

# WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 2, No. 10

222

MAY 13, 1960

TEN CENTS

*Real Meaning Of Spy Plane Incident: —*

# Wall Street Aims To Drive The American People To War!

## Cross Burnings Show Need For Organized Defense Guards

Atlanta, Ga. — While the *Atlanta Constitution* is busy publishing articles about the bad conditions of Negroes "up North" (and Brother, they are bad!), a cross was burned on the front lawn of Clarence Seniors, a young "sitdown" student.

Twenty-two year-old Seniors, a student at Morris Brown College of this city, had just filed suit against the Atlanta Municipal Court for one million dollars because of its jimcrow treatment of him and all other participants in the sitdowns.

Dr. Lonnie Cross, chairman of the Department of Mathematics at Atlanta University, with whom Mr. Seniors shares the house, told police that he thought the cross was burned because of Seniors' fight against segregation.

(Dr. Cross, too, was recently in the news—for his refusal to be jimcrowed at a conference of the Mathematical Association of America in Columbia, South Carolina.)

One important thing for Northern readers to remember here is this:

That Atlanta, which has the reputation of being somewhat "liberal" in the North, and not so scurrilously anti-Negro as the "back country" areas of Georgia, is in reality every bit as bad as the rest of the South. It just has a thin veneer of politeness on top.

There is some neutralism and even sympathy from many white workers and students. But the racist goons of the Atlanta ruling class are hard at

work to destroy this. They are trying to terrorize white and colored alike. This cross-burning is just one sign of it.

Cultured Atlanta, quite as much as backward Macon, needs interracial Civil Rights Defense Guards to defend the rights and lives of the Negro people.

## Would Rather Lead the Masses to Atomic Death Than Give Up any Part of Its Swollen Profits

Imagine the reaction in America if a Russian spy plane were discovered over Kansas! Think of the newspaper headlines, the air raid drills, the panic, the exodus (of richer people) from the cities. Think of the Congressmen and Senators who would be shouting for war against the Soviet Union at once.

*Sverdlosk is as far from the Russian border as Kansas is from the Atlantic Ocean. And Sverdlosk is where the American spy plane was shot down.*

The generals who ordered the spy

plane to cross the Soviet Union must have understood how the Russians would feel. They must have understood they were risking war and risking the lives of millions of youth and generations yet unborn.

*But they didn't care.*

The generals are blood and bone of the capitalist ruling class. And they are thinking only of the profit system—the millions of dollars of blood money that they and their Wall Street buddies make out of the poor workers and soldiers who pay for every capitalist war.

### Mad for Profits

They are thinking only of the profit system and how to extend it so they can make more profits.

They are thinking how well American corporations have colonized Germany and Japan, the former "enemies." (American boys died by the thousand fighting these "enemies.")

And they are thinking how nice it would be to do the same thing with the Soviet Union—over the bodies of the youth of America and the rest of the world.

And they are *not* thinking of what a horrible weapon the atomic or hydrogen bomb is. They dropped it without compunction or regret upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And they are perfectly willing to drop it again.

And they are *not* thinking they will be stopped by atomic retaliation. Because they will conduct their war (if they can just get it started) from atomic bomb-proof shelters a hundred feet underground. Atomic annihilation is not for generals. It is for the privates—and for the poor.

