

Fight Classmates' Ouster



Hundreds of students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, lined up at registrar's office to ask for forms to withdraw from the school in protest over the expulsion of sixteen of their classmates. The sixteen were victimized for conducting lunch-counter sit-ins on March 30 in downtown Baton Rouge. Prior to their expulsion, the sixteen were jailed. This led to a protest demonstration on the steps of the state capitol by 5,000 Southern University students. Then, when the students involved in the sitdowns were suspended, the withdrawal movement began.

Terror Fails to Halt South African Revolt

By M. L. Stafford

APRIL 6 — Despite desperate efforts by the Verwoerd government to crush their heroic struggle against apartheid, the South African working people continue to fight for an end to the hated racist system. And their battle is gaining support nationally and internationally. Prime Minister Verwoerd's troops have surrounded workers' living quarters, and the police, assisted by "white citizens' defense forces," have raided African homes, beating the residents with rubber hoses and whips in an attempt to drive them back to work and thus to break the general strike movement. Strikes have ebbed throughout the country. However, in the Capetown area 20,000 workers remained away from work for a second week. Gunplay by the police has resulted in one more dead and thirty more persons seriously injured in the crackdowns on workers during the past week. The president of the Capetown Chamber of Industries has told reporters, however, that he believed the return to work by some strikers was dictated by hunger rather than police brutality. For four days, armed troops and tanks have hemmed thousands of workers and their families in the "native quarters" in the township of Langa, without food supplies, in an attempt to prevent any new march on the city of Capetown. Last week 30,

000 Africans demonstrated against the "passbook" laws — one of the most despised measures for enforcing apartheid — and shouted "Our Country!" as they thronged down the city streets. In Lamontville, a "native quarter" near the industrial and port city of Durban, one African was killed and four were wounded as police battled a crowd of about 1,000 workers who attacked scabs returning from work in the city. An army convoy has moved into Johannesburg as rumors spread that Negroes had planned a march on Fort Johannesburg prison where many of their leaders are held. More than 230

(Continued on Page 2)

Found in Bulrushes, Pulls Bull's Leg

A favorite joke of Southern students, involved in the sit-in campaign, concerns a police sergeant who answers the phone at a jail where a number of students are being held. The voice at the other end asks: "Are you Sergeant Pharaoh?" "I'm a sergeant, but my name isn't Pharaoh. What do you want?" the policeman asks. "Let my people go," the voice says. "Who is this? What's your name?" the sergeant asks in exasperation. The voice replies: "Moses."

2-Party Hoax On Civil Rights Scored by Quill

By Tom Kerry

It is refreshing in these times to hear the voice of at least ONE prominent union leader speaking out forthrightly in favor of a new political course for the American labor movement. Michael J. Quill, president of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union, devotes his full-page column in the April issue of TWU Express to a condemnation of the two-party swindle and a call for the organization of an independent labor party. Quill takes as the central point of his article the issue of the fight for civil rights. He is revolted by the nauseating spectacle of the Senate filibuster and the sham battle in Congress over the current "voting rights" measure. "The 3-ring circus going on in Washington for several weeks now," says Quill, "is a marathon probing expedition as to whether or not we in the United States — all 170 million of us — should at this late date, in the year 1960, live up to the U.S. Constitution ratified in 1789, and augmented by the 15th Amendment on March 30, 1870. This amendment guarantees the right to vote regardless of race, color or religious belief. "But of course," Quill adds, "up to now, these guarantees have not been extended to the majority of 18 million Negroes in this country. . . . "In the poll tax states where

(Continued on Page 4)

Southern Rights Fighters Win Nationwide Backing

5000 Picket In New York

By Lillian Kiezel

Five thousand people picketed eight Woolworth stores in New York City and surrounding districts on April 2. Led by various units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and by the New York Youth Committee for Integration, the protest picket lines were the most impressive demonstrations yet seen here in support of the Negro students' battle to smash Jim Crow practices at Southern lunch counters.

The largest demonstration was at Woolworth's Herald Square store, where the Youth Committee organized its fifth successful Saturday picket line. Other groups also picketed the same store.

Most of the 400 students who participated in the Herald Square picketing witnessed New York's first sit-in demonstration, which received international publicity and was featured in the press, on radio and TV.

At least forty youths sat down at one of the store's lunch counters. Many were high school students, a good number of them Negroes. From 1 to 5 p.m., they blocked all services at that counter.

Police, who had earlier harassed youths distributing leaflets to prospective Woolworth customers, now threatened to arrest the sit-ins. Woolworth's management, however, declined to file charges.

The students gave the waitresses \$11.75 in tips which they collected among themselves. They felt the waitresses might suffer through the unexpected loss of trade.

Outside the store, the indoor demonstration aroused great enthusiasm among the picketers. CORE representatives, however, refused to have anything to do with the sit-in. When Fred Mazelis, chairman of the Youth Committee, told the press that the action had been spontaneous, CORE challenged the statement and Gordon Carey, CORE's field secretary, smeared the Youth Committee as an "obstructionist group."

Last week, A. Philip Randolph red-baited the New York student group at a large Harlem rally. Although Southern students, speaking at the rally, had appealed for greater support from the North, Randolph said he opposed all picket lines organized by the Youth Committee. This week the sit-in action was condemned as "misguided" and "artificial" by the New York Post in an April 3 editorial. The Post OK'd picketing but said that sitdowns in the North cease to be "non-violent protest." No violence occurred at the Herald Square sit-in.

The members of the New York Youth Committee for Integration are redoubling their efforts to make their next protest demonstration, Apr. 9, their biggest yet.

While Woolworth stores were being hit by nationwide picket demonstrations protesting the company's Jim Crow policies in the South, the San Francisco stores were also picketed by union workers rebelling against sweat-shop wages. A five-day strike against Woolworth and three other variety chains in that city ended March 29 with the granting of higher pay. Nine hundred members of Local 1100 of the Retail Clerks Union, AFL-CIO — 400 of them employed by Woolworth — walked out demanding the same wage scale as regular department stores and improved night and holiday premium pay. The top wage for experienced clerks at Woolworth's was \$1.52½ an hour.

