

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

Mob Assaults Civil Rights Fighter On Streets of Birmingham, Alabama

Racists Beat, Nearly Kill Negro

Another horrible beating of a Negro champion of civil rights took place in April.

Charles Billups, aircraft worker of Birmingham, Alabama was set upon by a white gang, blindfolded, tied to a tree, and beat unmercifully with chains, belts and sticks on his naked back, thighs and legs. Billups is a totally disabled veteran of World War II with a steel plate in his head.

The well-known Reverend Shuttlesworth, a close friend of Billups, and two others were able to go to his aid after the hoodlums had left him more dead than alive.

It was Billups who had first laid hands on Shuttlesworth before he emerged from the blasted wreckage of his bombed home on Christmas night 1956. It was Billups who was with the original fighters in the famous bus boycott.

More recently, Billups has fought hard to upgrade Negroes in the plant where he works—the Hayes Aircraft Corporation. He has succeeded in getting Federal investigations into the company's segregation policies (due to the company having Federal contracts).

His attackers taunted him with the details of his plant activity as well as his previous achievements. They were clearly a part of the over-all master plan of the white supremacists to keep the Negro down in the South.

This vicious attack follows closely up-

on the outrageous chain-gangging of Asbury Howard Sr. and the mob violence against his son who went to his defense. The Billups attack took place only a few miles from the home of Howard. The unconcern of the police and the negligence of the Federal authorities should be a loud alarm bell to all the Negro people and their white friends.

Once more the question of self-defense is raised in letters a mile high.

Civil Rights Defense Guards can and must be built. Every Negro youth, every white progressive, every class conscious

END THE TERROR!

Let's DO Something;

Organize Our Own

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE GUARDS

Set up Interracial Units Now

SAVE NEGRO LIVES!

worker must join together to defend the civil rights of the Negro people. The hoodlum element, the slime of white society must be put firmly in its place. No more Asbury Howard cases! No more Charles Billups beatings! Build Civil Rights Defense Guards NOW!

Lynch Mob Raids Jail Drags Youth to Death

Vicious Whites in Mississippi Torture Negro While the Sheriff Looks the Other Way

Poplarville, Miss.—On April 18, 25,000 white and Negro school kids from North and South trooped peacefully to Washington, D.C., and picknicked together on the Capital's lawns. Exactly one week later, a mob of vicious white adults in Mississippi tore 23-year-old Mack Charles Parker out of prison, clubbed him, and probably killed him with their merciless torture.

Eight or nine whites out of a larger group of blood-mad degenerates entered the unguarded jail and attacked Parker with sticks and pistols. They clubbed him half to death in front of the other prisoners, and then dragged him by his

other prisoners could hear his anguished screaming above the roaring motor and the shouts of his tormentors.

The sheriff, W. O. Moody, did not explain to reporters why the jail was left unguarded. (Parker's abductors got the key to his cell by breaking into the sheriff's office through a window in the courthouse.)

Moody said he had no idea that a lynch mob had been forming. But Parker's lawyer had asked that the trial be changed to another district because the chances of his getting a fair trial in Poplarville were so slim.

Parker had been arrested on the age-old Southern charge of "rape" which no informed Northerner, white or black, can take seriously in the South.

No white man in Mississippi has ever been executed on a rape charge, and generally speaking, Negroes are accused of rape as part of the Southern pattern of mixing sex with persecution. The handiest way to inflame a large number of Southern whites against the whole Negro race is to holler rape.

Poplarville is the home of the late infamous Senator Bilbo, the racist enemy of the working class and all progressive humanity.

New Struggles Now Shaping Up For 30 hr. Week at 40 hrs. Pay

There are 4½ million people out of work in the United States. And industrial production is nearly at the all-time high it hit in August, 1957.

Hundreds of thousands of auto workers are out of work, while the auto companies are making more profits than ever. Tens of thousands of steelworkers and their families are suffering—and steel is back at near-capacity production.

Children in New England are going hungry and the textile mills are rolling again. Kids in Pennsylvania are facing starvation, and the strip mining machines are taking the coal out of the ground twice as fast as before. Capitalism is not breaking down yet. But the workers are. They have got to pick themselves up—and fast.

Capitalism will never put all these workers back to work without a war—unless there is a universal 30-hour week. The 30-hour week at 40 hours pay is absolutely necessary for every worker. Education, organization and ACTION are needed to get it.

Many workers think it is impossible to win a 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay. Some think the capitalists could not afford it. Some think it wouldn't be practical. Some even suppose that people wouldn't know what to do with themselves if they got off too early in the day!

But these Calamity Janes are wrong. Years ago our fathers and grandfathers worked 10 hours a day and 12 hours a day—for 6 days a week, too!

And they didn't make nearly as much as we make today in a forty hour week. They didn't have telephones, TV sets, stream-lined automobiles, and a lot of other things. They had to work longer

to get less!