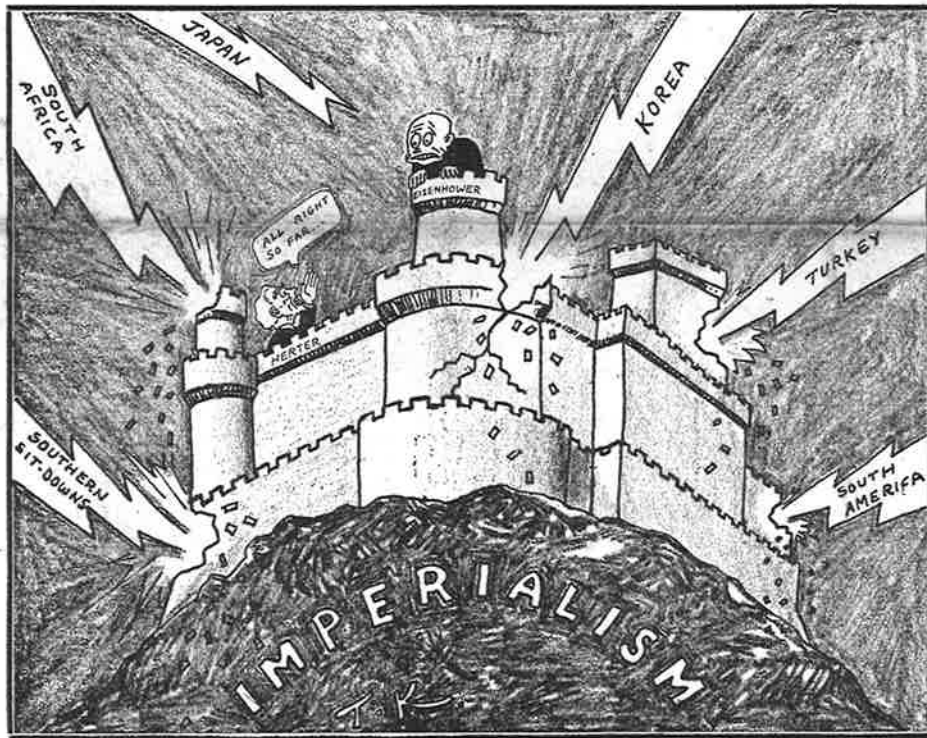
### Dangling the H-Bomb

The generals' Wall Street pals are not thinking mainly of the danger of being bombed, either—and for the same reason. In spite of the capitalists' occasional worry that they may lose their lives in protecting their gold, they too, are boldly dangling the H-Bomb from their lapels. They are being very brave about war in the present crisis. After all, they tell themselves, capitalists, like generals die in bed.

But there is something more powerful than A-Bombs or H-Bombs—something that *does* worry the callous capitalist ruling class and its military minions as well. They have had a little taste of it very recently in Korea, Turkey, Japan and Africa. It is the unconquerable class spirit of the oppressed masses.

It is not the Bomb that frightens the bosses now, or stays them in their awful drive to war. It is the inevitable and irrepressible world-wide socialist revolution.

## Stormy Weather



Ike: "But won't that WEATHER PLANE make it all go away?"

## Out of Their Own Mouths

The U.S. Army has announced that the Soviet Union is not even *attempting* to build a force that would enable it to start a nuclear war.

"Moscow does not appear to be undertaking the extremely expensive task of developing military might capable of eliminating by a first strike the ability of the West to retaliate," the Army's statement said.

This true but remarkable statement appeared in the authoritative *Army Information Digest* for May and was reprinted on the front page of the *New York Times* of May 5.

It was published just a few hours before the news of the U.S. spy plane hit the headlines, and then, of course, it was buried. What it means is simply this:

The highest military and civilian authorities of this country are here admitting that *the Soviet Union does not want war!*

President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message last January, put it another way. He said at that time:

"America possesses an enormous defense power. It is my studied conclusion that no nation will ever risk general war against us."

Now the Army itself and the Commander-in-Chief of that Army, who was also a former general-in-chief, ought to be the best of authorities.

Of course, Eisenhower means here, that no nation will risk *attacking* the U.S.

Yet everybody in this country down to the very schoolchildren, has been taught for years that the Soviet Union is just itching to attack the United States. In fact, long before the Soviet Union even had the atomic bomb (and the United States *did*), we were told to prepare for sneak attack by Russia. And Russia at that time was considerably less able to mount an offensive against the U.S. than it is today.

Doesn't it seem just possible that those who were so loudly anxious to "defend" the United States were in reality, advocating an *attack* against the Soviet Union?

And doesn't it seem just possible that the present loud talk about the necessity for airplane spying on the Soviet Union is all a cover-up for the Wall Street war-makers?

If "no nation will ever risk war against us," then why do "we" risk war by invading a powerful nation's airspace in peacetime?

## Solidarity

Youngstown, Ohio — The AFL-CIO Council here has formally endorsed the Southern sitdowns.

This is one of the first labor bodies to take such action. Its support is very important. It shows white workers how the Negro struggle for equality is closely tied to the struggle of all workers against oppression.

## How Big Capitalists Dupe the Little Ones

Arthur B. Homer, president of the Bethlehem Steel Company, received \$500,000 salary in 1958. And of the 21 members of the board of directors, only two received less than \$200,000 that year.

A group of stockholders didn't like this at all. They felt that the directors had voted themselves these lush salaries and bonuses at the expense of the large number of smaller stockholders who got smaller dividends because of this. (There would have been at least a couple more million in profits to divide up with the stockholders, if the directors and president didn't get so much.)

Well, the stockholders won their point: Now Mr. Homer's pay is *only* \$407,785.

## WORKERS WORLD

Editorial office:

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

Telephone: AL 5-0352

Editor: Vincent Copeland  
Manager: Dorothy Ballan

Vol. 2, No. 10—May 13, 1960

Published Twice Monthly

TROTSKY

LENIN

## The Un-Democratic Party

The Presidential primaries in Wisconsin and West Virginia raised a lot of interest. And they made a lot of people think that the American system of choosing Presidents has something to do with "democracy."

In 1952, the Democratic Party only bothered to hold Presidential primaries in 16 states. But in doing so, it did give a few million people a chance to say

what capitalist politician (out of half a dozen or so) they would like to see run for President.

