization of various remaining Dutch holdings last December. The Indonesian government, which first saw the move as a means of exerting pressure on the Dutch for further improvement in economic relations, found they were faced with swift independent action by the Indonesian workers who were taking over Dutch holdings in their own name. To stem this movement the government had to step up its own nationalization efforts.

It is now reported that Washington is much concerned by the socialist declarations of Sukarno whom they were hailing yesterday as another Thomas Jefferson. Their concern is not so much with Sukarno as with the Indonesian masses whose intentions are mirrored in Sukarno's speeches.

Program to Fight Unemployment

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

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

Philadelphia Students Meet on Right to Travel

PHILADELPHIA, April 27— "Preserve the Right to Travel" was the subject of an all-day conference at Houston Hall of the University of Pennsylvania today. The meeting was held there after the University's International House canceled the scheduled use of its hall on the ground that the subject was too "controversial." Despite this action by International House, Cy Doman, its Program Director, acted as chairman of the meeting. More than 50 people attended the conference, including students from Swarthmore, Drexel, Temple and local high schools, as well as from the U. of P. itself.

Speakers were David Cohen, national chairman of Students for Democratic Action; Attorney Bart Harrison of the American Friends Service Committee; Dr. B. Bodde, professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania; and Ben Daniels, one of the students who traveled to China last year in defiance of the State Department ban.

David Cohen declared the right to travel is directly related to academic freedom and urged support to the stand of the National Student's Association for long-term student exchange with China.

INHERENT RIGHT
While the right to travel is not specifically mentioned in the U.S. Constitution or Bill of Rights, Bart Harrison explained, it is in fact a part of British common law which U.S. Courts recognize. Travel, he

said, is an inherent right, not a "privilege" to be granted or denied by the State Department.

Dr. Bodde discussed the other side of the problem—the difficulties of getting into this country. He said the American people are suffering culturally and scientifically as a result of stringent entry regulations. He declared his belief that anyone has the right to travel, including members of the Communist Party.

Ben Daniels said that he and those who traveled to China with him, are fighting for the return of their passports. He emphasized that they didn't violate any law in traveling to China, that the only issue involved is arbitrary State Department regulations. These regulations are now being challenged in the courts.

After a vigorous pro and con discussion, a right-to-travel resolution was adopted and a temporary committee set up to rally support on the issue from the various campuses in the area. Following is the text of the resolution:

"We, the participants in a Conference on the Right to Travel held in Philadelphia, April 27th, recognize that our right to travel has been restricted by the U.S. State Department.

"The revocation of these passports represents an abrogation of Constitutional rights: as related to students—it attacks academic freedom and the free-

dom of speech portion of the First Amendment; as related to newsmen—it attacks freedom of the press as stated in the First Amendment and is a violation of the right to 'life, liberty and property' with protection of due process of law.

"We, therefore, call for the return of their passports to the visitors to China and for the restoration to the people of America of their right to travel."

Socialist Club Wins UCLA Campus Rights

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—The recently-formed Eugene V. Debs Club at the University of California at Los Angeles has won an important civil liberties victory and will now be permitted to use campus facilities for public meetings even though it staunchly maintained refusal to turn over its membership list to university officials.

