

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

FBI Helps Lynchers Go Scot-Free; Says 'No Violation of Federal Law'

Al Garrett — May 6, 1959

On May 6th, a young Negro man—24 years old, died from wounds received when he was brutally shot by a patrolman, right inside a police station.

The young man lived at 372 Macon. Look again. This was *not* Macon, Ga.—the deep South. This was *Macon Street—Brooklyn, New York*. The young man's name was Al Garrett. His violent and needless death, at the hands of the police, was an example of the kind of merciless "law and order" that exists for the Negro people—in the North, as well as the South.

One of his neighbors told this reporter that Al Garrett had been unemployed all winter, and had finally gotten a job at his trade of construction worker. He had been celebrating with his wife, and came out of a tavern to hail a cab. He held a beer bottle in his hand. Some passing police asked him to put the bottle down, and when he put it in a different spot, they started pushing him to the police station. The neighbor said Mrs. Garrett was worried and tried to intervene, but her husband, fearful for her, told her to go home.

Only the next morning did Mrs. Gar-

rett learn the news of this unbelievable atrocity that her husband had been shot the previous night inside the police station.

Other neighbors said that Al Garrett told them the police beat him over the head, and when he protested and tried to get up off the floor, a policeman shot him.

Still another neighbor claimed that after Al Garrett was shot, no medical aid was obtained for him for several hours—that he just lay there in his own blood, and as a result, died of his wounds several weeks later.

One woman said bitterly that Al Garrett had been in the Korean War "to fight for democracy." "But the death of Al Garrett is just like that of Mack Parker in Mississippi. And Al Garrett wasn't even accused of anything. He's really a martyr."

His lawyer said that as he lay dying, he cried out several times "Stop hitting me, man. I haven't done anything."

Macon, Ga.—or Macon Street—Brooklyn, N. Y.—brutality against the Negro people must be wiped out.

THE HOSPITAL STRIKE

The New York Hospital Strike has caught the imagination and enlisted the support of the entire New York labor movement.

What makes this strike so remarkable? It is the fact that deep layers of the oppressed are stirring in the lower depths of labor and forcing loose the crusted conservatism above them.

More than eighty percent of the hospital strikers are Negro or Puerto Rican. The Negro and Puerto Rican masses inside our country, like the colonial peoples abroad, now point the way forward to their more "advanced" brothers.

Big Ben — The Wall St. Shark

PEDRO SANCHEZ

The real boss behind the "voluntary" hospitals in New York is none other than Big Ben, the Wall Street Shark Benjamin J. Buttenwieser.

No less than 200 large corporations, banks and insurance companies have a direct voice in the running of the five struck hospitals. But the most powerful voice is Big Ben's.

Buttenwieser is President of Lenox Hill Hospital. But he is also Director of the Benrus Watch Company. He is a big wheel in the multi-million dollar movie company known as United Artists. He is a key figure in a giant real estate combine called Tishman Realty which owns huge office buildings all over the country.

These mammoth corporations make Lenox Hill seem like a plaything. (And in fact the lives and health of the patients of Lenox Hill are playthings indeed to Big Ben, who could well afford to build dozens of hospitals for the poor.)

But Big Ben Buttenwieser has interests which make even these giants seem like midgets. He is a partner in Kuhn-Loeb and Company. About two out of every ten products that are produced in this country are directly or indirectly influenced by Kuhn-Loeb.

To call Kuhn-Loeb a millionaire corporation would be insulting; to call it multimillionaire would be little better; to call it *billionaire* would be inexact. The last estimate of its wealth by the

U. S. Government shows something close to 11 billion dollars. With its allies and associates, Kuhn-Loeb is outclassed only by the Rockefellers and the Morgans.

The mass picket demonstration called by the hospital strikers for May 24 was supported by the Urban League of Greater New York, according to a leaflet issued by the strikers. (The Urban League is supposed to be dedicated to the interest of helping the Negro people.)

But Edward S. Lewis, Executive Director of the New York Chapter or told the press that the use of the Urban League's name was unauthorized.

Why the reversal? — All we know definitely is that BIG BEN is a member of the National Board of the Urban League.

Big Ben is Kuhn-Loeb's whip to drive senators, governors, mayors and what not to do the bidding of its colossal financial empire. Big Ben plays it cool, however. Rarely in the glare of publicity, he is always covering the mighty fist of Kuhn-Loeb with a velvet glove. For a time he even acted as U. S. High Commissioner for Germany after the War. He learned international diplomacy as part of his training for keeping his fellow citizen Puerto Ricans and Negroes on the job at \$32 per week.

Wall Street's Yankee Govt. in Cahoots With Southern Racist Politicians

We Can't Depend on U.S. Aid Against Lynchers; Must Organize Civil Rights Defense Guards NOW!