Well, in 15 out of 16 states, the registered Democrats decided they would like to see Estes Kefauver run on the Democratic ticket. But the capitalists, who really run the Democratic Party, did not let Kefauver run for President.

Some democracy!

## Korea — Only Act One

The masses of South Korea, under the impact of the heroic student demonstrations last month, overthrew a hated regime—but did not set up their own regime in its place.

Syngman Rhee, the bloody dictator, has resigned. But a new candidate for his role has taken his place.

Huh Chung, the new acting president, like Rhee, is a well-known stooge of Wall Street. And the new "constitutional" system he promises will make sure above all else to try to prevent such mass demonstrations as toppled Syngman Rhee.

The first decisive action of Huh was to use the army to disperse a peaceful meeting of students and workers who were attempting to form an opposition party of a mildly leftist character. And

he has mounted a tremendous propaganda drive of anti-Communist red-baiting to divert attention from the social problem at home to the "enemy" workers regime in the North.

The South Korean masses may be temporarily fooled by the democratic pretensions of Huh (who is an old friend of Syngman Rhee, by the way). But their awakening will come much sooner than Wall Street or its presidential puppet expects.

The fraudulent Korean elections of the past are to be replaced by "honest" elections in the future. But the same fraudulent capitalist politicians hold office now and will then. Nothing but the complete socialist revolutions will solve a single one of South Korea's basic problems.

## Jimcrow Church to Go?

At the end of April, God was still a segregationist, according to the largest Protestant denomination in the United States.

The four-yearly General Conference of the Methodist Church decided at Denver, last month, to continue its segregated "Central Jurisdiction." This is a polite name for the combination of all the jimcrow, all-colored Methodist churches.

The most racist-minded Southern whites circulated a pamphlet which said the resolution was too weak and left the door open for an abolition of the Cen-

tral Jurisdiction later on.

This pamphlet considered the resolution did not uphold "our right to believe in and practice fundamental principles (i.e., jimcrow principles—Ed.) for safeguarding the morals of our children and the integrity of our race."

Some delegates, both colored and white, opposed the resolution from the opposite point of view and demanded full integration. The debate lasted a day and a half until late into the night.

Final decision: The houses of God (Methodist) are leased with restrictive covenants for the next four years.

## New U.S. Threat to Cuba

Cuba has just restored the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which dictator Batista had broken off in 1952. This is a welcome development, and one which can only benefit the progressive forces in Cuba and the workers of the world.

However, the press of big business says ominously: "If . . . the Russians were allowed to use Havana as a base to work against the United States . . . then the United States . . . would be justified in defending itself." (New York Times, May 10, 1960.)

With the only military base in Cuba being the U.S. base at Guantanamo, the Times can hardly be speaking about any Soviet SPY PLANES in Cuba, or any real military threat to U.S. capitalism. It is simply referring to Cuba's possible closer international co-operation with the Soviet Union.

The statement that the U.S. would "defend itself" against little Cuba with its 6 million population is an open threat to invade Cuba.

And the threat comes not from the Soviet Union, but from the money kings of the United States.

The Burden of Empire—or,

## Why Poor Tony Can't Work

The help at Buckingham Palace have strong feelings about the new man's job.

"Tony Armstrong-Jones has got to learn one very important thing about this new job of his," the *New York Post* quotes one titled flunky as saying. "He's got to learn that he can never in his life lift a finger to do anything for himself again."

Someone will drive his Mercedes-Benz for him—and take it to the gas station for him—and road-test the new model every spring for him. Someone will do all his shopping, down to his hankies and his underwear—and it won't be Margaret! He'll have to get his own hair cut, though—but not at the barber-shop. A "gentleman's coiffeurist" will come to see him at his diggings in the palace.

And he'll live with Margaret—and the servants—in that big old castle on the West Side where Queen Victoria was born. (The British Parliament will appropriate some more of the common people's tax money to keep the castle in the right style. But the people aren't supposed to mind this at all. They're supposed to love their Royal Family so much that they'd just keel over and die rather than let Margaret or Tony go to work.)

Of course, Margaret, being of the Blood Royal, wouldn't be able to work. But Tony is used to working, or at least to make a living. (The story is that he

used to make his own tea!) But that's all gone with the wind, now. Tony "will never lift a finger to do anything for himself again."

Thank Heaven that only one Englishman has to sacrifice himself this way. Praise the Lord that the British worker will still work good and hard for his ten quid a week, and wash the honest sweat from his brow with his own hands. Think what irreparable harm it would do the British national character if everybody had to learn "never to lift a finger" again!

Thank Heaven that even the unemployed workers have to scrub up their homes, stand in bread lines, cook their own cabbage, polish their shoes and change the baby's diapers. They, at least, will not have to fret and fly from boredom like Anthony Armstrong-Jones.