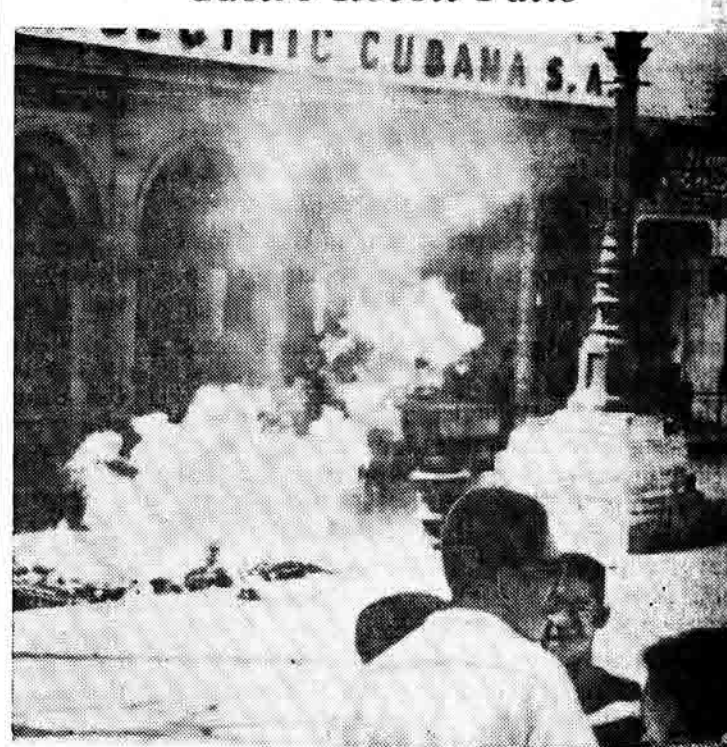
The Debs Club, a socialist discussion group organized in the fall semester, was supported in its fight by the student group of the American Civil Liberties Union, which also won campus privileges recently under UCLA's new Regulation 17. Only the Debs Club was asked for a membership list.

In protesting the membership list requirement, the Debs Club wrote to the Dean of Students: "The right of free assembly and association is voided with the required submission of membership and attendance lists, whose potential use for later recriminations already constitutes a present form of intimidation, serving to frighten people from gathering with others of similar interest. . . .

"We believe that a reputation must be built for UCLA as a university where everything in the way of ideas is welcome for the sake of intellectual investigation, as an arena where a fast-maturing generation of youth can train itself to think and analyze the enormous problems facing it."

Elated by their victory, the Debs Club plans a campus meeting, April 25, when they will have as their speaker one of the 41 students who went to the Moscow Youth Festival and then to China, thereby risking their U.S. passports.

Castro Revolt Fails



Flames shoot from a gas main, broken during street fighting in Havana in last month's abortive Castro-led revolution against Batista's dictatorship. Cuban government sources claimed at least 40 rebels were killed in the capital. Most of Havana population did not support the rising.

Cuba Enacts Cruel Laws Against People

By Lillian Kiesel

After the recent failure of the attempted overthrow of his regime by Fidel Castro, Cuban Dictator Batista has been cracking the whip over the people.

A state of "national emergency" has already existed since April 1 when Castro declared "all-out war" against Batista. It will be in effect until May 15 and gives Batista unlimited powers including authorization to assume the legislative functions of Congress.

On April 26, the Cuban dictator suspended such basic constitutional rights as free speech and free assembly for another 45 days. This means that, except for territory in Oriente province held by the Castro forces, the Cuban people have had democratic rights for only 45 days this year—and these mostly on paper.

JAILED FULL
"Throughout the island," says the April 28 New York Times, "jails are full and the armed forces continue to arrest youths suspected of being connected with the 26th of July Movement led by Castro." Censorship of press and radio, which is considered the tightest in the history of the country, continues.

In addition, Batista's cabinet dissolved all boards of education because the majority of members are known to be opposed to his regime. The student youth movement, which constituted one of the strongest sections of support for Castro, had been on strike for months before the attempted revolution. Finally, all military academies have been placed under the control of the defense ministry.

The need to redouble the repressive measures testifies that the determination of the Cuban people to free themselves from Batista's tyranny is far from spent. Actually, the motive for popular revolution is ever-present, as the Wall Street Journal, which is pro-Batista, admits.

But far worse could happen, too. The Cuban workers and farmers could take advantage of democratic freedoms to organize against U.S. exploitation and end it once for all.

Pauling Pamphlet On Effect of Tests

EVERY TEST KILLS. By Linus Pauling, New York, Liberation, 16 pages, 10 cents.

The pacifist magazine, Liberation, has performed a useful service in making available in pamphlet form this article by the Nobel prize-winning bio-chemist which originally appeared in its February, 1958, issue.

A courageous fighter who has sparked the anti-bomb movement among scientists, Dr. Pauling provides a hard-hitting exposure of the lying propaganda designed to conceal the terrible results of nuclear testing. He also presents a stark picture of the meaning of nuclear war.

"It can be estimated," writes Dr. Pauling, "that in a third world war as many as eight hundred million people would be killed by the blast, fire and immediate radiation effects of the nuclear bombs. . . . hundreds of millions of seriously defective children would be born in succeeding generations, and the human race as we know it might cease to exist."