Today, working less hours, the workers produce more things, and live better besides.

Tomorrow, working still less hours, we can produce still more things, and live a thousand per cent better, if we work it right.

Educate. Organize. ACT—for the 30 HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY!

heels to the waiting mob outside.

The other prisoners could hear the sickening thumps as Parker's head bumped down the steel stairs of the jail on the way out.

Parker was still alive, however, as he was bundled into a getaway car. The

Ky Governor Calls Troops — Against Workers, Not Racists!

Two thousand National Guard troops, under the orders of Democratic Governor A. B. Chandler, have invaded the mining centers of east Kentucky with machine guns and tanks.

The miners there have been on strike for eight weeks against the rapacious mine operators and have gotten exactly nowhere with their demands. The miners asked for bread—and the Governor has given them a stone.

The capitalists claim they give the working people "democracy." But democracy means "rule of the majority." The workers and Negro people are in the majority, but they have no troops. The troops are only at the disposal of a wealthy minority.

It broke the capitalists' heart to use the troops at Little Rock, because they were not defending the rich. That's one reason Little Rock made such big headlines. Chandler's action against the poor is taken for granted.

Chandler is worried about an "unruly" crowd of pickets (as he calls them) who are fighting the rich. But neither he nor Governor Coleman of Mississippi thought of calling the troops against the "unruly" mob who were busy lynching one of the poor last week.

And neither the miners of Kentucky nor the Negroes of Mississippi should expect them to do so. They would do a hundred times better to build their own defense guards, and build them fast.

Jobless March as Wall St. Frets

The Conference of the Unemployed called by the leadership of the AFL-CIO was held in Washington on April 8 and marked another step in the struggle of the working class against the capitalist crisis of unemployment.

Up till now, the trade union bureaucracy has refused to mobilize any type of mass pressure to focus attention on this problem. They have been content to present their gentlemanly proposals through the usual channels of memoranda to legislators, respectfully requesting their consideration.

The sharpening offensive of the big corporations and the steadily swelling ranks of unemployed workers finally goaded the labor bureaucrats to get halfway out of their arm-chairs and begin to act.

The conference was limited to official representatives from unions in only fifteen major industrial areas in the East and Middle West. But it did succeed in putting the national spotlight on the issue of making and maintaining a decent living. The meeting was kept under strict control by a leadership which would not permit much mass participation either in attendance or speaking program.

The leadership was forced by the pressure of the great unemployment crisis to urge Congress to adopt the measures for a new minimum wage law, more unemployment compensation, public works, more defense contracts, and a shorter work week. This limited program, with the exception of war ex-

penditures, should be supported.

In urging adoption of its program, the bureaucracy was forced to criticize somebody for the depression. It laid the blame, not on the capitalist system, but on the Republicans and conservatives in Congress and the White House.

The rank and file at the conference expressed themselves, however, even though they were kept off the platform. The signs they carried spoke louder than the leaders' phoney speeches. Members of Local 3 of the United Auto Workers led the campaign for 30 for 40. Their paper caps were covered with slogans which effectively drew the attention of reporters from the Wall St. Journal, if not of the labor bureaucrats. The demand for "Jobs for All" permeated the entire meeting.

WORKERS WORLD

Editorial office:

46 W. 21st Street, New York, N.Y.

Editor: Vincent Copeland

Manager: Dorothy Ballan

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TROTSKY



LENIN

Pressure of "Public Opinion" Too Much for Militant

The "democratic socialists" as the Militant editors correctly describe themselves, are beating an orderly retreat on the question of Tibet.

For two weeks they exposed the bourgeois lies and exaggerations on the reactionary uprising in Tibet. Then they printed (issue of April 27), with obvious editorial approval, a long, wishy-washy defense of Tibetan "self-determination." It was actually a formula for left-handed support to the world bourgeoisie. It was written by Colvin R. de Silva, of the Ceylonese "Trotskyist" Party (really a left Social Democratic organization).

The Militant's five-column headline—"Asian Public Opinion Disturbed Over Tibet"—is a good petty bourgeois description of this petty bourgeois article.

De Silva, like the Militant, is more sensitive to the pressures of "public opinion" than to the revolutionary needs of the international working class. He quotes the official Yugoslav paper, Borba, as an authority for the "Asian public opinion" he is talking about. (Of

course, the bureaucrats of European Yugoslavia are the best experts on bourgeois opinion in Asia!) And he credits Nehru as being the best authority to prove that there was no reactionary intrigue for Tibet in India.

Nice middle class old ladies have great faith in the bourgeois Mr. Nehru. But one would never have suspected that the "revolutionary" de Silva would be equally credulous.

The truth is that de Silva has become a left Social Democrat. He may lead a militant struggle from time to time in Ceylon. But he bases himself on Ceylonese bourgeois nationalism, not on proletarian revolutionary internationalism.