And those blighters in the colonies, working at their outdoor jobs, in that vitamin D-packed sunshine, for their honest 5 shillings a day. What a sin it would be if they were told not to "lift a finger to do anything for themselves"!

But the flunkies at the palace aren't saying this to them. Oh no! The fact is, all these other chaps are supposed to work hard so the Jones lad won't work.

And what's wrong with that? How could one man be a duke unless other men were commoners? How could one woman be a princess unless other women were servants? How, in fact, could there be masters if there were no slaves?

## MAIL BAG

(Readers of WORKERS WORLD will recall that we gave a class analysis of the Castro regime in Cuba in our issue of April 15.

(The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), while rightly opposed to imperialist intervention against Cuba, both take a vulgar "democratic" position which cannot be distinguished from the position of the bourgeoisie-nationalist, Castro, himself. —Ed.)

Editor, Workers World:

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP gave a speech here in Los Angeles and he characterized the Castro regime in Cuba as "transitional," i.e., between a bourgeois and a proletarian regime.

He based his 'analysis' on "the fact that Castro's regime is learning," . . . "agriculture is collectivized," and "there is economic and political democracy."

The Dobbs analysis, making so much, as it does, of "collectivization," indicates the importance he gives to agriculture—in the abstract of course—at the expense of the city proletariat. True, the proletariat is in favor of collectivized agriculture. . . . However, the proletariat is also interested in "collectivized" industry.

A bourgeois dictatorship over "collectivized" agriculture, or a "collectivized" agriculture in the service of the city bourgeoisie, does not make Castro's regime "transitional." But it does make a very effective support for the native bourgeoisie. A Castro dictatorship even over large sectors of city industry does not equal a "transitional" regime. . . . A proletarian regime must be thrown

up by the proletariat. Only then will collectivized agriculture be at the services of the proletariat.

Israel has "collectivized" agriculture, and who is willing to call the Israeli state "transitional"? . . .

Calling Castro's regime "transitional" merges the attitudes and activities of the Cuban proletariat with those of Castro. Yes, the Cuban proletariat is interested in the revolution and they will defend it. But it is indispensable for the Cuban proletariat to have an independent attitude and activity in defense of the Cuban revolution. The Cuban proletariat is interested in the consistent defense of the revolution, and this can only be carried out by the proletariat itself.

Certainly the American proletariat has a stake in the Cuban revolution. The liberal bourgeoisie, on the other hand, has "sympathy."

The propaganda of the SWP is obviously playing up the sympathies of the liberal bourgeoisie. Also, the liberal-bourgeois character of the SWP analysis stands out in especially bold relief in its insistence on the "anti-Communist" character of the Castro regime (as if that were the most wonderful thing of all!). . . .

Certainly the Cuban revolution can use liberal-bourgeois sympathy as well as proletarian defense. However, a clear, independent, class approach for the American proletariat in relation to the American bourgeoisie is just as indispensable as is a proletarian approach for the Cuban working class.

The SWP apparently chooses to merge its politics with those of the American liberal bourgeoisie.

John Penn,  
Los Angeles, Cal.

## Less Steel, Less Men, More Profits!

By Ana Kezman

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation is building a new plant at Pueblo, Colorado.

What's so newsworthy about that?

Simply the fact that this company is increasing its capacity just at a time when it can't sell all the steel it is now able to produce without the new plant!

Then why is it going ahead with the plans to build it?

Because the new plant will produce more steel with less men.

It will employ the oxygen converter process exclusively. Steel that generally takes seven to ten hours to make in the open hearth process will be made in thirty minutes to an hour.

Many steelworkers are already on four-day weeks throughout the country (including some of those who work for C. F. & I.). The national steel-making capacity of 145 million tons per year is only being used at the rate of 105 million tons. And yet this new plant although relatively small, will add about another million tons to the national capacity.

Both men and plants are idle. In the midst of unexampled prosperity, there is the rust of steel and the suffering of men. But big business is rushing madly ahead to build more new plants so more old ones will be useless and more workers will be laid off.

Sensible capitalist system!

## SUBSCRIBE NOW!

A 6 mo. sub to WORKERS WORLD for only \$1.00—1 yr. for \$2.00.

Fill in coupon and mail to:

Workers World, 46 W. 21st St., N.Y. 10, N.Y.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....



## They Took A Lot of Loot

By Mose Peterson

Considerable publicity was given this past week to the amount of loot taken out of the hides of the working class by some of the top-dog bosses at the top of the pile in the boss world. Fred Donner, of the General Motors Corp., was high pirate, with \$670,350. for the year.

U. S. News and World Report said that out of 644 top bosses, 28 took more than \$300,000, 50 took more than \$200,000 and the rest extracted from \$200,000 down to \$33,000.