Dr. Pauling is concerned not only with such a ghastly possible future, but also with the toll already being taken by nuclear explosions. On the basis of available statistics, he calculates that "the testing of

nuclear weapons will have an effect on the health of human beings that are now living equivalent to causing one million people to die ten years earlier than if the tests had not been conducted. . . . the probable effect of bomb testing at the present rate would be to increase by 5,000 the number of seriously defective children born each year."

With the AEC about to explode more superbombs in the Pacific, the American people will do well to ponder these words by Dr. Pauling: "The leader of a nation testing nuclear weapons should know that when he gives the order to explode a superbomb. . . . he is probably dooming 1,500 people to die of leukemia, tens of thousands more to die of bone cancer and other diseases, and 100,000 seriously defective children to be born in future generations."

Every Test Kills

By Linus Pauling

10 cents

Order from:

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116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

High Court in N.Y. Upholds Teachers' Refusal to Inform

APRIL 30—An important victory was won this week when the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, April 28, upheld the right of three New York City school teachers, a principal and a clerk to refuse to become stoolpigeons.

The five, plus Prof. Charles W. Hugh of Hunter College, were suspended from their jobs in September 1955 for refusing to name past associates as "Communists."

The New York City educators have been subjected to prolonged persecution. Former State Commissioner of Education Lewis A. Wilson issued a stay against the suspensions on the ground that "a Board of Education is without power to require a teacher to answer

questions relating to possible knowledge of other persons who may have been associated with the Communist Party." Subsequently Commissioner James E. Allen Jr. took the same position. The New York City Boards of Education and Higher Education, however, continued the attempt to impose the infamous "inform-or-else" policy on the City. The State Supreme Court backed the teachers, and now has been supported by the Appellate Division.

The Teachers' Union wired those responsible for the long persecution of the teachers: "We trust the Board of Education will accept the Appellate Division's unanimous affirmation of Judge Taylor's opinion as final . . . and reinstate the five school employees. . . ."

... Colleges Hear Myra Weiss

(Continued from Page 1)

involved; then after getting involved, contended that victory would secure the world for democracy and end all wars. "Their record of prediction demonstrates that they either understood nothing or consciously deceived the people with their propaganda. Lenin alone correctly characterized the epoch in which we live as one of 'wars and revolutions.' The years that followed Lenin's description of our age demonstrated again the validity of the science of Marxism."

WHAT MILITANT SAID

To show that Marxists today have also shown their scientific grasp of contemporary history, Mrs. Weiss described the popular mood that followed World War II. "Everyone rejoiced," she said, "for the bloodshed had ended and once more the world was 'made safe for democracy.' But the Socialist paper, the Militant, voiced a discordant note. Following V-J day the Militant came out with a banner headline that said simply: 'There Is No Peace.' All too soon, unfortunately, the Marxists were again proved correct."

Then Mrs. Weiss explained the economic necessity for expansion under capitalism and the resulting conflict between separate economies. "The road to peace," she concluded "lies in the struggle for socialism which alone can unify the world."

A lively discussion followed. Most of the questions, as at the other student gatherings, centered around the problem of preventing the development of an oppressive bureaucracy in a socialist America.

The radio interview following the student meeting also discussed the question of peace. In addition Mrs. Weiss was questioned about the economic situation, civil liberties and the problem of corruption in the labor movement.

Mrs. Weiss was accompanied by a representative of the Young Socialist Alliance, Mrs. Martha Wohlforth, who distributed the Young Socialist



MYRA TANNER WEISS

and discussed with interested students the question of organized socialist studies on campus.

HOW TO WIN FREEDOM

At Wellesley, Mrs. Weiss spoke on "Socialism and America." Her central theme was the struggle for freedom, "not merely juridical freedom, fought for and won by past generations, but a great new freedom,

including freedom from fear and freedom from want. This kind of freedom can be won only in the struggle for socialism."

Mrs. Weiss was especially pleased that students at the all-women's college of Wellesley were so interested in controversial political questions.