As in the case of the Southern

The Sit-ins and Congress

An Editorial

The Negro students in the South have poured out of the class rooms to join the march of world history. They have struck with such power at the decaying structure of white-supremacist rule that it will never recover from it. Their magnificent initiative, courage, discipline and inventiveness have inspired a broad movement of solidarity among the masses of students in the North.

The youth of America are making civil-rights history; the two capitalist parties in the Eighty-sixth Congress, meanwhile, are writing a civil-rights bill.

If ever there was an opportunity for legislators to prove that they truly represent the people, this is it. And if ever a legislature had the opportunity to enact a law in tune with the will of the people, this is it. What then are the two capitalist parties doing on civil rights? If they are not opening new pathways, are they at least redeeming old promises?

Note first what they have done about the sit-in movement. The chief of the Republican party, President Eisenhower, has been unable to make up his mind on whether the Negro student sit-in — he calls them lunch-counter "incidents" — are legitimate or not. The foremost spokesman for the Democrats, ex-President Truman, took the occasion to unbar his racist soul when he declared March 24: "If anyone came into my store and tried to stop

business, I'd throw him out. The Negro should behave himself."

None of the assorted Democratic presidential contenders have taken issue with Truman or in any other way declared themselves in favor of the embattled Negro students!

In Congress, where the big Democratic majority elected in 1958 was supposed to produce a stronger civil-rights measure than that gutless wonder, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, a "civil rights" bill acceptable to the Dixiecrats has now been agreed upon by all sides.

The only strong provision of the bill — calling for criminal penalties against violators of any federal court order — is not designed to aid courts in enforcing civil-rights decrees, if any, as much as to help impose anti-labor injunctions. Thus, what was supposed to be a civil-rights bill has been turned into an anti-labor measure.

In the face of these facts, how can the leaders of the labor movement continue to support the capitalist politicians and the two-party system? And how can the Communist party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation continue to drag after the labor officials in this?

The Socialist Workers party, we believe, is entirely correct in running its independent socialist ticket in this year's elections. Only the SWP candidates will wholeheartedly champion the civil-rights struggle against the bipartisan racists.

Khrushchev Rebuffed By De Gaulle on Deal

By Alex Harte

In an April 4 report on his visit to France, Soviet Premier Khrushchev declared, "We can guarantee peace in Europe by a solution of the disarmament question and by concluding a peace treaty with both German states." "And we are sure," he added, "that despite the efforts of Adenauer the Western countries will sooner or later come to the same conclusion we have."

He went on to tell the Soviet people that he thought his trip to France had been "rather successful" because he and De Gaulle had agreed on a joint communi-

que which said that disarmament was the most urgent issue confronting the world. However, he added, they had not reached any agreement on the issue of Germany.

The failure to win over De Gaulle to his plans certainly did not spring from lack of trying on Khrushchev's part. His entire eleven-day tour of France was devoted to a single theme — a "revengeful" German militarism, which had overrun France twice, was preparing to do so again and the only way France could escape this fate was through an anti-German alliance with the USSR.

On his arrival in Paris, March 23, Khrushchev paid "homage to the heroic sons of France who had given their lives in the struggle against the German aggressors."

He added, "At the decisive moments our peoples have fought together against their common enemy. We know that in France you are aware of the presence of the threat of a revenge."

The next day he reiterated the German "menace" theme, declaring, "Whenever a threat has arisen to our countries it has always come from the same quarter and was directed against you and us."

And so it went throughout his tour. In every public appearance he worked diligently to fan the flames of nationalist, anti-German sentiment among the French people.

Khrushchev undoubtedly sought in this way to check American war preparations against the Soviet Union. These preparations call for building a united European military force, with special stress on a powerful West German army. Khrushchev and the other Kremlin leaders hope Washington's plans can be defeated by raising the specter of Germany turning on its present allies.

Khrushchev's propaganda in this respect is both delusory and reactionary. First, it plays down the fact that World War III is being prepared not in Bonn but in Washington. In the anti-Soviet drive Bonn is but an outpost; Washington is headquarters.

Second, the chances that the capitalists in America and Western Europe will fall out among

Congress Aims Another Jab at Cuban People

The House Foreign Affairs Committee asked Congress March 31 to bar Cuba from U.S. technical aid. Cuba's annual allotment has been \$350,000, an insignificant part of the \$4,038,500,000 foreign aid bill. Committee chairman, Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D-Pa.) hopes Cuba's proscription will give "the President [Eisenhower] flexibility and put him in a stronger bargaining position in this difficult situation."

For weeks pressure against further aid to Cuba has been building up in Congress. The New York World-Telegram reported March 18 that Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio), a member of the House committee, had said that if the State Department didn't kill proposed "continuation of the Cuban program, he'd vote against foreign aid for the first time in 12 years."

Cuban Revolution Impresses Brazilian

Janio Quadros, opposition candidate for the Brazilian presidency, visited Cuba last week and returned home deeply impressed by the revolution and the effort of "a heroic people to construct a more just, human, generous and . . . Christian country."

Free-Shooting N.Y. Cops Kill a Negro Bystander

BROOKLYN, N. Y., April 2 — An innocent 17-year-old Negro youth was killed by a white cop in the predominantly Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant community here shortly after midnight today. Angered residents, long the target of police brutality, charged that the shooting was one more example of official disregard for Negro lives. At the time of the killing, patrol squads were brought from five precincts to disperse an angry crowd of 1,000 that had gathered at the scene.

A second youth, claimed to be escaping arrest, was shot in the back.

According to the police version, Patrolmen Francis Carrillo and Paul McHugh had tried to arrest a youth who, they said,

Woolworth Hit Coast to Coast

By Harry Ring

APRIL 6 — Reporting on the bitterly fought integration struggle in Marshall, Texas, one wire service noted that the Negro demonstrations there were "the first since Reconstruction days." This historic fact applies to the Southwide movement which is maintaining its unprecedented mass challenge to the Jim Crow system despite ten weeks of wholesale jailings and victimizations.