Of course, U.S. News said they "earned" this money but that is just the prejudiced viewpoint of this reactionary publication. U.S. News even went in for comedy by suggesting that these predators should be given some sort of medal for the amounts they paid in income tax!

What should be cleared up is the fact that these bosses are just the hired agents of the American capitalist class and these huge sums paid to them are just chicken feed compared to the surplus value appropriated for their own use by the capitalist class itself.

For example, Paul Getty allegedly owns a fortune of about \$900 million and we can be sure that he takes at least 5 per cent on this. This gives this one capitalist a yearly take of \$45,000,000.

The DuPont family owns about ten billions, and the Rockefellers, Mellons and other members of America's richest families own comparable amounts.

Further, these rich are not at all satisfied with a 5 per cent return, and on many of their properties acquired and held by naked force like Arabian oil, they take profits of nearly fifty percent.

The total loot of the American capitalist class is almost incalculable and this publicity over the pay of their hired agents is intended only to deceive the working class and conceal the terrible burden imposed on the economic life of the country by the uncounted billions taken by the capitalist class itself.

# Nigerian Workers Have to Fight Capitalism At Home, Abroad—And Inside Their Unions

By Abrahaim James

*The following account by our West African correspondent gives some idea of how 'modern' the workers movement is in Nigeria and how repressive the colonial rule still is. In addition, it provides a glimpse of how the great East-West world struggle becomes a part of the class struggle now going on in this rising country. — Ed.*

Lagos, Nigeria — Nigeria's Central Movement, representing millions of Nigerian workers throughout the Federation (Nigerian Trades Union Congress) is on the verge of collapse.

But why? This is the burning question on the lips of socialists and other lovers of the working classes in Africa.

A thorough investigation I carried out, backed with a series of interviews, revealed that the capitalist-backed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is the 'devil' behind the crisis. Officials of this organization are going up and down the country with money to lure leaders of the Congress into forming an alliance with them.

They have succeeded in having some of the leaders of the Congress affiliate the Congress with ICFTU, and this has brought a big crisis in the labor front in Nigeria.

The President-General of the Nigerian Trades Union Congress, dynamic 53 year-old Michael Imodu, opposed this, and has therefore called for the dissolution of the Central Committee of the Congress.

Mr. Imodu, who has just returned from an extensive tour of some Eastern European countries, told them it was the most stupid thing for the Congress to do — affiliate with the ICFTU. Instead, he thought it was better for the Congress to be in a position to seek

help from countries not only in the West, but also in the East.

He accused the ICFTU of causing the rift now existing in the labor movement of Nigeria. This action of the ICFTU, said Mr. Imodu, was a clever way of enslaving the millions of workers in Nigeria, because if the Congress is tied with the ICFTU, the latter would dictate the policy for the Nigerian unions to follow. And this would hurt the already suffering Nigerian workers. He declared, "We shall oppose this move to the last."

With some hundred dynamic leaders in the labor field in Nigeria including senator-cum-trade unionist, Chief Fagbenro Beyioku, Mr. Imodu called a conference of a faction of the Congress where thousands of unionists gathered to sanction the disaffiliation move.

Imodu told the Conference, "We have a good deal to learn from our brothers in the East." He said the Congress should make it a matter of top priority to reorganize, and be able to stand on its own feet against the invasion of the ICFTU when Nigeria becomes independent on October 1 this year. He also told the Congress that it was a matter of national calamity that 60 per cent of able-bodied citizens of Nigeria were unemployed.

Another leader of Imodu's wing of the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria, Mr. Gogo Chu Nzeribe, who is a first class socialist, said in a statement in Lagos today that "our country demands that all workers unite more closely and that the voice of the masses should be loudly raised for unity and real independence."

Gogo, an experienced Nigerian trade unionist, has had his passport seized because he is suspected of being a Com-

munist. Gogo is not worried about this and he is continuing his work for the freedom of his fellow workers. He says, "Repression has increased of late, against us, the workers. Police attacks have been made on our democratic trade union rights and provocative measures have been adopted against the workers of Nigeria. Laws have been enacted whose effect are to cripple the united movement of our people."

He said workers of Nigeria must determine to intensify their activities in defense "of our democratic rights and the real independence of our country."

"Let us struggle for better wages, against retrenchment, for full employment and for the defense and extension of our trade union rights, for civil liberties and democratic rights of citizenship — of workshop, of travel, of thought, of action and of belief. Let us develop into an irresistible mass movement of the workers."

Calling for all Africans to attend the Casablanca Conference for the establishment of an all-African Trade Union Federation—free and independent—he he said:

"Let us advance to the strengthening of international working class solidarity and friendship between the workers of the world."

## Right, Mr. Hoover!

Herbert Hoover said the other day that "this nation is not in its decline and fall."