At Brandeis University, she was advertised as speaking on the question: "How Can We Successfully Compete Against Communism." Mrs. Weiss pointed out that the title misrepresented her views. "This question might interest the U.S. State Department and Big Business, but it certainly doesn't interest the socialists," she said. The task is to "end competition and begin the era of world cooperation. If we fail to accomplish this task, another war may mean the end of civilization."

PAR FOR COURSE

A few headlines in the April 12 N.Y. Times: "Economy Trend Continues Down," "TV Actors Warn on Strike Hazard," "AEC Shuts Zone in Pacific to Bar A-Bomb Tests," "Rebels Blow Up Cuba Arms Dump," "Eisenhower Begins Golfing Weekend."

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 831 Main St.
CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.
DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.
LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.
MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin 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 Campaign Hdqtrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.
SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Open Wed. 4-6 P.M.; Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.
SEATTLE
655 Main St. MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.

Who Profits from Farming?

Industrial unemployment and soaring food prices are making some workers envy the farmers who, they believe, are "cleaning up." Well, the millionaire farmers, the farm corporations and the food processing companies are cleaning up, but the working farmers and farm laborers are having a rough time. The former are being squeezed off their small farms, the latter barely exist on their miserable wages. This accounts for the estimated drop in the U.S. farm population in 1957 of over a million. Since 1950 the exodus totals over 4½ million. So today there are only some 20.3 million persons living on farms.

The 1954 U.S. census counted less than five million farms. Of these the big ones—a mere 3% of the total—had over 22% of the acreage, produced over 31% of the total output, and employed more than 20% of the two million farm laborers. On the other hand one million small farmers (who operate over 1/3 of all the commercial farms in the country) had a gross (not net) income of less than \$2,500 a year.

But what about all the federal money that goes to the farmers in subsidies, etc.? Little, if any, goes to the family farmer and none to the farm laborers. But the big boys get theirs. Over \$500 million in direct cash payments went principally to corporation farms last year in the "soil bank" program. One "farmer" alone received over a quarter million dollars

(\$278,187.38, to be precise) last year under that program.

In contrast, some 118,000 small farmers with no other source of credit received \$342.5 million in loans (not payments) from the Farmers Home Administration last year. The average loan was less than \$2,000.

The billions in federal farm aid go to the big farms and corporations while the disappearing family-sized farms get mere crumbs. It is even worse for the farm laborers. With no minimum wage, maximum hour laws, unemployment compensation or social security to protect them, they live in the best of times on the narrow edge of starvation. A bad break in weather—a freeze or flood—let alone a man-made disaster like a recession, can push them over the brink. Thus the crop freeze in Florida brought this: "... Whole families are forced to live in the open ... Many are making homes in cardboard and other kinds of makeshift shacks in the woods ..." (Miami Daily News, Feb. 22, 1958). Floods followed by a cold wave brought this in Tennessee: "... Literally thousands of farm families in the 'Mississippi bottoms' area actually are hungry and facing starvation unless help comes quickly ..." (Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Jan. 12, 1958).

The above facts and quotations come from a report of the National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 E. 19 St., New York 3, N.Y., an organization which deserves the support of all class-conscious workers.

The Expendables

By Ted Kovalesky

First comes the unbelievable shock, sound and fury of the blast, then the flames spreading out in a great, growing circle. Then comes the dust, a burning poison that settles inexorably down upon the broken and charred earth and upon the dead and upon those yet living. They call it radioactive fallout. It scars and cripples and kills.

This tiny sketch describes briefly the detonation of a hydrogen bomb. It might be New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Buffalo or Boston crushed under the explosion. Your own home, the factory where you work, might be part of the rubble, or it might be ... nothing, nothing at all, completely and totally erased from existence.

But let us complete the picture. What comes next?

Next come the expendables. Driven from such miserable shelter as they could find, collected and herded together, they creep out through the poisoned murk to commence the task of cleanup, rebuilding, or decontamination. They are the men of forty to fifty years of age. They are expendable.

Fantastic? Horrible? It is both. But it is more. This is a plan already projected by an officer of the U.S. Navy's Radiological Defense Laboratory at San Francisco; and if the imperialist rulers of this land continue their drive toward war, you may live to see it put into operation.