The FBI handed over the names of the Mississippi lynchers to the loving care of white supremacist Governor James P. Coleman, and bowed gracefully out of the picture, saying it had found no evidence of violation of any federal law. (Apparently the 14th Amendment is not a law!)

The Federal Government itself has thus stepped out of the case, and has in effect told the local Southern Bourbons to arrange their Mississippi justice to suit themselves. (The Governor has explained that it will take about a year to arrange a trial.)

Strike Solidarity

Wednesday, May 20, 1959 was a great day for me. I saw my fellow hospital workers stand up and speak out against the hospital bosses. It was great! One after the other—Negro, white, Puerto Rican, stood up and spoke out their bitterness against the slave-driving hospital administrations.

"We will wear holes in our shoes until we win this strike." . . .

"Yes, and the rank and file will go to jail too if we have to. We will fight to the end." . . .

"Hallelujah! It's been a long time. But David is here to fight Goliath!" . . .

"The supervisors are very poor in running the hospitals. They are really men with whips in their hands to squeeze the blood out of the workers. Many a time I worked overtime and didn't get paid for it. But I needed the job." . . .

That was how they talked at the big strike meeting at Hotel Diplomat. It seemed as though everybody wanted to take the microphone. The hall was packed, with 200 still in the streets that could not get in. There was a tidal wave of union support. There has been nothing like it for years.

It was wonderful to see the workers so full of fight against their bosses. I know now that the workers have the power to win.

Hospital worker

The FBI gave a "law enforcement official's" name (the Sheriff?) to the Governor as a top suspect. The Governor, himself, is now going to Washington to testify *against Civil Rights legislation*. If the Federal Government really wanted to end Jim Crow, it would arrest Coleman when he stepped off the train in Washington and indict him for conspiracy to violate the Civil Rights Act of 1871.

This proves once again — for those who are in need of proof — that the U.S. Government is not serious about ending Jim Crow.

It is possible at times for the working people to force the Federal Government to make a ~~pretense of justice~~ (as in Little Rock). But the masses cannot *depend* upon the Government, because the Government does not belong to them; it belongs to Wall Street.

The masses must depend first and foremost upon *themselves*. That is why it is necessary to build Civil Defense Guards.

Lily-White Fact Finders

Mayor Wagner has appointed a fact-finding commission to examine the N.Y. hospital strike. Despite the fact that more than 85 per cent of the hospital workers on strike are Negro or Puerto Rican, *not even one member of the commission is either Negro or Puerto Rican.*

Castro Prepares for a Crackdown on Cuban C.P.

V. GREY

The Cuban land reform will split up the big sugar plantations (many U.S.-owned) and *sell* the land in small plots to the peasantry.

It is a capitalist reform. But it goes further than the U. S. capitalists would like. Therefore the more extreme right-wing capitalists call Castro a Communist—just like they used to call the capitalist Franklin D. Roosevelt a Communist.

But Castro is *not* a Communist. He does not want to be a Communist. He needs to collaborate with the larger section of U. S. capital even though he is antagonizing a small section of it. Therefore he is going to crack down on the Communists—both to satisfy his own native capitalistic needs and to cater to U. S. capital.

It was announced on May 23 that a group of labor leaders in Castro's movement have started a "labor-humanist front" against communism. But the Communist Party does not understand what is happening.

Jesus Colon, writing in the U.S. Sunday Worker May 24, benignly observes that "Castro has acted in the spirit of his humanistic New Dealist political philosophy."

Blas Roca, General Secretary of the Cuban CP, stated on TV that the Castro Government "represented all the revolutionary classes including the peasants, the workers . . ."

Castro's government does *not* represent the workers and poor peasants. And the coming crack-down on the Cuban Communist Party will make this abundantly clear — even to Blas Roca.

As if to counteract the "democratic" poison the CP feeds itself on, Castro appeared on TV May 21 and denounced labor leaders who demand wage increases because this would "cause inflation." And he labeled the CP as "counter-revolutionary."

It is about time for the CP to wake up and end the honeymoon with Castro. But we look forward to the next edition of the Sunday Worker with more curiosity than hope.



TROTSKY

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LENIN

A New Party

Several weeks ago, from the East—the West—and from the South, 60 representatives gathered to launch—THE WORKERS WORLD PARTY.

Present at the founding convention, were seasoned veterans of many union battles, as well as active participants in the struggle for Negro equality.

The convention dedicated itself to the revolutionary socialist road of Lenin and Trotsky as the only solution to the problems of the American working class.

Gromyko at Dulles Funeral

Gromyko's coming to Dulles' funeral may be regarded as a slick maneuver. But, who is he fooling? Not the Wall St. bankers! Not the billionaire controlled State Department, or the Pentagon or the White House! Only the working class is being fooled. His attendance at the funeral conveys the impression that "brink-of-war Dulles" was a good man after all.