True, he has suddenly discovered "self-determination" for feudal, theocratic Tibet. But he has not, to our knowledge, advocated self-determination for the super-exploited Tamils, oppressed by the bourgeoisie of his own country. Heaven save us from this kind of internationalism!

Pressure of Khrushchev Too Much for Vanguard

In our first issue of Workers World, we gave the writers of Vanguard some "Food for Thought." The food seems to have choked them, although we really didn't intend it to do so.

They became so excited by it that they attacked us as "counter-revolutionary," while they forgot to explain to their readers just what makes us counter-revolutionary, or wherein we act counter-revolutionary.

They say we claim to be different than "other Trotskyists." But we didn't make any such claim. We are THE Trotskyists. We stand one hundred per cent with all the principled positions of Leon Trotsky, the most revolutionary communist since Lenin.

We think the "other Trotskyists" are as far away from the road of Trotsky as Vanguard is from the road of Lenin. But that is neither here nor there as far as the writers of Vanguard are concerned, because they don't know what we, or the "other Trotskyists" are talking about. And what is more, they are afraid to find out.

They are afraid to find out the truth about Trotskyism because they are afraid of getting in wrong with Khrushchev. Let any Vanguard reader who doubts this consider the following facts: Vanguard attacks the CPUSA for conciliating with the reformist Social Democrats. But Vanguard fails to mention that Khrushchev himself advised the CP to do this at the famous 20th Congress.

Vanguard attacks the CP for taking a wobbly position on the class struggle road to socialism. But Khrushchev said in 1956 that many countries would not require the Leninist road to socialism. He has not to this day declared that the United States is one of those which does require the class struggle road. But

Cruel Blood Donors

White blood donors (35) from Colp, Illinois, traveled 250 miles to give "O" type blood in a live transfusion to eight-year-old heart patient Priscilla Harrison (who is Negro).

Jet Magazine informs us that these same whites refuse to let their children attend school with Priscilla.

How sad. They sacrifice to mend a strange child's heart. But they bring up their own children to have no hearts at all.

Vanguard closes its eyes to the "mistakes" of Khrushchev, and the powerful Soviet leadership (while it storms against Foster and the tiny American CP which only carries out the Moscow line).

Vanguard attacks the CP for supporting the Democrats in the recent elections. But neither Khrushchev nor a single other Soviet figure has attacked the CP for it. Vanguard blithely ignores this deviation—in Moscow.

Vanguard like the Chinese CP, supports the Algerian government-in-exile. But Khrushchev does not. No word on this from Vanguard, the doughty fighter against the American CP.

Vanguard correctly supports the Chinese communes. Both Khrushchev and Mikoyan reject the communes as "ultra-left." But Vanguard, the uncompromising guardian of revolutionary purity, has only the kindest words for these two Soviet bureaucrats.

Vanguard is a leftist paper. And its supporters no doubt want to be revolutionary. But many CP members, too, want to be revolutionary. The trouble is that they identify the revolutionary movements of the world (including the Russian Revolution itself) with the bureaucratic leadership of the Soviet Union. To the extent that these "Communists" are revolutionary, they are in contradiction to their bureaucratic leadership. But they themselves cannot understand this contradiction.

We do not blame the Vanguard writers for their lack of understanding, of course. But we do blame them for their lack of courage. They cannot build a revolutionary party worth anything at all without political courage. The most important qualification for a revolutionist is that he must be able to stand up on his own two feet and tell the truth, no matter what. ("Everything in existence must be mercilessly criticised" said Marx.)

But the Vanguard leaders are afraid to cut themselves off from the Kremlin. They are afraid of being alone. They began by thinking that they would get Kremlin approval as the "true" Communist Party. And their leaders will end by crawling back to the official CP which does have Kremlin approval—or they will disintegrate still further and make their peace with capitalist society, like their former friends, John Gates and Howard Fast.

Sunday Worker's Bourgeois Hero

The Sunday Worker fell like a ton of bricks for the capitalist propaganda about Castro being a Communist.

In their issue of April 19, the editors hail him as the giver of freedom to the Cuban people. True, they say he is to the right of Franklin D. Roosevelt (who in their opinion was practically a Communist too). But they hail him as the leader of a "1776" and the distributor of land to the masses (not mentioning that the masses will pay for this land as they do in other bourgeois "land reforms").

They answer the false accusation that Castro is some kind of stooge of the Kremlin. But it's easy to see that they really think he is the next best thing to it.

They couldn't be more wrong. Just one day after the Worker hit the streets, Castro told the National Press Club members in Washington, D.C., and told them very clearly, that he guaranteed the "rights" of U.S. investments in Cuba. And to guarantee these "rights" Castro will have to turn against the revolution that put him in power.