As the inspiring battle continues, the Northern supporting movement is also winning new forces. The solidarity demonstrations have stirred more people to action than any social issue since the 1930's. "Pickets marched yesterday in front of a majority of the 3,000 F. W. Woolworth stores throughout the nation in protest against the chain's segregated lunch counters in the South," reported the April 3 New York Times.

Among the highlights of the past week's developments on the Southern front were an integration victory in Galveston; initial steps aimed at linking the integration movements in the various cities; and the first endorsement by a Southern trade-union body of the sit-in demonstrations.

In Galveston, Woolworth and Kress put their lunch counters yesterday on a service-for-all basis. Previously in Texas, lunch counters were integrated in San Antonio.

Meanwhile, Highlander Folk School, in Monteagle, Tenn., played host to a conference of students from 16 Southern campuses in seven states.

South Carolina students, who have continued their sit-ins despite some 300 arrests, reported to the Highlander conference that a South Carolina Movement had been formed to link the activities of the rights fighters throughout the state. The conference proposed an exchange of school papers to inform demonstrating students of activities being carried on by other schools.

From North Carolina came the encouraging news that the State AFL-CIO had pledged the support of its 35,000 members to the sit-in strikes. Delegates to the state AFL-CIO convention unanimously adopted a resolution expressing "approval of the efforts" of the students to win equal rights.

Described by the national AFL-CIO News, March 26, as "one of the strongest-worded civil rights resolutions ever adopted by a labor organization in the South," the resolution pointed out that picket lines, sit-downs and boycotts were the established, legitimate weapons of the labor movement itself and condemned police interference with the student actions.

The need to translate this resolution into action on a Southwide basis is urgent. This is underscored by the massive racist resistance to the magnificent struggle waged by the

(Continued on Page 4)

Impressions of Cuba

By Joseph Hansen

HAVANA, April 3 — At a lunch counter near the Plaza Civica where Farrell Dobbs and I stopped for a sandwich yesterday, a Cuban youth, hearing me speak Spanish, struck up a conversation with us. He was curious to know our impressions and specially whether we had encountered any anti-American sentiment. We told him that our impression of the Cuban Revolution was very favorable and that we had not yet run into a single expression of anti-American sentiment in all our roaming of Havana. In fact, we had found just the opposite: the greatest courteousness and friendliness. "Yet the baseball clubs are afraid to come here," he said. "They seem to think Americans are being killed in the streets." We laughed at that because the streets of Havana are as peaceable as can be imagined — incomparably more so than in any city of the southern United States where a Negro youth can at any time get his skull cracked if he sits down at a lunch counter reserved for the master race. Let me cite a few more instances of the same kind to illustrate the general feeling here. We walked into a section headquarters of the July 26 Movement around the corner

Farrell Dobbs, presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers party, and Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, are in Cuba to study at first hand the changes brought about by the revolution as well as to gain a better understanding of the policies of the new Cuban government.

from our hotel. It was early in the evening and not more than a dozen had gathered. They were much younger in appearance than one would expect in a youth movement in the United States. Girls and boys of all colors were busy in the rather dimly lit place. A picture of Fidel Castro hung on the wall.

The youth at the desk asked if he could help us and again the conversation shifted to our impressions. He talked somewhat excitedly and insisted, with an emphatic gesture toward the picture on the wall, "Castro is no Communist. He is our friend."

The others joined in the conversation, a Negro girl saying with a most friendly smile, "We only want to live in peace."

In another instance, a taxi driver, at first noncommittal, warmed up when he discovered that we really talked the same language. He told us that the ones at the bottom of the trouble were the American monopolists

who had been bleeding Cuba. The bad stories about Cuba were due to them. They own the big newspapers and they buy up journalists to tell lies about Cuba. He hoped the American people thought differently; they should come to Cuba to see for themselves how much good the Revolution is doing.

An English-speaking taxi driver told us how things were under Batista. "In one single day," he said, "I saw three people shot by the police." He said it so quietly, in such a matter-of-fact tone, that it shook us more than if he had gone into the details. "Now everything is peaceful. It is hard to understand why the United States is against our revolution."

Dobbs explained that there are two Americas. "The rich monopolists don't represent the feelings of the workers, those that have had experience in strike struggles."

Our driver obviously wanted to believe this, but he felt unconvinced. "The tourists have stopped coming."

At Vinales, a small town some 120 miles from Havana, where we went during the week to visit co-operatives under construction, we had the same type of experience with everyone we talked with. There the impact of the State Department's anti-Cuba campaign seems more remote than in Havana with its

(Continued on Page 3)

# South African Freedom Fight Drives Wedge in Ruling Class

By Frances James

The demonstrations and strikes of the Negroes in the Union of South Africa during recent weeks have precipitated a sharp debate in the country's parliament currently meeting in Capetown.

The opposition to the government of the extreme racist Dr. Verwoerd has proposed a number of reforms that would eliminate the most brutal aspects of apartheid. The cleavage in parliament is so deep that a number of reporters in Capetown predict the fall of the Verwoerd government and with it the end of the Nationalist party's dictatorship, which has lasted since 1948.

Supporting the opposition in an attempt to institute reforms are the United party, based on British settlers; the Progressives, a group of liberals on the race question who broke away from the United party last year; church leaders of both the Anglican and Dutch Reform Churches; and leading industrial and mining capitalists who dislike the economic consequences of unmodified racism. Among

the latter is Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the powerful Anglo-American Corporation which controls major sections of mining and industry in the Union and in the Rhodesias.

When capitalism moves into an area, it must perforce transform the social relations so as to facilitate its own development. Commodity production and the buying and selling of labor power must sooner or later replace the more primitive economic relations.

But the labor policies adopted by the Nationalist government since 1948 have run directly counter to the needs of capitalist development in the southern section of Africa, and the boom has served to sharpen the contradiction.