Aid to Algerian Rebels

Workers China is now helping the Algerian Provisional Government (the rebels) with arms. This is a very welcome development.

And meanwhile the Soviet Union (which has not recognized the Provisional Government) has sent a boatload of wheat, sugar and milk, to Algerian refugees in Morocco.

The embattled Algerians are in great need of assistance against the French capitalists who are trying to keep them enslaved (with the help of American arms). Therefore we heartily applaud the Soviet-Chinese actions, since the Algerians need any and all assistance so desperately.

But once again, we must draw a line between the action of China, and that of the USSR, a much more powerful and more wealthy nation than China.

The Soviet move to send food to the Algerians was a step in the right direction of course. But Algeria is now on

the ragged edge of the last ditch. Algeria needs far more than food for its starving. It needs massive armed help at once for its fighters.

It is the duty of the Soviet leaders to recognize the Provisional Government as China has done. And it is their duty to give it the kind of help they are capable of giving. (The Chinese arms may never arrive in Algeria because of naval interception by the French. The Soviets, however, have the capacity to ship the arms by airplane, etc.)

Only the power politics of the Moscow bureaucrats prevents them from recognizing Free Algeria. They are afraid that such a step will spoil their chances for a Summit Conference. They are afraid it will hurt their "peace" campaign.

But what good is a Summit Conference with the colonial masters at the expense of the colonial slaves? And what good is a "peace" that allows the colonial masters to win the class war?

Showdown in Iraq

A new showdown is approaching in Iraq.

The bourgeois bonapartist Premier Kassim beat down the right wing Mosul revolt in March with the aid of the left (the Iraqi CP). Now in May, he is throttling the left with the aid of the center (the National Democratic Party).

On May 23 Kassim openly rebuked the CP, and in effect told it to go out of business. The party leading the Iraqi proletariat announced that it would submit to the bourgeois Kassim's wishes.

Kassim could not have lasted in power for a single day during the last ten months were it not for the armed support of the Iraqi masses under the leadership of the CP.

But with the aid of the CP he has consolidated his power. He now has a stronger base in the army than before. He has the aid of the democratic illusions of the CP leaders—and above all, the aid of the slippery, class-peace politics of their international leader, Khrushchev.

An Iraqi CP member writes in the U. S. Sunday Worker that "it is idle and wicked to speak of a Communist danger in Iraq." (May 24). This unfortunate writer signs his own death warrant by such sentiments, and the death warrant of his comrades, if they follow him.

If it is idle and wicked to speak of a Communist danger, then the victory of reaction is absolutely assured. Only the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois Kassim will stop the counter-revolution he is preparing against the Communist Party.

But the international politics of Khrushchev prevent the Iraqi CP from realizing this. Khrushchev wants an alliance with Kassim and the Iraqi capitalist class—who in turn are tied in with the Western oil imperialists. Khrushchev is hell-bent on getting a "peace" with these imperialists, and therefore he is prepared to let down the Communist Party of Iraq. The Communist overthrow of Kassim would raise the question of Communism in the whole Middle East right now (not in "your grandchildren's time" as Khrushchev is so fond of saying). It would blow the Geneva Conference sky-high, and destroy Khrushchev's hopes of appeasing the imperialist West.

Therefore Khrushchev cultivates the democratic illusions in the minds of the Iraqi CP. Therefore the CP newspaper, "People's Unity" answers Kassim by pleading that "efforts to stop our party activity feed the imperialist propaganda against our republic."

But the imperialists are only too overjoyed at Kassim's action! They will now propagandize more in favor of Iraq. "People's Unity" cannot believe its own "democratic" nonsense.

As we said in March: "No blame whatever should rest on the shoulders of the young, heroic, and revolutionary leadership of the Iraqi CP... the blood bath still to come is clearly the responsibility of Khrushchev and his Kremlin clique."

The Iraqi CP must break with Kassim NOW—not only in the interest of socialism, but in the interest of its own salvation.

It is still not too late, comrades.

Plants Close — — Give Lie to "Prosperity"

L. BIRD

In the past few weeks the Buffalo area, already hard hit by unemployment, was jolted by the permanent closing of two local plants affecting more than 900 workers.

Buffalo Bolt Company with 850 workers has announced it will discontinue operations on June 30. The reasons for this move according to its President C. Neal Turner, include "intense competition," and "the costly and burdensome labor agreement."

Of course, "intense competition" means that small manufacturers are continuously being forced out of business by the larger ones. However, in a crude attempt to cover up the responsibility of the capitalist system itself, Mr. Turner tries to put the blame on Labor.