The difficulty with the Worker editors—as with most of the radical movement—is that they are unable to separate the movement from the man. They can't separate the progressive struggle against imperialism from its treacherous native bourgeois leadership. They see the glittering native bourgeois hero (Castro), and fail to see the gray pro-

letarian masses who fight under him.

It is one thing to shed your blood, as the Worker says the Cuban CP did, against Batista. It is quite another thing to give political support to the new candidate for Batista's job. It is right and absolutely necessary for the workers to fight against the Batista reaction. And it is right to accept the aid of the liberal bourgeoisie to do so. But it is wrong, it is fatal, to build up the liberal bourgeoisie politically, and to teach the workers to have confidence in them.

The CP made this "mistake" with Chiang Kai Shek in the 1925-27 Chinese revolution. They gave him all-out political support and merged their programmatic banners with his. Stalin even allowed him to be a member of the Communist International (over the opposition of Trotsky). As a result of this build-up, the Chinese CP was disarmed, both mentally and physically. And Chiang massacred a whole generation of Chinese Communists with relative ease.

Today Nasser has repeated the Chiang Kai Shek double-cross on a smaller scale. (But the CP has learned nothing from the experience.) And Castro will inevitably take the same course because he has the same class position. He is a bourgeois nationalist leading an anti-imperialist revolt. This revolt can only go forward to communism or backward to defeat by its own bourgeois leaders. That is the iron law of the colonial revolution today.

To the State Of Massachusetts

by THEODORE KOVALESKY

[Boston, April 13—The Massachusetts House decided to uphold the action of a generation ago and refused a posthumous pardon of Sacco and Vanzetti.]

To the legislature of the State of Massachusetts, May Day greetings!

Your delicate sensitivity has earned our undying gratitude. You were faced with a choice, and you chose well and honorably. We congratulate you.

It was during this past month that there came before you a bill to grant a posthumous pardon to Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti, two former residents of your august state. These two men were not native to Massachusetts. They were born in Italy and immigrated to America. The state of Massachusetts gave them a home. The state of Massachusetts furnished them with employment . . . from time to time. And the state of Massachusetts delivered to them finally the supreme gift of death in the state's own electric chair.

You have a tradition to carry on, sons of the state of Massachusetts. There are certain lines that gentlemen do not cross. And you have stood fast. You have been true to that tradition.

Nicola Sacco was a worker, a shoemaker in one of your factories. He was a good shoemaker, but that is not to say he was always permitted to work. We understand these things, gentlemen. He was a radical, an anarchist, and you, or perhaps your fathers, frequently black-listed him.

And Bartolemeo Vanzetti . . . he was better known, and thus he found no employment at all. In order to live (for even anarchists desire to live, gentlemen) he became a fish peddler and pushed a little cart through the streets carrying his wares through the neighborhoods of the poor.

But these two men lived for more than work. They were agitators. They spread among the workers of your state doctrines of brotherhood. They said it was wrong that workers of one country should slaughter workers of another in those wars which you have found so profitable. They said it was wrong that one man should live in want while another glutted himself with those luxuries you find so pleasant. They said that the workers, the poor, should band themselves together and wrest from your prehensile fingers the wealth which they have earned in your sweatshops. They were a voice that stirred up the people. And they were a danger to men such as you.

It was easy for you or perhaps we should say people like you, your fathers, possibly to send the police after these

two men. It was easy to accuse them of a murder you knew they never committed, a murder we know they never could or would have committed. It was easy to convict them and sentence them to die and be forever silenced. So it was done.

But difficulties arose, didn't they? Workers throughout the entire world came to their defense. Your predecessors were aghast at what they had commenced. But your eager hiring, Judge Webster Thayer, clamped his old jaws together and was unmoved. Your Governor Fuller permitted an investigation of sorts to be held . . . and obligingly re-affirmed the death penalty. Cops, neither more nor less brutal than those you always hire, smashed with their clubs the heads of men and women who paraded in protest against the legal murder being committed by your sires.

A genius, honorable gentlemen, may spawn an idiot. A man should not be condemned for the guilt of those before him in blood lineage. But class lineage is another thing. Thirty-two years have come and gone since electricity provided by the state of Massachusetts seared and blasted the life from the bodies of the poor fish peddler and the good shoemaker. And a generation of defenders of capitalist law and order have deposited and removed their gross posteriors from the seats of the legislature. But class lineage tells. You are your fathers' sons.

And so, lawmakers of Massachusetts, we applaud your sense of fitness in rejecting the plea of one of your more naive members, that you should grant posthumous pardon to these two long-dead, yet immortal, enemies of all that you stand for.

You have shown that you know your place. The epithet, murder, shall be applied to our murdered brothers until we ourselves wash it from their names.