Capt. A. R. Behnke explains it this way. The young would be kept temporarily in shelters. They must be safeguarded so that they will be fit for breeding purposes later on. But men in their forties or fifties would be "used" in the first despairing attempts at reconstruction. The captain feels that genetically men of this age are pretty well washed up.

And in addition there is the matter

of cancer. The exact words of the New York Post, which presented Capt. Behnke's plan to a somewhat less than eager reading public, were: "As to the middle-aged men, exposure to fallout might (!) carry a cancer hazard, he said, but the men would be of such an age at the time of exposure that they might well live out a close-to-normal life span and die of something else before cancer had time to develop."

The captain is bold in matter but mild in manner. If you are forty or fifty years old you may be thrown out to work in a cloud of radioactive poison. But you don't have too much longer to live anyhow, so what's the difference? You'll probably be lucky enough to die of something else anyway before the radiation-induced cancer has time to kill you.

The cold-blooded captain's plan brings to mind many things. First, there is the matter of civilization and progress. Certain ancient tribes used to drive their aged members out to die. They had to. The aged could not contribute to the welfare of the tribe, and life was so hard that no one who did not contribute could be supported. It was a stern necessity that the rest of the tribe might live. But we are supposed to have advanced beyond such savagery. And surely men of forty, or even fifty, should be able to contribute to society in this day and age. But no, they are expendable.

And it also brings to mind a slogan we used to hear a great deal a few years back: "Life begins at forty." At forty, the idea went, you really began to live. The words have an ironic ring. Under the decaying capitalist system we face with increasing frequency the alternatives of war or depression. In a depression a man of forty is unemployable. And in a war, he has become expendable.

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The Heikkila Deportation

1,300 Lobby In Capital for Jobless Aid

By Gordon Bailey
NEW YORK, April 29—Over 1,300 members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union demonstrated in Washington last Tuesday to demand Congressional action on the recession. A special train brought over 900 union members from New York, while another 400 unionists converged on Washington from all parts of the East and Midwest.

The mass delegation came to Washington to fight for passage of the AFL-CIO anti-recession program of tax cuts, extended unemployment benefits, and a public works program. These unionists were particularly concerned with passage of legislation extending coverage of the minimum wage law and raising of this minimum from \$1.00 to \$1.25 an hour. Many workers in the retail trades are making less than a dollar an hour.

The nearly 1,000-man delegation from New York made an impressive spectacle marching from their special train through Union Station in Washington carrying banners demanding action to "Put America Back to Work."

However, the demonstration assumed a more passive character as the delegation filed into Georgetown auditorium to hear speeches by union leaders and Senator John F. Kennedy.

International President Max Greenberg expressed confidence that the Democratic leadership in Congress would take the initiative in anti-recession action. He placed particularly high hopes in Sen. Kennedy of Massachusetts. However, Kennedy, who was introduced with a standing ovation from the platform, spoke more of the difficulties of getting legislation passed than of steps being taken by Congress to meet the economic crisis.

After the speeches the delegation broke up into smaller groups to call on their Congressmen.

Representative Edna Kelly, Democrat of Brooklyn, who was visited by a group of about 20 unionists, would talk only with a delegation of four. She pleaded lack of space although all 20 were already in her outer office. While promising support to the AFL-CIO program, she expressed regret that the workers had gone to the trouble and expense of calling on her in Washington. "You could have seen me any Tuesday at my office in Brooklyn," she said.

In reply a unionist expressed the sentiment of the entire delegation. "We went to the trouble and expense of coming to Washington," she said, "in order to impress on our representatives our determination to get some action on the problem of unemployment."

Want Justice for Morton Sobell



Poster symbolic of first 6,400 signatures to initiate new national appeal for Sobell's freedom is held by Mrs. Rose Sobell, Morton's mother, and Helen Sobell, his wife. At left is the Rev. Peter McCormack, former Protestant chaplain at Alcatraz, now speaking for Sobell's freedom. Petitions can be obtained at the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York City.

Hold Successful Meets For Sobell in Michigan

DETROIT, April 29 — Helen Sobell's visit here last week produced both new and revived interest in efforts to win justice for her husband, Morton Sobell, victim of the cold-war witch hunt.