It is most interesting to note that Buffalo Bolt is a division of Buffalo Eclipse, which in turn is controlled by Houdaille Industries. Ralph F. Peo, President of Houdaille, is also Chairman of the Board at Buffalo Eclipse. He also functions as chairman of the Mayor's Full Employment Committee.

This Committee which includes leaders of labor and industry, was formed in response to the pressure of thousands of unemployed workers. Buffalo Bolt's shutdown is Mr. Peo's answer to these unemployed.

He and his stooges are not facing bankruptcy. However, since they can't make as much profit as they would like to, their solution is to close a plant and callously eliminate the livelihoods of hundreds of workers.

A striking contrast to the capitalist "solution" is offered in a letter of a

worker to a Buffalo newspaper. This worker correctly calls for union control and operation of the shut-down plant, and also points out:

"Without any dividends to pay to stockholders, and no high-salaried management to contend with, the union could surely make it pay and keep these unfortunate men on their jobs."

The David Bell Company which makes screw machine products, announced their closing May 19. About sixty workers will be made jobless. President Charles Hyde gave no reasons for the action. Mr. Hyde did disclose that "I'll probably get into something."

Sure he will. He's made enough money from the hides of the workers. But what of the workers? What can they get "into," besides unemployment benefits and relief?

The chances for other employment are very slim for these latest victims of capitalist "prosperity." The more than 60,000 unemployed in this area can testify to that. In an interview, one worker affected by these shut-downs said:

"There's something wrong with this system somewhere. When I was a kid, we were taught that there's always a job for the steady worker. I worked steady for over twelve years, and here I am out of work, and no job in sight."

Very Cultured!

Unemployed Chrysler workers who have exhausted their unemployment compensation will be interested to hear that Walter P. Chrysler Jr. has just purchased a genuine Renoir for his sister for \$255,000.

What Makes Rocky Run?

FREDERICK MATTEGER

More than sixty billion dollars!

This is the amount of assets (oil wells, banks, magazines, factories, mines etc.) controlled by the John D. Rockefeller family group of which Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York State, is a senior member.

Imagine 10,000 workers — the working force of a very large factory. Let us say that the average wage of these workers is \$5,000 a year.

To earn an amount of money equal to the value of Rockefeller controlled assets this whole group of 10,000 would have to work over twelve hundred years.

Rockefeller Interests

Chase Manhattan Bank
All Standard Oil Companies and
Socony
Westinghouse
Metropolitan Life Insurance
Company
Borden Company
United Fruit
Alcoa
Gulf Oil
Wickwire Steel
Armco Steel

There are several other large financial groups but only the Morgan group rivals the Rockefellers in wealth and power. (Morgan controlled assets: 65 billion.)

Between them, Rockefeller and Morgan are the dominating influences over the entire capitalist world. Latin American governments have been installed, propped up, or deposed at the will of these interests. Central America is controlled by the Rockefeller interests in the United Fruit Company. The Arabian oil countries and the South American oil country of Venezuela are practically a part of the Rockefeller front lawn. Only a revolt of the people—as in Iraq or Cuba—would threaten these huge possessions—and profits.

There is a cut-throat dog-eat-dog fight for profits between the giant Rockefeller group and the huge Morgan group.

For example, American Telephone and Telegraph, the largest corporation in the United States, was once Morgan controlled, but during World War II it was successfully invaded by Rockefeller. The control by each is now about equal,

But while they struggle for control they unite against working people everywhere. Between them they dominate every phase of American life. Their octopus grip encircles the government—you may vote for one of two candidates both of whom are selected by elements of these two financial groups. You watch television and movies, read newspapers and magazines controlled directly or indirectly by these family groups or their allied families or groups. In addition they control the schools and the colleges. That is what makes Rocky run!

While big business has controlled the government and American life since the late 1800's, Rockefeller's direct executive control over the largest and richest state, and his presidential ambitions, mark a new high point in directness and completeness of this power.

His laws are geared to swelling the profits of the companies he and his family control. Whether it is cutting the amount of welfare money for unemployed workers, or whether it is passing laws to help the companies break unions, his eye is always on higher

Morgan Interests

General Motors
Prudential Life Insurance
Company
U. S. Steel
General Electric
Marine Trust Company
Goodrich Rubber
Northern Pacific
Coca Cola
Niagara Mohawk

profits. Even the "Rockefeller Foundation" with all its well publicized "charities," is a means for extending his financial empire.

His one great obstacle is the TNT of working class anger. The old time anarchists used to publish the formula for dynamite on the front of their paper. But a greater explosive than dynamite is, as Lenin and Trotsky showed, a united revolutionary working class guided by the teachings of history, correctly interpreted by the use of Marxist theory.

Before this power, billionaire empires crumble.