The prosperity of southern Africa can be gauged from the fact that the gross national product of the Union of South Africa and of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland has increased during the last several years at a tempo greater than in any other area outside of the Soviet-bloc countries.

As a result of the growth of manufacturing in the Union, industrial production now comes to one-quarter of the total national product. Eighty-five per cent of the industrial output—namely, tractors, bicycles, textiles, canned food—is sold to other African countries, especially to the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

The Union and the Federation have become closely linked economically, and the huge mining interests look upon the African population of the entire southern section of the continent as their labor-power pool.

But, since the followers of Dr. Verwoerd consider the Africans to be innately semi-savage and childlike, their apartheid policies serve to keep the labor force backward in terms of modern education, health, industrial skills and social organization.

The racial laws of the Nationalist government are designed to prevent the workers from settling in the industrial areas, to return them to the rural "native reserves" and to reduce the South African working class to the status of slave labor.

In order to prevent the development of an industrially trained working class, whose very existence would threaten their political power, the Nationalists resort to the importation of thousands of migrant workers from Nyasaland, Mozambique, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, etc. This policy has resulted in a shortage of skilled workers—in a land of more than ten million potential industrial workers.

The shortage is made worse by the fact that immigration of white mechanics from Europe has been restricted by and large to those who support the Nationalist party's apartheid policy.

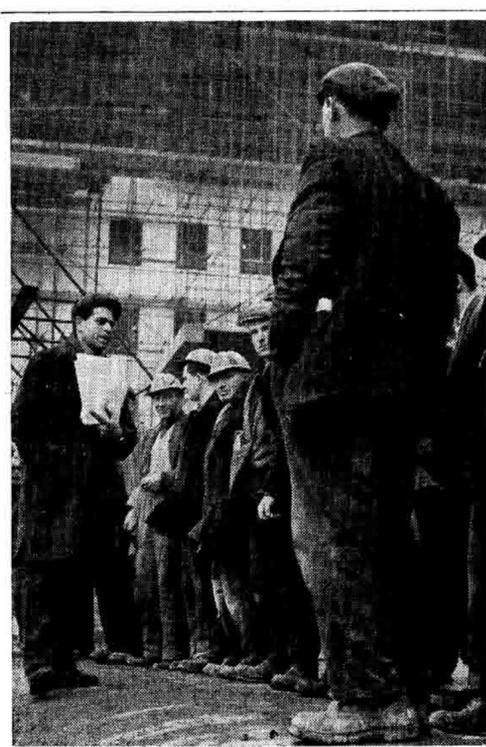
# British Witch-hunt Movie Glorifies a Scab

By Murry Weiss

In last week's article on the witch-hunt against the Socialist Labor League in Great Britain, we cited the lurid tales spread by the capitalist press about "Trotskyist strike-fomenters" and their "secret organization" known simply as "The Club."

The News Chronicle claims credit for having sparked the witch-hunt against militant unionism, though the type of fabrications it has peddled were invented long ago.

More recently, News Chronicle has boasted that its "exposures" supplied the inspiration for a movie, "The Angry Silence," put out early this year by Boulting Brothers with a star cast. The film glorifies scabbing. Its message is that to be a scab is a mark of non-conformity. This makes violating picket lines the latest thing, and everybody ought to do it.



"The Angry Silence" is about a "wildcat" strike in a Midlands plant. A young lathe operator, played by Richard Attenborough, scabs on his shopmates. He is shunned by his fellow workers. Local "Teddies" (juvenile gangs) support the strike. "Tragic irony" is introduced when the factory management sacks the hero-scab in order to settle the strike quickly.

News Chronicle reporter Leslie Mallory, in an interview Feb. 9 with actor Attenborough and the movie's screen writer Bryan Forbes is full of praise. The movie deals with "one of the hottest issues of the moment," he says. It is a "sober examination—this time through the microscope of one worker and his family" of "labor relations."

How "sober" may be judged from the following exchange between reporter Mallory and screen writer Forbes.

Forbes says: "I did a lot of research on the activities of The Club to get material for this picture."

"I pointed out," says Mallory, "that The Club, the Trotskyist group behind some recent strikes, had not been known to go around burning people's cars."

"Maybe not," says Forbes. "But the point I'm trying to make is that if you countenance violence in one form, it'll break out eventually in another."

By the same token, it might be argued, if you twist the truth in one particular, you will wind up with a tissue of lies. But Mallory and Forbes are not discussing fine points of ethics. They're out to do a job on "The Club."

There is, by the way, good reason why the anti-union film chooses a "wildcat" strike as the setting for glorifying a scab. This is part of the calculated campaign to enlist the aid of the labor bureaucracy in cracking down on "industrial trouble-makers."

Salesman for the Newsletter, weekly publication of the Socialist Labor League, at a construction site in England. The Newsletter has given strong backing to construction workers, who during the last eighteen months have engaged in several militant strikes.

At its March 22, 1959 meeting, the National Executive Committee of the Labor party resolved "to have a really thorough look at the inadequacies of the party's youth organizations" according to the Manchester Guardian. However, this not unimportant project was approached by the Labor party leaders with trembling hands and with foreboding in their hearts. The pro-Laborite weekly, the New Statesman, tells us why. "A party of the Left suffers from peculiar difficulties in organizing young people: the Young Conservatives do not have the equivalent of infiltrating Communists or Trotskyites at their dances and treasure hunts."

Peter Simple, columnist for the Conservative Daily Telegraph, Feb. 3, 1960, needles the Laborite leaders: "What are these 'peculiar difficulties'? And why this terror of infiltrating Trotskyites? If Trotskyites want to filter, why not let them? Might they not be won over?"

Simple then drives the knife home:

"The principal 'peculiar difficulties' is that the Young Socialists (youth section of the Labor party) are not Socialists and the infiltrating Trotskyites are. These Trotskyites are what the Young Socialists would be if they dared, or if they were logical, or if they had ever been told about it. To expose Young Socialists to them is therefore about as sensible as exposing a flock of sheep to a wolf."

Simple's blade lays bare the downright hostility of the Labor party's right wingers to the socialist program of their own party. No wonder they cannot educate the youth to socialism!