That's right, Mr. Hoover. Just the capitalist rulers of this nation are in their decline and fall.

## So. Africans Ready to Give Their Lives

# "We Have to Plunge In and Fight"

Under the violent onslaught of the minority racist rulers, the so-far unarmed South African masses are standing firm, and already speaking boldly about their next struggle for freedom.

"We have nothing else to do but plunge in and fight," a South African woman bravely said to a reporter on a streetcorner in Johannesburg last week. "If we get shot, we get shot."

## No Takers

South African industrialists have been frantically seeking white European immigration so they can send the black Africans back into the barren tribal reserves to starve.

But European workers have been giving the plan a very cold shoulder.

Running true to form, the white South African capitalists asked for northern European immigrants if possible (their skins are a couple of shades lighter than southern Europeans). But the Greeks, Italians, etc., are not interested either.

The leading nationalist parties. The African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, are outlawed, their leaders jailed, their activities necessarily restricted, their membership "underground." The masses have even less weapons than before. (Police raids confiscated all knives, lances, clubs, etc. that could be found—the workers are too poor to afford rifles, even if they were easy to come by.)

Nevertheless, the repression is so savage—life is so terrible—that they are determined that they cannot go on living in the old way.

The New York Times of May 8 tells of a Johannesburg African clerk who, unlike most of his oppressed country-

men, has 14 years of schooling. (That's the equivalent of two years in college.) He is a "highly paid" African.

On a salary of \$92 a month he supports a wife and six children. "There is still going to be bloodshed because we cannot get our freedom without lives being sacrificed," he explained. "I will probably lose mine, but I will give it."

And if the masses cannot go on living the old way, neither can the rulers go on ruling in the old way. It was not an accident that a white millionaire shot the Hitler-like white supremacist, Prime Minister Verwoerd. The South African ruling class is hopelessly divided about its own policies. And it will never be unified again except in open civil war.



# Defense Guards in the South

From town after town, and from store after store in the South comes the news that ordinary white customers are undisturbed by Negro students wanting to "sit down" alongside of them for a cup of coffee. In many cases, indeed, white boys and girls have joined the sitdowns or walked the picket lines.

But this very fact has got the white supremacist rulers of the South raving mad, practically spitting foam into their mint juleps.

The racist rulers cannot afford to allow even this much integration. After all, their exploitation of the masses of black and white working people depends mainly on keeping them racially divided (while giving a few crumbs more to the whites) and thus preventing their organizing together for higher wages and better working conditions.

That is why the Ku Klux Klan is being revived. That is why the armed gangs of white hoodlums are being set up. That is why the word is going out to police chiefs in Alabama and Mississippi to "get tough."

In a county neighboring Montgomery Alabama, the sheriff has deputized at least fifty men and armed them with pistols. These men drill on horseback—a legalized, streamlined version of the Klan. Meanwhile the Klan itself is extremely busy in Alabama, burning according to one account, a hundred crosses in one county in a single day. And the police openly protected a bunch of Klansmen while they burned a cross in Macon, Georgia.

In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a self-proclaimed military organization called the "Louisiana Rangers" has staged a 21-car "show-of-strength" demonstration in the heart of the business district. The cars all bore Confederate flags, and had posters on the sides which read: "Vigilantes."

This is not the good clean fun of little kids imitating the grade B movies, although these people do have a ten-year-old mentality. It is the sinister, planned viciousness of grown men egged on by bigger financial interests. (The chief of

police in Baton Rouge, S. Arrighi, significantly made no move to stop the slowing driving caravan.)

Crosses are burning all through the South and beatings, reported and unreported, are being stepped up from Carolina to Texas. The desperate ruling class is openly preparing to unleash its cowardly mobsters upon the Negro people and their white allies.

The oppressed must be prepared. They too, must organize—not for offense but for defense—not for provocative rides through the center of town, not for bombings, cross-burnings, lynchings, rapings and tortures—but for armed self-protection of their most elementary rights.

This would not horrify the white allies of the Negro people nor antagonize them. On the contrary this would give them confidence that they can fraternize with, and defend Negroes without fear of being flogged or lynched by the white mobster tools of the racist ruling class.

## The New Lafayette?

When Charles de Gaulle came to New York last month, he got the full red carpet treatment and a parade even a movie star would envy.

The capitalist press dealt with his visit in adjectives worthy of the Second Coming of Christ and compared him (advantageously) with Joan of Arc.

Reporters found a striking similarity between him and another French general—Lafayette.

One difference:

Lafayette came here in 1776 to help a colony (America) gain its freedom. De Gaulle came here in 1960 to get help to keep a colony (Algeria) from getting its freedom.

# A Military Expert Pinpoints the Whole Thing

By V. Grey

Do you know who is really most at fault in this whole international crisis involving nearly three billion people and bringing two great social systems to the brink of global war?