Union Heads Must Answer Members' Cry for 30-40

J. WILSON

The severity of the 1958 depression and the sweep of job-destroying automation in industry has caused the slogan 30 hour week-40 hours pay to be adopted as a good idea by rank and file union members everywhere. Every worker in auto or steel is willing, in fact eager, to wear a "30 for 40" button.

At the U.S. Steel stockholders meeting of May 4, someone made a motion to limit executives' pensions to just \$25,000.

The vote: 25-1 against.

The big obstacle blocking the drive for a 30 hour week is the union leadership. The fight should have been launched in the auto unions this past winter. Walter Reuther pledged the 1958 Auto Union convention to lead this fight. When contract time came, however, Reuther talked about everything else and since there was not sufficient organization in the rank and file to oppose Reuther, Walter was able to sign a sweetheart contract that gave the auto workers nothing. Proof of this is in the

Bflo. Eve. News Attacks, And Subscribes to WW

The Buffalo Evening News told its readers about our new party on March 12 of this year — before we had our present name, "Workers World Party." On May 14 the News devoted half a column to our paper, "Workers World."

In red-baiting our group in that city, the News has usually followed the line of serving some immediate interest of some particular corporation. Thus, right in the middle of union elections, or during wildcat strikes, it accused workers at certain plants of being Trotskyists.

At this moment, perhaps the News has nothing definite in mind. But there may be a future witch hunt in the backyard of the Schoellkops, the Butlers and the Bairds. So the News gives its readers the following important information:

"Lest there be any doubt about the ideology of the Workers World, an editorial makes it plain.

"We are THE Trotskyists. We stand 100 per cent with all the principled positions of Leon Trotsky, the most revolutionary Communist since Lenin."

(The News will probably reprint this quotation of ours every so often, just in case its readers are not smart enough to get the point the first time. But even if we get quoted just once, we wish to thank the News for the free advertising.)

On May 15, the day after it printed the above story, the News showed its continuing interest in our paper by mailing us a subscription.

We reprint the check here. But this is not because we plan to preserve it, like a grocer pasting his first dollar bill on the wall. (We're taking it right to the bank!) We reprint it to show our friends how highly our enemies value us.

If our enemies can afford a dollar to find out what we have to say, we think our friends can do as much. You will get Workers World mailed to your home for six months, twice a month, for a dollar. Subscribe now!

General Motors first quarter profits of over a quarter billion and every penny sweated from the auto workers' hides. These profits were more than enough to establish the 30/40 week in auto and wipe out much of the mass unemployment.

The turn is now to the Steelworkers Union. The sellout of the fight by the Reuther leadership in auto makes the task of the steelworkers more difficult, especially since President David J. McDonald has shown a desire to get as far away from the shorter work week issue as possible. He already capitulated to the big corporations when he said the thirty hour week would cost too much and brought forth his counter-proposal of three months vacation every five years. This pet idea of McDonald's fell absolutely flat among the membership and as a result, the wage policy committee has had to reckon with the dissatisfaction in ranks and bring out their timid 38 hour week idea.

The steel industry is once again producing at record levels. The week beginning April 13 saw an all-time high, and the week beginning May 19 is expected to surpass it.

There are still tens of thousands of steel workers out of work.

The push for 30 for 40 should be intensified. The fact that McDonald has gone for 38 hours is proof that even this conservative coalition of well heeled bureaucrats can be forced to fight for the interests of the rank and file. The steelworkers can demonstrate in action the most powerful force on earth, the force of an idea whose time has come.

Can't Change Human Nature? Soviet Progress Says We Can!

ELEANOR STEPHENS

Once upon a time a friend said to me, "There's only one way Socialism can work. Everyone in the world would have to change from a human being to an angel."

"If everyone could have the wisdom of Socrates and the selflessness of a saint, then maybe a planned economy would be possible. But human nature being what it is, the system we have now (he meant Capitalism) is the best of all possible systems for the human race."

I tried to answer him, but there weren't many hard facts to bolster my argument—20 years ago.

The only country in the world that even pretended to be socialist was the Soviet Union. There the standard of living was still not much better than under the Czars. One fact did stand out, though. At a time when there were 8 to 10 million unemployed in the U.S.A., there was no depression in the Soviet Union!

"Oh yes," my friend said, "everyone works — for the State. But the State does nothing for the people. Even little children roam the streets in bands, begging and stealing. But above all, nobody is encouraged to think. That's why Soviet science is in the horse and buggy age—and it will stay there."

That was 20 years ago. Soviet science has now leaped from the horse and bug-

What the N.Y. Press Hides Rise in Baby Deaths Biggest in Ten Years

ANA KEZMAN

New York City's 7 daily newspapers are too busy grinding out tons of paper on the phony rise in "personal income" and the "sharp" decline in unemployment to give much prominence to this story. It's as significant as any that has appeared in many weeks in the New York area.