A well-attended meeting at Central Methodist Church gained scores of new volunteers to work with the local Sobell committee. Mrs. Sobell was introduced by Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, who urged the audience to "develop a sensitized conscience and develop the olfactory senses so that you can smell injustice."

The case was also introduced to many young people who had never heard of it before. Mrs. Sobell spoke to Eastern Michigan College students at Ypsilanti, University of Michigan students at Ann Arbor, and Wayne State University students in Detroit.

In addition, she met with a number of prominent figures in Detroit, obtaining important new signatures to the appeal to the President for executive commutation or a new trial for her husband.

A half-hour interview with Mrs. Sobell was taped by Station WJR, and a 15-minute interview was made by the university station, WDET.

Publicity on the case appeared in two of the three daily papers, the Jewish News, Glos Ludowy, FOR News and the Wayne Collegian. The Detroit News article ended with

the true words: "The most famous spy case of this century will not fade easily."

Detroit Forum Group Plans Symposium

DETROIT — A symposium on "The 1958 Elections and Socialist Perspectives" will be held here at the Central Methodist Church, Woodward and East Adams, on Thursday, May 8, at 8 p.m.

It is sponsored by a committee for a United Detroit Forum, which ran a symposium on the war question last month.

The questions to be considered will be: To what extent should labor support the Democratic Party? Is a labor party possible at this time? What about independent socialist candidates? What are the important issues in the 1958 campaign? By what method can the cause of peace and socialism be best advanced?

All radical groups have been invited to send speakers. The Socialist Workers Party has already indicated that it will send one.

Public Hits Govt.'s Gestapo-Like Tactics

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, April 26 — Mass indignation in this country, an international black eye and a judge's declaration that it smacked of "the Gestapo and the rack and the thumb screw" brought a deported alien home today. William Heikkila, born 52 years ago in Finland and brought to this country as an infant, was returned home by the U.S. Immigration Department whose officials kidnapped him eight days ago and had him flown out of the country.

The bare facts of what happened to Heikkila were enough to make people wonder if they were living in the 20th Century. He was accosted by Immigration agents as he stepped from the building where he works, forcibly thrown into "a black limousine," sped to the airport, put on an Immigration plane to Canada, there held incommunicado in prison under another name, and then flown to Finland.

His wife and attorney were denied any information as to his whereabouts; demands for information met a wall of silence. Even a federal judge was unable to squeeze any information from tight-lipped Immigration officials. But popular indignation unsealed the government's lips and compelled it to reveal the scandalous facts of the kidnapping. What came to light moved Senator Hennings (D-Mo.), to castigate the episode as "reminiscent of gangland's one-way ride."

COURT ACTION
The battle to get Heikkila back home was waged on several fronts, including effective court action that won an injunction against deportation and a contempt citation for the Immigration official directly responsible.

Widespread publicity on the case deepened public anger as the whole story became known. Heikkila had but a dollar and a half in his pocket when he was seized and was not even wearing a top coat. In the Canadian prison hospital where he was held incognito, he was denied medicine he needed. His protests against the treatment being accorded him and even his requests for information were met with threat of physical violence.

Heikkila is not the first person to be hustled out of the country in one of the Immigration Department's planes. Only

Defense Group Hits Deportation Policies

The Workers Defense League has urged immediate action for the passage of legislation to prevent repetition of abductions by the Immigration Department as in the case of William Heikkila. The demand was made in the form of a letter to Senator Hennings (D-Mo.), who has pledged to push for such legislation. Signed by Norman Thomas, honorary President of the League, and Vera Rony, National Secretary, the letter cited previous cases in which it had acted, cases which demonstrate that the brutal treatment of Heikkila was not an isolated episode.

The letter recalled the case of five Indonesians who were deported prior to Indonesian independence and have never been heard from again, a Polish refugee from Soviet prison camps saved from deportation only because he attempted suicide at the airport, and a Dominican who escaped deportation only because the car taking him to the airport broke down, giving the League just time to obtain a temporary stay of deportation.