A young aviator named Francis Powers!

Is that hard to believe? According to Hanson Baldwin, America's leading military affairs analyst, it's all Powers' fault, because he didn't commit suicide and blow himself and his plane to smithereens when he was supposed to. That's what Baldwin says on the front page of the May 9 *New York Times*.

"He apparently decided that life was better than death and his instinctive reaction produced an international incident of unpredictable consequences."

Now if Mr. Powers had only decided that death was better than life, there would have been no international incident, the State Department would have been spared its current red face, Eisenhower would not have been interrupted in his golf, the Summit Conference would have gone its hypocritical way—and Hanson Baldwin would have had no comments on the softness of American spies!

But it didn't happen that way. The international crisis *did* come. "The United States was caught red-handed in a major espionage operation," as Baldwin put it. And "All these and other consequences stemmed from one man's instinct for survival in the few seconds when Francis Powers faced his crucial decision."

So you see, it's all Francis Powers' fault! Congress is looking for a fall-guy. Who but Francis Powers should be the scape-goat?

Should it be the vast network of the Central Intelligence Agency? Should it be the great Lockheed Aircraft Corporation which makes so many millions out of the planes it sells the government (like the one Powers was piloting)? Should it be the military officers who engineered Powers' flight? Should it be the U.S. government itself, which Baldwin proves in the same article was really the "closely directing" agency? Should it be Wall Street capitalism which either bribes or owns every politician in the government?

Oh, no. Not at all. Mr. Powers was the principal culprit, because he didn't die. Why did he have to survive and make all this trouble for us?—so Mr. Baldwin asks himself. "This is a question that only Mr. Powers can answer," says Baldwin with great restraint. "And he may spend the rest of his life trying to answer it satisfactorily."

If only some resolute servant of his country like Baldwin could have made that trip through the dangerous airspace of the Soviet Union, things might well have been different.

If Baldwin could have pulled the pin that would have blown himself to Kingdom Come (as well as the plane), what a fine and patriotic death that would have been! America would have been saved this international loss of prestige, although indeed, she would have lost the services of a brave and esteemed military columnist.

(But maybe this thought struck Baldwin, too, when he added that it is "contrary to the American ethic to destroy one's own life.")

It's really only those fanatical Russians and those crazy Chinese that are

willing to die. Our "American ethic" is against it, Baldwin dolefully expounds. And Powers got all balled up between being an American and remembering that "the unwritten law of every secret intelligence organization postulates the suicide of an agent rather than capture. . . ."

Of course, Powers may have chosen to live for another reason than just not wanting to die. Millions have willingly died in wars for freedom. They all loved life, too. But Powers did not die.

Maybe he was a coward.

—And maybe he wondered whether Hanson Baldwin and his wealthy brass-hat friends were really worth dying for.

## True to Form!

Seventy per cent of the victims of the Sharpesville massacre in South Africa were *shot in the back*.

Unimpeachable testimony by Dr. John Friedman, senior district surgeon of Johannesburg and Dr. P. Keen, surgeon in charge of the "non-white" hospital at Johannesburg, proves this fact conclusively.

Police used high-velocity bullets against the unarmed crowd that had massed before the police station to protest the slave-like pass system. And it is now clear that they shot most of the people *after they had begun to disperse*.

## Meany Copes With Automation (By Turning His Guns the Other Way!)

George Meany announced on May 4 that 800,000 jobs have been *closed out* in industries represented by the AFL-CIO.

This is authoritative evidence that automation has taken its inevitable toll in the mass production plants. And it is a warning that the 4.2 million *officially* unemployed (actually, there are a lot more), may never become employed again.

But George Meany, the top "leader" of American labor does not seem to be very disturbed. True, he is setting up a committee to organize engineers, technicians and white collar workers. (And this is very much needed of course.) His answer to automation is to organize the employed automators, but to let those 800,000 *unemployed* by automation take care of themselves.

He is *not* calling on the U.S. government to provide for a six hour day at eight hours pay, for example, but he is criticizing the government for being too "soft" on Soviet Russia.

Now in the Soviet Union, automation and other production improvements *do not result in layoffs*. The tendency there

is toward a shorter work week and higher pay. In fact, if the Soviet Union could get universal disarmament and demobilize its army (which it *cannot* while aggressive imperialism still threatens it), there would be *more* civilian jobs and a higher standard of living. Here in the United States, where the capitalist system prevails, disarmament, like automation, would bring unemployment and depression.

Meany complains that unions in the USSR do not have the right to strike. Why does Meany not propose to use the "right to strike" in the *United States* in such a way that the workers may receive some of the *benefits* of automation—that is, strike for the six hour day at eight hours pay?

This is why not: He is mortally afraid of getting into a fight against the American capitalists.