More babies have died in New York State so far this year than in any other corresponding period in a decade. So said the New York State Department of Health last May 17th. A sharp increase in infant deaths in New York City pushed the mortality rate to 26.7 for each 1,000 births between January and March. The department cited in-

creased respiratory infections as a contributing factor, as well as a general rise in many other diseases.

Earlier, New York City had reported that baby deaths had increased 6 per cent since January to 29.1 for each 1,000 births.

The causes given by the Health Department are merely the surface ones. The deeper causes are due to increased poverty, bad housing, malnutrition of mothers, lack of general facilities.

The high mortality rate for babies has always been an indicator of poverty and unemployment. At a time when medicine is making phenomenal strides in development and more and more means are found to prevent baby deaths, this unusual rise in New York State can only be explained by the general deterioration in economic conditions. It is to be recalled that 10 years ago, there was also a sharp rise. It was the year 1949—which like 1959 was a "recession" year. A general deterioration in health standards always accompanies a capitalist depression.

Better Late Than Never Brother Rustin!

Bayard Rustin, National Coordinator for the Youth March on Washington, said at a meeting on May 8 that he thought the youth should stay in Washington until they got what they wanted (integrated schools). Workers World made the original suggestion in 72 point headlines, right at the March on April 18.

directory lists 27 for the whole city—very few of them free!).

What is the cause of this great change in the course of 20 short years? Have the Russian people changed from humans to angels? Have their leaders changed from greedy bureaucrats to self-sacrificing saviors?

No, they have not!

There are still liars, crooks and murderers in the Soviet Union. Soviet politicians are no more honest than politicians in the capitalist world.

Human nature hasn't changed. But the economic foundation has changed! The Russian Revolution of 1917 ended the profit system of Boom and Bust!

It has been a delayed action. The overhead cost of fat bureaucrats, the colossal cost of war and armaments, the deliberate sabotage by the capitalist nations, have all worked together to hold back the socialist progress of the Soviet Union. But what was hidden 20 years ago is clear today. Only Socialism can conquer poverty and give working people a better life — in all countries.

On this basis, the coming generations will gain a little more wisdom than Socrates. And then they won't need to be saints or angels. They will be human beings!

Herter OK'd by Standard Oil And Got Record Senate Vote

K. CALVIN

The government bureaucrat who is Secretary of State plays a powerful role in world politics as an agent of the capitalist class. In his policies are reflected the dominant and often contradictory interests of his class. And in the execution of those policies, he might indeed be decisive in calling the turn for war.

But the American people have never elected the Secretary of State; the question of war or peace is never put to their vote.

Dulles' last official act was to sign the commission for Christian A. Herter as his successor. But to the world, the selection of a new Secretary of State is portrayed as a great act in the democratic process of a "free" West as compared to the selection of "stooges," "puppets" and "controlled parliaments" of

the "enslaved" Soviet bloc nations.

The boss newspapers glossed over the biographical statistics which alone would insure Herter a respectable seat in the higher echelons of the ruling class, namely his link through marriage with the Standard Oil fortune. And they emblazoned the 93-0 Senate vote confirming the Herter appointment as a show of bipartisan unity (united class loyalty) in foreign affairs.

Equally vaunted was the initiative taken by the Democratic Senators in suspending the 7-day Senate rule to confirm the Herter appointment in a precedent-shattering four hours and thirteen minutes. The Democrats outdid themselves to show their loyalty to the foreign policy of their class — just in case there were any subversive doubts that the American big bosses weren't behind the new Secretary.

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BUFFALO 5, N.Y.

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The Negro Upsurge

At a Turning Point in History!

A Letter to a Fighter in the Deep South

Dear Comrade:

I think that the Negro movement is on the verge of a tremendous leap forward. The reaction to the Tallahassee and Mississippi events appear to us all here to herald a new dawn, a new resurgence of the Negro people in America. But these same events have also raised the crucial questions of tactics and strategy in sharper form.

Rob Williams demonstrated this dramatically when he made his now famous statement about meeting "violence with violence." Actually, Williams' remark (as later clarified) was a splendid summary of the position we have been advocating both inside and outside the radical movement.

It is a living confirmation of the correctness of our position and a symptom of the mood that prevails throughout the most conscious layers of the Negro population. But it is also a challenge to the progressive whites, and to ourselves above all.

The movement cannot be successful, as you well know, unless it finds a staunch, reliable ally in the working class, or at least in some section of it. This is the problem of problems.

We learn from defeats!

Twice before in American history, there have been great events which have propelled the Negro masses on to the historical arena, and showed the world how the masses can take their destiny into their own hands.