Last February, Martin Jimenez was forcibly returned to Mexico under similar circumstances. If the airplane seat that Heikkila occupied could talk it would tell a story of thousands of Mexican workers flown to the border and dumped there without any regard to due process of law. The significant and heartening aspect of Heikkila's case is that this is the first time that the Immigration Department has been compelled to admit its "mistake" and return the victim.

Further, the Congressional investigations promised as a result of this international scandal can expose the whole reactionary Immigration Department set-up and attack the source of the evil — namely, the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act.

"I Too Am A Heikkila Case"

(The following are excerpts from a letter published April 29 in the New York Post.)

May I offer you my deepest appreciation for your exposure of the Heikkila case. ... I am greatly concerned with this revelation of such news to the American people because I believe that if they knew the sordid police methods being used by our Immigration Dept. they would rise with indignation and demand a change.

I know because I too am a Heikkila case. I was brought here when I was a year old. I was under the impression that my parents were naturalized, but I found out differently when I reached voting age. I applied for citizenship; I never received it because, under the McCarran-Walter law, I am considered a terrible, dangerous subversive.

During the depression I had liberal ideas and wanted to do something about unemployment. In 1934, I was charged with having Communist ideas. I was arrested six years ago and have been forced to report to the Immigration people every week. I must report whom I see, what I do and where I work.

I have been hounded and fired from five jobs because my employers were frightened after immigration officers queried them about me. I am so restricted that I cannot travel more than 50 miles away from the city without special written permission 48 hours in advance. I must tell them where I stay and whom I see. I must report to the police wherever I go.

I have not had anything to do with politics for 20 years. I have children born in this country, yet I am in danger of being deported any moment. It is only through my last-ditch efforts in the courts that I am allowed to remain here — the only country I know.

I too face the sudden fear of sudden kidnapping as happened to Heikkila. I never know when two men will suddenly pounce on me and cart me off on some plane bound for a country they claim is supposed to be mine. I know my family would be deprived of all my help and support.

I belong to no organizations. I associate with nobody that is the least radical. I am isolated from people and ideas that are controversial. I have to be. Because otherwise when I report for my weekly immigration visit they could clap me in jail for violating my parole conditions. ...

This is why I feel so deeply about this Heikkila matter. Someone somewhere must look into the McCarran-Walter Act and the methods the Immigration Dept. uses to confuse it. ...

For obvious reasons I cannot sign my true name. The Immigration Dept. would seize me instantly, suspend my parole and throw me out of the country. Please understand.

NAME WITHHELD

How Racism Smashed the Strike in Southern Town

By John Thayer

In its Jan. 30 issue, United Paper, the monthly organ of the AFL-CIO United Papermakers and Paperworkers, has a very interesting article by its editor, Henry Paley. It is a five-page history of unionism in the town of Bogalusa, Louisiana. Histories of union locals, particularly in the South, are all too rare considering the valuable lessons to be learned from them. Valuable not merely for students but for the organizers who will have to do the job from which the AFL-CIO leadership so far has flinched—unionizing the South.

UNION COMMUNITY
Bogalusa is an exception to the rule. It is a small city in the Deep South where a union has achieved stability and considerable influence in community affairs. The story calls it a "model union community." Yet it has a bloody history.

Originally it was a company town owned by the Great Southern Lumber Co. which typically was owned by Northern capital and had its headquarters in Buffalo, N.Y. In 1918, on the crest of wartime demand for paper and wood products, Great Southern was coining money out of Bogalusa. It had there the biggest lumber mill in the world; the minimum wage was somewhat below 30 cents an hour; it owned the

houses, doctors, town officials, newspaper editor, etc. The atmosphere then somewhat resembled the one we know today: production was spurred by appeals to "beat the Huns," there were spy scares, and witch hunts for pacifists and pro-Germans.

COMPANY MOVES

So when the first union organizer came to town in the spring of 1919 it was a simple matter for the police to arrest him on suspicion, "find" a package of blasting caps in his suitcase, and with the cooperation of the Department of Justice run him out of town.

Nevertheless, union ideas, which were sweeping the whole U.S. that year, filtered into Bogalusa. The company tried to forestall their effect with two "voluntary" wage increases, bringing the minimum wage to between 33 and 35 cents an hour. It also boosted rents on the company-owned houses and deductions for medical care.