The main enemy, as Meany sees it, is not the boss system he is paid a fortune every year to fight against. For him, the main enemy is the country where the bosses were overthrown by the workers in the biggest strike in history.

# The Spy Plane and the Cold War

In times of great world crisis, it is of exceptional importance for the working class vanguard to retain theoretical clarity. Failure to do so, means that the machines of imperialist propaganda—which in such periods work at fever pitch, and a thousand times more subtly than in ordinary times—take over completely. A virtual blackout of independent class expression becomes the order of the day.

The first thing for a revolutionary Marxist to note, is the incredibly *swift transition* that the U. S. ruling class made from extreme "embarrassment" concerning the spy plane incursion, to the most extreme, naked, and downright brutish advocacy of the "moral righteousness" of espionage.

The second thing to note is the ease and facility with which the ruling class mobilized the press, the radio, TV, the pulpit, both branches of Congress, all the branches of the executive arm of the government, and the varied assortment of "independent" spokesmen, to uphold the government's position as "morally right."

\* \* \* \* \*

Yes, "the timing might have been wrong," "there was inefficiency in coordination," "the right hand did not know what the left hand was doing," and so on and so forth ad nauseam. But all are whipped into line on the *basic issue*—that it was *right to do it!* Such is the nature of bourgeois criticism, passed off as "the exercise of free speech" in an imperialist democracy which is preparing for war.

Only after we have noted all this, can we examine the *real* confusion in the camp of the ruling class. On the eve of every big crisis which concerns itself with the prosecution of a war, there is a split, or the threat of a split within the summits of the governmental hierarchy. One wing tends toward moderation, hesitation, softer methods, and procrastination. The other wing is for firmness, tends toward boldness, leans toward adventurism, and in extreme cases, acts without authority. In a general way, this reduces itself

to a split or a threatened split between the civilian and military wings of the imperialist state.

This has generally not been true of the older, more stable capitalists states—especially in the U. S. A., where the tradition of bankers and industrialists running the armed forces, is strongest.

\* \* \* \* \*

But the phenomenon of the Cold War has thrust the U. S. A. into the leadership of the world-wide imperialist struggle against the U.S.S.R., China, and the colonial people, for the domination of the globe. This has been accompanied by a slow, but nonetheless consistent shift in the weight of the military over the civilian wing of the imperialist state. Even where the military has lost out on important occasions, such as in the firing of Gen. MacArthur, it has generally been strengthened anyway.

Even as long ago as 1947, the U. S. A. was correctly called a garrison state. The authoritative columnist Arthur Krock, in his column of the *New York Times* of May 10, states that the spy incident poses "certain fundamental questions over which a final judgment can not be reached. These questions imply an assumption of authority that merits severe punishment—for such an assumption not only would violate the laws of the Constitution. It also would in effect lodge the decision of peace or war in subordinate government hands." He concludes that there may never be a satisfactory answer to these questions, or at least none available to this generation.

The reason for this lies in the acuteness of the war danger, the growing instability of U. S. imperialist domination over the world and the ever-growing challenge of the world revolutionary mass movements to imperialist domination.

\* \* \* \* \*

The temptation to rely on the more moderate wing of the imperialist state in an imminent war crisis leads to political bankruptcy for the working-class vanguard, at best, and class treachery, at worst. The hosannas that have been sung to

the "spirit of Camp David" and to Eisenhower personally, are a symptom of this disease.

The announcement by Eisenhower, on May 11, that he fully supported the invasion of U.S.S.R. air space, can come as a shock only to those who have banked on the "moderation" (really, *hypocrisy*) of Eisenhower, in the sphere of world politics. Their line has operated as a gross deception of the world-wide working class and as a psychological and political disarmament of the working-class parties.

\* \* \* \* \*

The current leader and generator of this trend is none other than Khrushchev himself. On April 25, Khrushchev in a speech at Baku, stated, "You would like to know what the Soviet government thinks of the present international situation. I must tell you that we consider it to be good."

Then he went on to state that "his recent meetings with the heads of state and government—including the recent visit to France, all indicate a relaxation of international tension."

And to top it off, he even ventured to predict "that the salutary process of the relaxation of international tensions will continue."

Yet a bare few days later, the foreign minister of the U.S.S.R. was obliged to state in a formal note to the U.S.A. that "days reminiscent of the worst period of the Cold War" have returned, and Gromyko on May 11, characterized the U.S. position on espionage flights into the territory of the U. S. S. R. "as one of the most dangerous forms of brinkmanship."

Where did Khrushchev get his prognosis that there was developing "a relaxation of international tension"? On what basis did he arrive at it? What were his motives?

Whatever the answer to these questions may be (and we hope to cover this in a subsequent issue of WW), it is a certainty, in the light of the present international crisis, that he neither served the class interests of the world proletariat or the national interest of the U.S.S.R. as a workers state.