The first one was of course, the period of Reconstruction, that mighty mass movement, the like of which has not yet been seen again in this country. That it foundered and collapsed, was not only due to the treachery of the Northern bourgeoisie. That historical fact is only too well known to all who have studied Negro history from a class point of view.

But there was a far more important fact—for us Marxists especially. *There was a near-Marxist party in existence at the time.* It was founded in 1876 — just around the time the Reconstruction period had reached its high water mark. This party adhered to the tenets of the class struggle, was for the abolition of the capitalist system, and preached unity of the Negro and white workers.

Now we all know that its Marxism was of a platonic sort, and in retrospect, it is easy to see that its major deficiency was its lack of understanding of the Negro question. And of course this deficiency was rooted in the prevailing historical conditions.

But even so, it confronted a giant mass movement encompassing millions. Here were millions of people struggling with might and main for liberation, and susceptible to the most revolutionary solution for their problems. And here also was a party that stood for the abolition of capitalism, for the abolition of all slavery, both chattel and wage.

Why did it fail?

Why couldn't this party, with all its defects, with all its shortcomings, with all its lack of comprehension of the exceptional significance of the Negro question for the Socialist struggle — why couldn't it have stretched out a firm hand in an unbreakable alliance with these revolutionary masses against their common foe?

That this party did not do so, we all know now. And the reasons given above are generally accepted as valid by all who regard themselves as Marxists and Leninists.

But there is something that must be said that is not in the books; something that is usually glossed over, and not at all fully appreciated. It is this:

The party feared political isolation from the bulk of the white masses. This fear of isolation constituted a fundamental, underlying consideration in its attitude to the Negroes, and constituted an unavoidable problem for the leadership. The problem was solved by ignoring it.

The reason why it is important for us to bring this up now, is that this problem has never left the various working class parties that have existed in this country since. It is still with us.

Now, this fear of isolation from the

more backward majority is not a psychological phenomenon by any means. It is deeply rooted in the material conditions of exploitation, and is reflected socially and politically in the widespread prevalence of white chauvinism which seeps down from the summits of the ruling class to all strata of capitalist society, and sticks like an incubus to the body of the labor movement.

We must review the period of Reconstruction, the period of the greatest upsurge of the Negro people, in the light of today's problem. Here, we must review it from the viewpoint of the subjective factor of history; namely, the relation of the party to the mass movement. Viewed in that light—three quarters of a century later—a new lesson emerges.

The key lesson for us

It is this:

At a time of the greatest upsurge of the Negro masses, there existed in this country a socialist, near-Marxist party that was for the overthrow of the capitalist system and preached unity of the Negro and white workers, but completely overlooked the tidal wave of Negro rebellion.

This party was not a thoroughgoing, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party. Such could not exist at that time. But neither was it — and this is important — the naive, simple-headed, sectarian little group of socialists that it is sometimes depicted, which could not at all grasp the character of the issues involved in the upsurge of the Negro masses.

And this party missed the great revolutionary opportunity during Reconstruction. This missing of a revolutionary situation decided the fate of the Negro people for decades to come. It meant the defeat of a revolution.

The defeat of a revolution, if it was a decisive defeat (and here it was), usually lasts for a long, long time to come. And partly as a result of that defeat, a new chain of historical circumstances takes shape and brings with it new problems.

Bitter fruit of defeat

Now, the defeat of the revolutionary movement of the Negro people during Reconstruction, and the dismantling of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary dictatorship that was set up by the Northern bourgeoisie over the Southern Bourbons, was an event very much akin to the modern defeats of the proletariat.

(I refer to the catastrophe suffered by the German proletariat at the hand of Hitler in 1933, and that of the Spanish proletariat by Franco in 1936, both of which were so brilliantly analyzed by Trotsky.)

But this defeat of the Negro people during Reconstruction, had a more lasting effect than any other modern catastrophe of the oppressed.

Revival under Garvey

It wasn't until the very early twenties that a revival of the Negro liberation movement took form, captured the imagination of millions of Negroes, particularly the poorest and most down-trodden. This was the Garvey movement.

I needn't tell you of the defects of the Garvey movement as a nationalist movement. That, every petty bourgeois radical will be able to tell you quickly enough.

But what is missed in the analysis of the Garvey movement, what is glossed over, and deliberately falsified, is that it had a *tremendous revolutionary potential for the entire working class in America.* It represented the movement of millions of precisely the most oppressed, most poverty-stricken, and the most disinherited of the capitalist system, and let it be remembered, the most proletarian sections of the Negro people.

Its program was altogether false; it was shot through and through with the most naive illusions; its leaders were in essence bourgeois nationalist. We know all this. But all this was of secondary historical significance — given a revolutionary party that accurately understood the social nature and direc-

tion of this movement. But there was no such party in America.