The Labor party's right-wing leadership, alien to all that is revolutionary, can only manifest distrust for the best qualities of the youth—its capacity to embrace new ideas, its fervent striving for truth, its boundless enthusiasm for bold projects for the betterment of humanity.

A single episode will suffice to show how utterly incapable the right-wing is of appealing to what is best in youth.

**David Williams' Crime**

In April 1959, the Sunday Dispatch reported, "A famous grammar school is investigating a Trotskyite 'cell' in its sixth form." The story goes on to reveal that a group of school boys "revolutionaries" led by 17-year-old David Williams "will be asked to explain his conduct to the headmaster."

The boy's mother is quoted as saying, "His father is furious for days." The mother declares, according to this paper, "I take a more lenient view and see David's political opinions as I would an attack of measles. He will get over it."

This incident created a furor in the whole British press. Headlines read: "Trotsky Cell in the Sixth Form," "School Boy Aids a Red Group," etc.

The headmaster of the school tries to pass off the incident as a boyish prank. The Leicester Evening Mail, March 27, 1959, says, "A Leicester headmaster laughed today when asked if national paper reports that a school boy had formed a 'Trotskyite cell' at the school were true." According to the headmaster, the boy "attended one or two meetings of the Socialist Labor League."

The capitalist press, however, took a dim view of considering David's conduct so lightly. With the national press bearing down on the incident, the schoolboy is badgered, bullied and high-pressured until he promises to stop attending SLL meetings.

The News Chronicle then reports, April 27: "Horrid!"

Schoolboy Leaves the Party," The boy is quoted as saying "From now on my activities will be purely academic and I shall divorce myself from politics entirely." The Chronicle quotes him as saying, "Now that I find it [the SLL] is Communist-inspired I have no wish to be identified with it in any way."

Enter Morgan Phillips, general secretary of the Labor party. Perhaps this dauntless leader of the working class will defend the boy from the red-baiters! No, Phillips treats the culprit as if he had caught him lifting his wallet. However, displaying a charitable and understanding nature, Phillips preaches that one mistake, especially by one so young, does not make the lac in-correctible.

"We are not the intolerant people some say we are. I have a sneaking feeling my own son has read this Trotskyist propaganda too."

Warming up to the subject of his tolerant attitude, Phillips then reveals the real skeleton in his family closet. This receives a seven-column headline in the April 28, 1959, Daily Mail as follows: "My Rebel Daughter—by Morgan Phillips." Underneath it is the text of the Labor party's secretary to the lad that had strayed.

"I think I ought to tell you about Gwyneth, my daughter," says Phillips. "She was a rebel too. She was in the Fulham League of Youth, so rebellious it was expelled by the constituency Labor party. Without my knowledge she organized unofficial meetings of the break-away youngsters in my home in my absence. And I am general secretary of the Labor party!"

"It was six weeks before I found out and I only discovered that my house was 'rebel headquarters' when I could not find a chair to sit on outside the room where, said my wife, 'Gwyneth was having friends.'"

But the story has a happy ending: "Gwyneth is now a loyal Labor party member, and her doctor husband is prospective Labor candidate against the Chancellor of the Exchequer." Clearly, there is hope for David Williams, too.

## ... South Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

African, Indian and white opponents of segregation have already been arrested. Many other leaders of the African National Congress and of the Pan Africanist Congress have escaped police searches and gone underground to continue their work.

South African Minister of Justice Erasmus has refused to say whether the young Pan-Africanist leader Philip Kgosana who led the 30,000 freedom-fighters demonstration in Capetown has been arrested or not.

In Port Elizabeth, during the night of April 2, bonfires of "passbooks" flared up and police made few attempts to disperse the groups around the fires. Negroes are reported to be touring the countryside urging that all burn up their passbooks.

The government declared April 6 that suspension of prosecution for violating the "passbook" laws has been withdrawn. This had been a concession to the Africans following protests over the shootings March 21 and 22, when police admitted to having killed seventy people.

Sixty-five Africans who appeared in Johannesburg court April 5 on a charge that they had violated the "passbook" laws on March 21, refused to plead. Their spokesman said: "We, the accused members of the African community refuse to plead to the charge laid against us because we are under no obligation to obey a law which has been imposed on African people without their consent."

Opposition to the Verwoerd government's murderous policies is growing among white clergy of both the Anglican and Dutch Reform Churches. Leading industrialists have declared that "consultation with all races must be undertaken" by the government.

The international boycott of South African goods has been gaining increased support.

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Too Many Babies?  
Ever Hear of "Instant People"?

By Joseph Hansen

Tenth in a series of articles.

When the neo-Malthusians advocate sterilization of the poor, particularly the masses of India, China, Africa and Latin America where the great majority happen to be colored, they prove themselves to be very short-sighted. To end this "overpopulation" would do untold damage to the capitalist system. Marx noted this trenchantly:

"But if a surplus laboring population is a necessary product of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalistic accumulation, nay, a condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army, that belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost."

Marx follows this observation with a most illuminating description of the periodicity of the expansion of capital, its ups and downs, its sudden retreats and its sudden expansion, all of which hinge on the possibility of throwing masses of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and then just as suddenly, when the opportunity arises, throwing them back into production. Anyone who recalls the sudden shift in the United States from the widespread unemployment of the thirties to the scramble for workers that occurred as the war industries moved into full production will appreciate the following passage from Marx:

"The mass of social wealth, overflowing with the advance of accumulation, and transformable into additional capital, thrusts itself frantically into old branches of production, whose market suddenly expands, or into newly formed branches, such as railways, etc., the need for which grows out of the development of the old ones. In all such cases, there must be the possibility of throwing great masses of men suddenly on the decisive points without injury to the scale of production in other spheres. Overpopulation supplies these masses."