And on this day, this May Day, we ourselves honor those to whom our honor is due. Sacco and Vanzetti died for us, for our class. Your class murdered them. The Haymarket Martyrs died for us at the hands of men like yourselves. The list is long. We do not name them all. And there will be still more. We trust you to arrange that.

But you do not act with impunity. We watch you, and our memories are long. On May Day we review the past. We scan the future. We try on the world for size and find that it will fit. But it will no longer be cut to your measure. And when your names are mercifully forgotten, the very children will know of Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti.

Youth at DC Defiant for Integration Despite Lack of Militant Leadership

It was the biggest gathering of boys and girls ever to come together in such a progressive cause. It was a monumental achievement that no future set-back can erase. It was a victory that can never be taken away.

Twenty-five thousand young Negro and white students invaded Washington on April 18 with high spirits and high hopes for ending school segregation in America.

From all over the country they came—from the North and from the South—sloganned banners flying as high as their hopes—laughing faces revealing their complete innocence about the vicious and cynical capitalist politicians they came to see.

It was not their fault that trusted leaders like A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King put a respectable damper on the whole proceedings. It was not their fault that their pleas to the President fell on deaf and callous ears.

A delegation of only four students was allowed to quietly enter the White House. And then only a couple of minor flunkies bothered to talk to them. The President did not even condescend to trot out the usual demagogues to address the big crowd at Washington Monument.

Everyone knows how false a capitalist politician's promises are. But it has become a common practice in Washington for the big shots to leave their cocktail parties for a few minutes and make their promises to much smaller delegations than the Youth March. The bigger the delegation the bigger the politician who is sent to spellbind them. The lack of any such speaker in this case took on the character of a studied insult.

Even the miserable stooge-king of Jordan, the redoubtable (and reactionary) Hussein, was greeted at the airport last month by nearly every big notable except Eisenhower himself.

Hussein does not even represent the majority of his own small country's population of two and one half million

people. The Youth March represented at the very least, the sentiments of more than twenty million American Negroes, to say nothing of the enormous number of whites who also attended. But Vice-president Nixon and Christian A. Herter (now Secretary of State) did not see fit to greet the integrated American youth as they greeted the reactionary "youthful king."

The young marchers were unaware of the insult, however. They did not understand the situation. (Although their adult leaders understood only too well.) The youth were only waiting for their leadership to tell them what to do.

The majority of them welcomed the demands of the Workers World which was distributed widely at the March. Many boys and girls, some from the deep South, were enthused about the Workers World idea for a "sit-down" in Washington.



And they responded heartily to the more militant slogans in the March. Most of the slogans were obviously written by teachers or scout-masters—such as "Integration Means Better Education," "Integration Makes Better Citizens," etc. But slogans such as the Buffalo delegation displayed were greeted with cheers on all sides. "100 Years is too Long to Wait: Integrate." And a big box sign printed on one side as follows: "In Africa men are in chains; in the South they are in Chain Gangs." And on the other side: "Free Asbury Howard and son NOW!"

The assembled thousands of youth

wanted to do something. But the leaders' main concern was that the youth should not do anything. A. Philip Randolph, officiating at the huge Washington Monument meeting, saved his militancy for an explosion against the Workers World,



not (perish the thought!) against the government that conspires to keep the Negro people in second class citizenship.

Neither Martin Luther King, Jackie Robinson, nor even the African nationalist Tom Mboya, who also spoke, suggested any concrete program for achieving school integration. That is, no other program except that of depending on the very politicians which were at the same moment giving them the brush-off!

At the end of the long meeting, Bayard Rustin, a militant pacifist, and main

practical organizer of the March, saw that the drooping spirits of age had finally affected the youth too. He made an attempt to wind up the affair with some fighting optimism. His speech was good. But by this time, even the more credulous youth were dubious.

Those who remembered the main headline of the Workers World had something to think about in the long journey back home. "Don't Take No for an Answer; Stay Here Until Ike Says YES."

Papers All Greet Us

The Workers World has been properly received by the bourgeois press with brickbats and complaints.

Both the New York Times and the Washington Post, in their Sunday editions (April 19) took note of the fact that the Workers World was distributed at the Washington Youth March for Integration the day before. The Afro American, dated April 26, also noted our action.

The Times and the Post emphasized that the leadership of the March had nothing to do with the Workers World, and gave its readers the idea that we were subversive infiltrators. The Afro American added that we had "embarrassed" the respectable petty bourgeois leaders.

The unkindest cut of all though, came from that once Trotskyist paper, the Militant. Its editors printed—without comment—the letter of some right wing socialist-anarchist anti-Sovieteer, accusing us of . . . plagiarism!

(It seems that she put out a mimeographed bulletin called Workers World during 1954 and 1955.)

WW Distributors Defy Hecklers at L.A. March

by JOHN PENN

Los Angeles, April 23—Since the last issue of the Workers World was directed toward the Youth March on Integration in Washington, we here in Los Angeles decided to distribute a copy of the paper at our own local Youth March which was being held on the same day.