Unionism spread and that fall the company started firing and evicting known union men. Then it began a lockout. Scores left town, an unknown number changing their names in an attempt to escape the blacklist the company circulated to the rest of the industry. The lockout became a strike when the powerhouse, railroad and maintenance crews walked out on

Oct. 19, 1919.

The AFL Carpenters Union, which took over leadership of the strike, tried to remain within the limits of the South's Jim-Crow code by putting the workers into separate white and Negro locals. "There was no race issue in the strike. ... our whole fight was to get a decent living," white survivors of those days in Bogalusa still declare. "There was no talk of race mixing. The colored had their union and we had ours."

The Negro workers swallowed this bitter pill apparently on the grounds that a segregated local was better than no local. Thus the AFL strategists had every reason to believe they could carry on a straight economic strike without entanglement in the race issue. Hadn't they disarmed the white supremacists by setting up separate locals? Hadn't they nonetheless achieved harmony between Negro and white strikers?

Unconvinced, the bosses saw in the race issue the Achilles' heel of the union struggle. The back files of the Bogalusa Enterprise & Examiner, the company-dominated newspaper, show that with the lockout the race issue became a regular and prominent feature. Stories of lynchings in nearby communities appeared and were played up. A local forerunner of the American Legion, called the

Self-Preservation and Loyal Legion, was formed. Composed of company management personnel, KKK elements and war veterans (there were more vets in the strikers' ranks, however) it tried to play both sides of the streets. It promised protection to Negro workers who would return to work and at the same time it made forays into the Negro community hunting for Negro union leaders.

PLAN LYNCHING

Thus on Nov. 21 an armed group of Loyal Legionnaires went to the home of Sol Dacus, president of the Negro local. The newspaper reports this incident as follows: "He [Dacus] is charged with having been very active in agitating the Negroes. A committee went to his home on Friday evening to notify him that his presence in Bogalusa was no longer desired. Dacus was not at home but is reported to have gone to the swamps on receiving the news." The story ominously referred to Dacus as a "bad Negro," a description which the paper that year reserved for those destined to end as victims of lynch mobs.

Dacus hid that night and next day got word to the officers of the white union local. Two of them, carrying arms, escorted him through town to the white local's headquarters

— a garage belonging to local president "Lum" Williams. Upon learning this, the police issued a warrant for Dacus and his two defenders and gave it for serving to a group of 15 to 20 Legionnaires. Carrying rifles and shotguns they converged on the garage as the plant blew its "riot whistle."

Six white unionists were trapped in the garage — apparently they had spirited Dacus away before the posse arrived for he was never seen in town again. Of the unionists four were killed, the other two wounded.

TERROR AND JIM-CROW

The massacre began an all-out reign of terror. Remaining union officials were thrown out of Bogalusa and upon their return run out again. The press and the Loyal League beat the drums of white supremacy. The workers were divided and the union crumbled.

Where is there a clearer example of the bosses' use of racism to smash a union? Where is there a clearer example of the futility of trying to appease the racists or deprive the bosses of the weapon of racism by setting up segregated locals?

Unionism disappeared in Bogalusa until 1933. Efforts to organize then began but didn't bear fruit until 1939 when the first contract was won after an NLRB election. Different man-

agement and the prospect of wartime orders apparently led the company to recognize the union without a strike. But the full story hasn't yet been written because the present union has not been through the test by fire that overwhelmed it in 1919. Would it survive such a test today? That is impossible to state in advance. But such a test is an ever-present possibility for a union in the open-shop South.

TWO LOCALS

One weakness that the article in United Paper glosses over is that even today the union has two locals — Local 189 for white workers and Local 189-A for Negro workers. This self-division of a union is an open invitation to the bosses to complete the division. Moreover, actual test cases, such as that of the Louisiana sugar workers organized by the Packinghouse Workers Union, show that an integrated local can triumph in the battle that smashed the Bogalusa paperworkers in 1919.

There are other shortcomings in "The Bogalusa Story" in United Paper. For example, it quotes the white workers' views on the "model union community" but neglects the views of Negro workers. Despite such obvious defects the article has sufficient merits to deserve a reading by all union militants and fighters for Negro equality.