Let's never forget that this movement really got going, roughly speaking, only after the Russian Revolution and through its impetus.

The Communist movement at that time was not only too young, but woefully incompetent to take the revolutionary movement of the Negro people and direct it into a proletarian class channel.

As a result, the movement suffered the historical fate of all movements like it. And the tempestuous nationalist ferment which it engendered (Trotsky, as you know called this the "yeast" of the socialist revolution), disintegrated and vanished into thin air.

But some of our petty-bourgeois radicals, historians, etc. would have us believe that it was only the *program* of the Garvey movement that was responsible for this, or the nature of the personality that was leading it.

Actually, it was the failure of the revolutionary party of the workers to fully comprehend the social character of this movement, and its colossal importance for the socialist revolution.

Both the Reconstruction period and the Garvey period ended in frustration. (The period of the '30s and the rise of the CIO, I purposely omit at this time.)

But now dawns a new epoch for the Negro people. Shall there be a repetition of the old pattern? That is the real issue.

Break the pattern!

At first glance the pattern seems to have actually deepened. The new upsurge of the Negro masses coincides with the continuing stagnation of the official labor movement, and with the virtual demoralization and disintegration of the older radical groupings. But what seems to be a deepening is in reality a preparation for *breaking* the pattern.

Here is why:

The mass movement of rebellion, only simmering in the North, but on the verge of boiling over in the South, holds great revolutionary potentiality for the party of the proletariat — for the *party that is willing at all costs to identify itself completely and wholly without reservations and without limitations, and is not in fear of isolation, precisely because it has confidence in the future.*

The bankruptcy of the old parties and the crusted conservatism of the official labor leaders does not reflect the feelings of the toiling white masses one hundredth as much as the "leaders" imagine. We understand the white workers very well including their prejudices. But we also understand their revolutionary potential, and we are not going to adapt ourselves to their prejudices. In this way, we will gain their following and their full confidence at a later date.

Here it is not only a question of program; it is a question of will and determination. For he who wills the objective, must will the means thereto!!!!

The will to struggle requires of course methods of struggle. But the choice of methods is itself a sign of how strong the will is.

Practically all the bourgeois liberal friends of the Negroes — that is, after Williams' statement mind you, *not before* — now say that the Negroes have

a right to self-defense. We congratulate them on this wonderful discovery!

But of all the groups who now pay lip service to the right of Negroes to self-defense, not one single solitary one has come out for the **SYSTEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF DEFENSE GUARDS ON A MASS SCALE.** Not one of them has raised this as a *slogan*. Not one of them pushed it to the fore as the *urgent task of the whole labor movement*. Not one of them called for white workers to *help* this self-defense!

Barehanded vs. Klan?

The question of Defense Guards, of *arming the people*, is the most critical of all the questions. This is not a matter of exposing individuals to legal or illegal attacks. On the contrary, it is a matter of mass self-preservation by mass action. Whoever evades this issue is not serious about the liberation of the Negro people from capitalist enslavement. He who does not will the means thereto, can not will the objective.

And here is an international phenomenon observed in all revolutions of the oppressed peoples.

The movement gets the sympathy and the support of the mass of the petty-bourgeois radicals and socialists only after the oppressed peoples *themselves* have first shed their own blood, and that by the thousands. It is only then that these allies awaken, begin to stir, become sympathetic, become humanitarian and are ready to sacrifice.

Would anyone have had any sympathy for the people of the tiny little island of Cyprus, had they not for almost five years carried on what appeared to be an impossible, utterly hopeless struggle, against overwhelming odds? Would the people of Nyasaland be heard of in the imperialist press at all?

American radicals in particular are ready to applaud struggles *abroad*, especially if they are victorious ones! It is right here at home, in America — which Trotsky called the "foundry where the fate of mankind will be forged" that the most decisive class battles will take place.

The movement of the Negro people is an indispensable condition for this. And woe to us and to the destiny of the American labor movement, if we fail to understand it.

We will win together!

No matter how backward the workers, Negro or white, may appear to be; no matter how saturated they may be with bourgeois propaganda, they are never as backward as the petty bourgeoisie.

The white workers of the North are not free of prejudices, as the Negro masses well understand. But even the most ignorant and "backward" of them shall be stirred to action in defense of equality. We cannot predict at what exact point this unity will be forged. But it will be forged.

Ten years ago we said that the center of revolutionary gravity was moving East when it had engulfed a quarter of the human race in China. We said it was moving still further "East" when the Arabian revolution began to show signs of sparking the entire African continent. But the East is finally reaching the West, and igniting the long dormant flames of America's hinterland. In these flames Reconstruction will be reborn. Socialism will triumph.

Therein lies the historical justification for our orientation and for our world historical perspective.

With supreme confidence,

SAM MARCY

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