We felt that distributing the paper would show how concerned our party is with the Youth March. Also, we felt that the paper might give the youth some ideas, and they might march downtown with their signs so the workers could see them—instead of confining the march to walking in front of an empty City Hall on Saturday afternoon.

When we came with our paper and began distributing it, some of the "leaders" of the march came up to us and said, "get out of here."

We told them that we were distributing a paper which was aimed at helping the march. We offered them a copy and said, "if you read the paper, you will see what we mean." We also stated that we had no intention of getting "out of here," and that we intended to stay and distribute our paper.

These "leaders" were taken aback by this. They thought we were supposed to leave. They started looking hard at us and said again, "get out of here."

We didn't bother to answer them. But they kept following us and everytime we would stop distributing for a second, one of them would jump in front of us and with a purple-face shout, "sectarians, infants, Communists, Marcyites. You ain't gonna recruit any of our people. Get outa here."

We pointed out to these democrats from the SP-SDF that we were exercising what they are always preaching about, that is, our democratic right to distribute literature. We explained that while we are Communists and Marcyites, they are using the terms in a red-baiting way.

We also pointed out that we are not sectarians, but a working-class political party; whereas, they are a dainty middle-class political party, and because of this we might appear sectarian to them. Finally, we told them that we didn't expect to recruit any of their people because we felt that professional capitalists to capitalism wouldn't be interested in principled working-class politics. "Our main purpose today is to help the

youth attain their demands."

At this point the capitalist newspapermen came and all the SP-SDF leaders went running after them. While the capitalist newsmen were taking pictures of the march, the SP-SDF "leaders" were explaining how they were "leading" the March. They further explained how dignified and respectable they were, and how they hoped that they weren't antagonizing anybody. Then they pointed at us and said that they weren't like those "awful communistic Marcyites." At this point the capitalist newsmen and an FBI stooge became interested in us, and began taking our pictures.

Since we showed our courage in the face of these pressures, the state-department socialists then went to some of the young marchers and said to them, "those guys over there passing out that paper are Communists. They are ruining the march. People will think that you are Communists too." This red-baiting got some of the young marchers riled up, and it appeared for a second that physical violence might break out.

The capitalist newsmen, the "socialist" leaders, and an FBI stooge then held a huddle. First they explained to each other how much better they were than us. They stewed in their self importance for about 10 minutes. Then they came over to us, and all together began their attack. They called us everything. (The SWPers and CPers silently watched.) They red-baited us. They threatened violence. They could not think of abuse vile enough.

We stood our ground as working-class politicians should. We told them precisely what they were in no uncertain terms. We said that "we are the most loyal and devoted fighters for the Negro struggle and the emancipation of the oppressed. We will not butter up to the enemy newspapermen, and the enemy political cops. You guys have made a career of stabbing the worker in the back."

At this point the "leaders" of the march told the youth that the demonstration was over, and that they should hand in their signs.

After the march was over and I thought about all the events, I concluded that we witnessed on this California Saturday afternoon the coming American revolution in miniature form.

Atlantan Faces Death In Phoney "Rape" Case

Atlanta, Ga.—A most glaring and outrageous miscarriage of justice is now agitating the Negro and a large portion of the white, community here.

Melvin Smith, age 21, is facing death on May 8 for the alleged "rape" of two healthy white girls on the same evening in their own apartment. They are 19 and 24 years old respectively. Other members of their family were in the apartment at the time and heard no screams or disturbances.

There is no doubt that the girls were visited by a young Negro male. (But plenty of doubt who the young man was!) According to reliable informants, some neighbors saw a Negro leaving the apartment in the morning and mentioned it to the girls with knowing glances. The girls replied that they had been robbed, and only later decided that they had been raped.

Smith, the father of three children and voluntary guardian of two of his dead sister-in-law's children, was seized upon as the assailant, but first charged only with robbery. When the charge was changed to rape, the robbery was forgotten by the prosecuting attorney.

Philip Slotin and Dan Copeland, white attorneys for Smith, made mince-meat of the girls' testimony, and succeeded in getting a "hung" jury and a mistrial. Just one juror held out for conviction against eleven who voted for acquittal. (The jury was all white of course.)

Smith was so poor, however, that he

was unable to pay the lawyers for their services. And these services had already cost them a good deal out of their own pocket. They walked out of the case after it was called a mistrial, leaving the future conduct of it to court-appointed William Tapp, assuming that Smith would be easily acquitted.

But Smith was found guilty in the second trial. Apparently Tapp only went through the motions of defending him, and the new jury was more backward, or more ignorant of the case, than the first.

Original trial lawyer Slotin, could not understand the verdict: "I just couldn't believe the jury would level such a sentence after listening to the overwhelming evidence indicating the exaggeration of the girls' stories."