To show how well the more thoughtful spokesmen of the capitalist class appreciated this function of overpopulation, Marx cites a statement by H. Merivale in 1841:

"Suppose that, on the occasion of some of these crises, the nation were to rouse itself to the effort of getting rid by emigration of some hundreds of thousands of superfluous arms, what would be the consequence? That, at the first returning demand for labor, there would be a deficiency. However rapid reproduction may be, it takes, at all events, the space of a generation to replace the loss of adult labor. Now, the profits of our manufacturers depend mainly on the power of making use of the prosperous moment when demand is brisk, and thus compensating themselves for the interval during which it is slack. This power is secured to them only by the command of machinery and of manual labor. They must have hands ready by them, they must be able to increase the activity of their operations when required, and to slacken it again, according to the state of the market, or they cannot possibly maintain the pre-eminence in the race of competition on which the wealth of the country is founded."

Does that language sound a little musty, like it's from the grave where the defenders of capitalism bury Marx a thousand times a year? Maybe you've got a point. Here's the modern shape of things as depicted in an advertisement that appeared in the New York press the first week of March 1960. In behalf of the Pennsylvania Power & Light Company, the Madison Avenue hucksters printed a composite photograph of an eager-beaver, smiling worker stepping on a spoon held below a jar of instant coffee. They added this attention-grabbing headline, "Ever Hear of 'Instant People'?" The advertisement continues:

"To the firm looking for a new plant site, 'Instant People' means an immediate source of skilled and semi-skilled labor and, in Central Eastern Pennsylvania, you'll find all the honest and conscientious manpower you want!

"Just as a starter, check the 'available labor list shown to the right for four communities in Central Eastern Pennsylvania."

"It's only a sample of the experienced heavy industry men... local people, not transients... who can set your lathes turning and wheels spinning the day you flip the first switch! Add 'instant' shell buildings... they're brand-new, ready and waiting, at unbelievably low cost... to the picture and you can see Central Eastern Pennsylvania has everything to put your business in business, right in the 'Heart of the Market.' Let us show you why!"

Isn't it really more satisfying to let Marx show us why? Suppose we try to follow his analysis further as he probes deeper into what happens to the working population upon the widening of the ratio between constant and variable capital.

(Next week: The Testimony of Lewis.)

## Witch-hunting the Youth

The anti-Marxist witch-hunt operates in all areas of British life. But perhaps its real intent is nowhere so fully revealed as in the field of youth. Here the Socialist Labor League has been scoring some of its most significant successes, whereas the right-wing Labor party leadership has failed dismally.

The failure of the Labor party's right-wing leadership to inspire support from the ranks of England's youth is notorious. And the causes as well as the cure for this have long been a subject of debate and concern in all sections of the party.

## ... Khrushchev Rebuffed

(Continued from Page 1)

themselves are infinitely slimmer than that they will continue jointly to prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

Finally, it is a betrayal of socialism to fight the growing international unification of the capitalist class expressed economically in Western Europe, for instance, by the Common Market Agreement—through rousing old national enmities.

The working classes of France and Germany have suffered quite enough from socialists turning chauvinists. In World War I, the majority of "socialists" in both France and Germany helped recruit the workers in their respective countries for the imperialist slaughter. In World War II, the Socialist and Communist parties promoted anti-German chauvinism under the pretext of fighting Hitler, who butchered German and French workers impartially.

The growing unity of the capitalists today makes it easier for socialists to advocate international working class unity. In Europe, growing Franco-German accord at the top should be countered with the slogan of the united socialist states of Europe.

Indeed, whereas the capitalists will unite among themselves only to deepen the division be-

tween Western Europe and the Soviet-bloc countries and in order to prepare for war against the latter, a genuine socialist program would hold out the prospect of eliminating the East-West division and the threat of war by bringing the entire continent under a single planned economy.

Khrushchev's pitting of French nationalism against growing unity between the French and German capitalist classes has about as much socialism in it as the schemes periodically advanced in this country to destroy the power of the monopolists by breaking up the trusts into competing entities.

Genuine socialists don't fool around with trust-busting schemes of this sort which call for attempting to restore an earlier stage of capitalism. They advocate that the power of big business be smashed through nationalization of all basic industries under workers' control and through the operation of these industries according to a plan.

**Toasts French "Grandeur"**

One can gauge how reactionary Khrushchev's appeals to French enmity of Germany really are when one considers the following: In his speeches in France, Khrushchev on the one

hand denounced as "Hitlerian" Chancellor Adenauer's claim that Germany has a "divine mission to save Europe" from communism, while on the other he offered toasts to the "grandeur of France"—the megalomaniac phrase revived by De Gaulle. In the past, the bonapartist ravings about French "glory" and "grandeur" have disrupted the peace of Europe quite as much as the madman's cry, "Deutschland Ueber Alles," which Adenauer, echoing Hitler, utters from time to time.

In fact, it was in the name of the "grandeur of France" that De Gaulle exploded a second atom bomb in the Sahara Desert while Khrushchev was still visiting France.

Again, Khrushchev's appeals to French nationalism led him to praise De Gaulle again for having offered "self-determination" to the French people. Two weeks before this piece of flattery, De Gaulle had proclaimed in Algeria that the war against the Arab national independence fighters must be prosecuted until military victory is attained. Seemingly, the Algerian people are to gain "self-determination" only if they first allow the French army, drunk with delusions of "grandeur," to crush their resistance.

Advertisement Advertisement

## Is It Dewey's Fault Johnny Can't Read?

John Dewey's theories of progressive education once enjoyed wide support among enlightened educators and parents. Yet there are only a few "progressive" schools in the country today. These are largely restricted to children of upper-income families and they practice little of Dewey's theories.

In recent years, progressive education has been made the scapegoat for all the failures of the educational system, particularly by those who charge that the schools are responsible for the U.S. "scientific lag" in the cold war.

In the second of two articles on Dewey's educational theories, William F. Warde discusses what was actually valid in Dewey's concepts and why his system failed to achieve realization on any significant scale. In the Spring issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Monday, April 11, 1960

## Red-Baiting and Civil Rights

Red-baiting has long been a major weapon of anti-union employers and racists alike. During the thirties, for example, when modern unionism was being forged in the sitdown strikes and on the picket lines, the unions were subjected to red-baiting attack by the corporations, the kept press, the political stooges of big business and other strikebreaking agencies. The popular uprising of industrial workers against the dictatorship of the open-shop industrialists was represented as the work of "outside agitators" and "red conspirators."

Today the cry of "outside agitator" and "Communist troublemaker" is heard from South Africa to Texas. In South Africa the white-supremacists, mass murderers justify maintaining their rule by the whip, the club and the bullet as a defense of "free world democracy" against the "menace of Communism." The South African landlord and capitalist oppressors have fought the rising movement for freedom for many years with the aid of the notorious "Communist Conspiracy" Law.

In the American South — another bastion of the "free world" — the historic sit-in movement of Negro students is under fierce attack by the white supremacists. The valiant young fighters in this movement are not only subjected to insults, jibes, threats, tear gas, fire hoses, vigilante mobs, mass arrests, expulsion from school and dismissal from jobs — they must also face the daily cry of the Dixiecrat press that they are the dupes of a "Communist conspiracy," witless creatures of a gang of "outside agitators."

### Is CORE 'Communist'?

James Jackson Kilpatrick, publisher of the Richmond News Leader, appearing on the TV program "Open End" April 3, shown in the New York metropolitan area, sneeringly dismissed the idea that Negro students had started the sit-in demonstrations of their own volition. The sit-ins were instigated by "Communist outsiders," he insisted. When asked by a Negro student leader on the same TV program how he could prove this, Kilpatrick snapped: "Circumstantial evidence."

Here was his "evidence": (a) The NAACP has been "proven" to be heavily infiltrated by "Communists" and people who joined "Communist fronts." (b) The sit-in movement was organized by the Congress of Racial Equality in a "planned, well-oiled, carefully timed" move calculated to "embarrass the South" at the moment of the civil-rights debate in Congress. (c) The Congress of Racial Equality was a "more militant" organization than the NAACP, therefore, (d) It was clear (at least to Kilpatrick) that CORE was even more "Communist-influenced" than the NAACP.

## Who Ordered Them to Arm?

Adlai Stevenson urged at a news conference in Caracas, Venezuela, April 4, "that Latin America take the initiative in disarmament and set the example for the rest of the world."

Why should Stevenson propose that Latin America take the initiative? If it's a good idea for Latin America why doesn't he urge it on the United States? After all, it is the U.S. and not Latin America that has been the initiator and driving force behind the armaments race. This country's arms budget comes to forty billion dollars a year.

And how about the fact that the Soviet Union has taken the initiative by its proposal for complete and general disarmament? The Soviet Union also set an example in halting nuclear tests. If Stevenson is interested in initiative and example let him start by supporting the initiative and example of the USSR.

Latin American countries are spending over a billion dollars a year on armaments at the behest of Wall Street. They

## "Thank" Both Sides

At an April 6 Senate hearing, James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, charged that, with its refusal to adopt a health insurance plan for the aged, the Republican administration had made "a shameful surrender to the American Medical Association and to the insurance companies." He added that the aged "know full well whom to thank for their plight."

Everett Dirksen, Senate Republican leader, replied to Carey with such choice epithets as "stinking" and "insane."

Carey countered with the accusation that Dirksen lacked concern "for the aged people of this country and for the working people."

We certainly will agree with that. But we won't go along with Carey in his at-

tempt to fix exclusive blame for the plight of the aged on the Republicans and the AMA.

As a supporter of the Democratic party, he may not wish to admit it, but the record shows that the aged owe equal "thanks" to both parties for their plight.

The House Ways and Means Committee, controlled by the Democrats, has pigeon-holed the bill sponsored by Rep. Forand (D-R. I.) to provide a minimum of federal health insurance for the aged. Forand has been seeking 219 signatures on a discharge petition. Despite the fact that the Democrats have their biggest majority in the House since the 1930's — with 280 members he has yet to obtain anywhere near the needed number of signatures.

### Frame-up in Marshall

Now, Wilkerson is a former member of the Communist party. And though he says he was in one of the stores at the time of the demonstrations by sheer coincidence this flimsy alibi is not expected to deceive the keen minds on the grand jury. Clearly the link between the sit-ins and outside Communist agitators should be apparent to all — except perhaps to "intellectually inferior" people.

Racists use red-baiting to deflect the civil rights movement from its objectives and divide it against itself. Racists expect that when they red-bait, some of the leaders of the civil-rights movement will start a witch-hunt within the movement itself in the hope that if only they get rid of the "reds" they might be able to come to terms with the "more reasonable" racists.

This, of course, is sheer folly. Tragic experience has shown that the only result of capitulation to red-baiting is to weaken, divide and demoralize the movement.

Yet, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, has again fallen into the red-baiting trap. He delivered an "anti-Communist" tirade against the newspaper, Young Socialist, at a March 26 civil-rights rally in New York. In his red-baiting attack on the Young Socialist, a paper that has done so much to spur the movement of support among Northern students for the Southern Negro students' struggle, Randolph declared that he would prefer no picket demonstrations at all to united action with "Communists."

This is exactly the kind of talk the racists want to hear. This is their meat.

Once and for all, red-baiting should be repudiated by all genuine fighters for civil rights.

By Constance F. Weissman

Flying down to Cuba with only a dozen other passengers in the big airliner, I asked myself despondently what on earth was going to happen to three women from the United States. I was meeting two friends in Havana who were coming from Detroit. They had never been out of the U.S. before, except to Canada.

I was afraid that they were expecting too much of my feeble Spanish. Furthermore, we knew no one in Cuba, we had no letters of introduction, and had heard many dire warnings. "They don't want Americans there." A worried relative had sent me a clipping describing the murder of three women in Illinois. On the top she had written, "Be careful!"

From the moment my two friends — Sarah Lovell and Dorothy Breitman — came bursting into my room at the hotel, until we tearfully said good-bye to Havana five days later, we had one wonderful experience after another.