(Slotin, of course, may not be a native Southerner, and may not understand that individual "guilt" or "innocence" has nothing to do with the matter. The idea of the backward whites on the jury is to tell the whole Negro race that it is death to go near a white woman.)

The Atlanta World has now taken up the case, and has launched a great campaign for a new trial. It has exposed the raw injustice in almost daily stories, organized a defense committee, and raised a fund of over \$5,000 to rehire the original lawyers and bring succor to Smith's destitute family.

Send donations and resolutions of organizations to Atlanta World, Atlanta, Ga.

An Open Letter To Tom Mboya - -

Dear Brother Mboya,

We waited with baited breath for your talk at Carnegie Hall in New York last April 15th. The place was packed, with standing room only. The audience was the most militant and enthusiastic in years. You are the symbol of their hopes and aspirations for a free Africa: an Africa that is free from the centuries-old enslavement of the British, the French, Dutch, Belgian and American slaveholders, who have robbed, raped, and exploited the entire continent for their own selfish purposes.

Your speech, however, fell far short of what was required on that historic occasion.

In the first place, Brother Mboya, you should have looked carefully at the list of sponsors for your tour in this country, the so-called American Committee on Africa (ACOA) which sponsored Africa Freedom Day.

We are referring to James A. Farley, Mrs. Wm. Randolph Hearst, and multi-millionaire Angier Biddle Duke, just to name a few. These people never lifted a finger to help the Negro people in America. They are friends of the southern Dixiecrats like Lyndon Johnson, Sam Rayburn, and Sen. Eastland.

Why are they interested in a "free Africa"?

He's your enemy!

Take Mr. Farley—he's not just another sly politician. He's the former Board Chairman of the Coca Cola Company, a symbol of hatred in all Asian and African countries. He is one of the contact men for the House of Morgan, one of the most powerful billionaire families in America, responsible for exploitation not only in Asia and Africa, but the Caribbean countries and Europe as well.

When he got on your Committee, it was not to free Africa—that's for sure. His chief value to the House of Morgan lies in the fact that he knows how to deal with Dixiecrats like Eastland, and can also be at a birthday party for a "socialist" like Norman Thomas, who is also on your Committee. Think that over, Brother Mboya.

Next, consider Mrs. Wm. Randolph Hearst, multi-millionaire owner of one of the most powerful chains of newspapers in the world, which for years, poured out the vilest stuff about the

"yellow peril" in Asia. Is she now interested in Black Freedom?

Then you have multi-millionaires like the Angier Dukes, who draw fabulous dividends from their investments all over the colonial world.

You know better than anyone else that the African revolution is marching on, irresistibly, and that it is no longer a question as to *whether* the European Powers will be ousted from Africa—but *when*. The cunning men of Wall Street, who run the U.S. and oppress the Negroes in America, know that too, and only too well. Their chief purpose is to replace the European exploiters with the American type. Their whole idea is that when the French, Belgian, and British are ousted, the Americans should be put in their place. It's simply a case of one group of robbers and pirates trying to replace another group.

In their eyes, Africa is just one huge piece of real estate, to be bought or sold for their profit.

Wall St. plans African Harlem!

You do not have to guess what Africa will look like if the U.S. robbers replace their European counterparts. You already know. There is the living example of Liberia. It is nothing more than a subsidiary of the Firestone Rubber Company and Republic Steel. No more than 15,000 rich landholders and officials ruthlessly and mercilessly exploit the entire population in their interests. You undoubtedly also know Prime Minister Tubman of Liberia. You know then, that he is nothing more than a miserable stooge for these monopolists, and that he has kept his people down all these many years, and that poverty and hunger, misery and filth reign supreme in Liberia.

What the African Committee wants is to turn you into a Kenya version of Prime Minister Tubman. Surely all your life's struggle would then be in vain if that terrible tragedy should take place. But that's what they are up to.

In your mind, however, as in the minds of many honest nationalists from Africa and Asia, you are merely seeking the support of American capital to get the Europeans off your back. Now, it is your absolute right and *duty* to use all your skill and ingenuity to divide in any manner whatsoever, the European and American exploiters of Africa in

order to attain even the most limited form of freedom. But to become a *sup-porter* of one or the other is something else again.

Don't yield to your exploiters!

The wily capitalist politicians who arranged your Carnegie Hall meeting, had as their two great objectives: 1) to get you to commit yourself, even if only partially, against China and the Soviet Union, and 2) ally yourself even if only by implication, to "the free world," meaning thereby, the very same group



TOM MBOYA

of pirates who have ravaged, raped, and decimated the African peoples for centuries. And you did just that in your speech.

By committing yourself and your country against the Soviet Union and China, you are thereby sealing off Af-

rica from the one great source of assistance which it can rely on *without giving up its independence*.

You did particularly badly when you attacked China, the only powerful nation that has wholeheartedly recognized the Algerian Provisional Government. You yourself said that American arms are being used by the French to shoot Algerians. But China not only gave formal recognition to the Algerian nationalists, but also pledged itself to give material aid to the African struggle for liberation.

They are trying to strangle you!

The American capitalist politicians are desperately trying to commit you and your country to the "free," "democratic" slaveholders. And at the very same moment they are trying by might and main to persuade the Soviet government and Nikita Khrushchev not to render the Africans the slightest material, military or political support. You cannot but know that this is true. One of the primary concessions that the Western Powers want to wrest from the Soviet Union in return for a settlement in Germany—is for the West to have a free hand in Africa. *You know what that means, Brother Mboya.*

You will have ample opportunity in this country to reconsider the position you enunciated at Carnegie Hall—the position that was beamed to Europe and Asia by the Voice of America—that you support the slave-owning "free world," as against "communism."

If you wish to have an Africa free from the domination of foreign oppressors, then you should proclaim in your next talk that you are seeking:

1. the *unconditional* independence of Africa free from *all* foreign powers.
2. that the land, the natural resources and the industries, belong to the working people who inhabit it—the Africans—and not to the monopolists, be they European or Americans.
3. to publicly invite the material and political support of workers' China and the Soviet Union. This will *strengthen, not weaken* the struggle for independence!
4. That you as a labor leader, recognize that Africa has more to gain immediately by a socialist economy than any other country in the world today.

Fraternally yours, Workers World

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Pacifist Muddleheads And the Socialist Revolution

A May Day Message

Everyone knows that the world has been on the brink of war, not once but perhaps a dozen times in the past decade, and that the supreme issue in the minds of the world working class today, is how to achieve a lasting peace.

But this is precisely the issue that needs the greatest possible clarification. The paradox of American radicalism is that it does not lead the workers, but is itself a prey to the most pernicious illusions. A recent example—one out of many—will illustrate our view.

"When John Foster Dulles resigned as Secretary of State on April 16 and was replaced by Under Secretary Christian Herter three days later, the elaborate foreign policy structure he had laboriously constructed was falling apart. America's allies had failed to agree on what they would propose at the May 11, East-West foreign ministers' conference at Geneva, and American generals were running amok."

So says the National Guardian, in a front page article of April 27th.

How can one short paragraph be compounded of so many absurdities! In the first place the generals (and admirals too) are not running amok, but are in complete harmony with the State Department and the President as well.

In the second place, the disagreement among the Allies is one of detail, of approach (on how best to deceive the masses!) not on basic war policy.

Thirdly—and most importantly, Dulles' foreign policy is not crumbling! What a terrible deception to say it is. On the contrary, it is being continued and the substitution of Herter for Dulles is merely a change of scenery, of personality, and does not in the slightest reflect any shift in policy.

But how could such utter nonsense get front page billing in the chief organ of American radicalism? It can only be explained on the basis of that congenital wishful-thinking which is the stock in trade of the pacifist who sees peace as an independent issue, divorced from the grim realities of the class struggle.

The inference drawn from the quoted paragraph, is that since Dulles is being replaced by Herter, East-West negotiations will have a better chance of success; a peaceful settlement between the two antagonistic social systems is in the offing and the objective of peace is attainable by negotiation!

In one way or another, this view is representative of the views and moods of practically all the "socialist" and "communist" groupings in this country today. But is there any substance to their appraisal of the shift from Dulles to Herter?

The authoritative organ of big business in America, Business Week, which is not published for popular consumption, sees it in an entirely different light, than do our friends of the National Guardian.

"There will be no break in the continuity of U.S. foreign policy with Christian A. Herter run-

ning the State Department," says Business Week of April 25, 1959. "Herter is fully conversant with the course that John Foster Dulles set for the U.S. in world affairs." They add, "As Secretary, he can be expected to maintain that course without deviation, except perhaps in the manner of his diplomacy. . . ."

But that is not all. In a news item elsewhere in the same issue of Business Week, they reveal that "Herter, after all, was brought to Washington as Under Secretary of State two years ago specifically to understudy Dulles for just such an emergency."

The socialist "men of good will" who write the National Guardian are deceiving themselves as well as the workers. They place their hopes in such "forward-looking persons" as Sen. Mansfield, Sen. Humphrey, and Sen. Fulbright (Taft-Hartley, Little Rock, Fulbright)—rather than in the workers.

Forty years ago, when Lenin and Trotsky were at the head of the Communist International, they issued a May Day Manifesto, in which they proclaimed, "So long as capitalism lives, there can be no lasting peace. Lasting peace will be built on the ruins of the bourgeois order."

"The proletarian world revolution—that is the only salvation for the oppressed classes of the entire world."

The development of the H-Bomb has not invalidated this thesis, but made it more urgent than ever.