The first night, we walked around the city, exploring the central park, asking directions freely. In the park, there was an exhibition. We got in line, and found ourselves looking at photographs of the victims of the explosion of the boat in Havana harbor a few weeks ago.

When the announcer saw us, he began speaking in halting English over the loudspeaker. "We have nothing against the American people. We love the American people. We do not like the U.S. government."

We were to hear this often during our stay. Nearly everyone we spoke to in Havana, on the street, in the unions, in the press rooms of newspapers, would say, "We have nothing against the American people."

The next day was Sunday, so we decided to hire a guide to drive us around the city. Our guide's name was Joe. He was in his fifties, I should say, and afterwards we thought of him as rather old because everyone else we had to do with was so young. He started right in telling us how safe Cuba is for American tourists — "You don't have to worry about guns or revolution."

I suppose because as a guide he was used to talking without drawing breath, we had a hard time convincing him that we were interested in the revolution, not the tourist attractions.

When he finally understood what we wanted to see he was delighted. He had been in the anti-Batista underground. He was immensely proud of all the new low-cost housing that had been built since the revolution. He also stopped to make us take photographs of the new sidewalks in the slum sections, the huge yacht club which is now to be a people's yacht club and the dispensaries for children open 24 hours a day. He made a big point of the fact that the mothers and children had to be clean to come to the dispensary. This is part of the national effort to raise the standard of culture.

### Why So Few Tourists

Joe simply couldn't understand why so few American tourists would come to Cuba. He told us stories about the terror under Batista and how crooked the gambling casinos had been. He told us about the racketeers that used to prey on honeymoon couples from the U.S. and about the American gangsters who had been given haven by Batista. Fidel Castro had sent them all back, and now a tourist could expect a really honest shake. Yet they did not come. Why?

He asked us the question we were to hear again and again: "Why are we called 'Communist'?"

On an impulse, Joe took us to the mansion of a rich Cuban woman who was not in residence. Joe knew the caretaker. Joe explained that this woman's income had been cut by the government from \$12,000 per month to \$6,000. She had had a nervous breakdown and gone to Spain to recuperate.

It was a museum of a house, with marvelous stained glass windows, bathrooms with domed glass ceilings, floors and woodwork done in intricate and elaborate workmanship. In the garden, there was a miniature castle which was a children's playhouse.

At the end of the afternoon, Joe took us to his apartment to meet his family. They were very warm and cordial and they said, "We want you to know that we fought for the revolution. We have nothing against the American people; it is only the American government we are opposed to."

On the sidewalk outside a militia man was drilling some boys and girls, Negro and white, aged about four to 12. They were marching and turning smartly. The soldier stopped to talk to us. He was very friendly. He ex-



Fidel Castro (center) and his brother Raoul (kneeling in foreground) in their mountain headquarters in Oriente province before the overthrow of Batista. Today all workers, peasants and students have arms and receive military training to ward off a counter-revolutionary blow.

plained that all the children (as well as the adult population) drill as a precaution against anything like Batista ever happening to the country again.

The next day, Sarah wanted to visit a newspaper and talk to some of her fellow typographical workers, so Johnny — a 16-year old lad who had attached himself to us on a bus, where he helped us with directions — offered to take us to Prensa Libre where his father was a writer.

We were ushered into the composing room and suddenly we were surrounded by 10 or 12 workers who left their machines and all started talking at once. Sarah waved her union card.

Johnny got very excited and instead of translating for us began a speech of his own. Finally, we conveyed the purpose of our visit. Everyone began to smile and wanted to show us his machine. Sarah was escorted to the proofreader's department. She wanted to get information on hours and wages and it was suggested that we all visit the union headquarters that evening, as all the officials worked at jobs during the day.

One of the printers gave us a photograph he had gone to: his car to get. It showed Castro speaking to a huge crowd.

That evening, our new friends from Prensa Libre met us at the typographical union headquarters. Sarah asked questions about conditions and found out about an unusual procedure which she was sure would interest her fellow-workers in Detroit.

Because Cuba has established freedom of the press, there are at least two reactionary papers that are so anti-Castro that at one time the workers refused to print them. So the device of "correction" was worked out. That is, the workers were allowed to insert a notice at the end of an article that the opinions printed therein are not those of the workers on the paper.

On leaving the union headquarters, we were driven to the newspaper Revolution — the organ of the 26th of July Movement — where we visited the printshop and were warmly greeted by the workers. We noticed as we had at Prensa Libre the complete equality between Negro and white workers on the job. Before going back to our hotel, we all had coffee together in one of the 3¢ coffee shops.

### Visit to a Co-operative

That afternoon, we had gained admittance to INRA, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, and we had been told we could visit a co-operative at Matanzas, the nearest one to Havana.

So the next morning we left at 6:30 in a drive-yourself car which we had rented. Incidentally, the tourist agency in New York had advised against this. They said it wouldn't be safe for three women to drive alone out of the city unless they spoke Spanish perfectly.

After a beautiful drive of seventy-five miles on a divided highway, through rich countryside, we pulled up at INRA headquarters in Matanzas. This was a concrete building at the entrance to the town, with lots of soldiers and young women going in and out. They were rather curious about us, but laughingly agreed to be photographed with us.

We explained that we wanted to see Captain Suarez, the manager, and someone immediately began trying to locate him by telephone. Meantime, we were taken on a tour of the offices by young women who worked there.

Proudly they showed us a work project, where women from the countryside are being taught to sew on machines, and a nursery for children.

Across the way, a huge modern school had just been opened. In spite of the language difficulties, we soon had an entourage of workers who wanted to show us everything.

Incidentally, I found that just as my Spanish improved 100 percent because of an overwhelming desire to communicate with these smiling people all of whom were trying to make us feel welcome, so they put to use every word of English they could summon, and we all got along famously. They explained to us that there were no pictures of Castro in the offices because he would not allow his photograph to be displayed in official places.

Captain Suarez was finally located at the warehouse, where supplies are collected for the stores at the co-operatives. He

## ... Impressions of Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

many newspapers; but that might have been a superficial impression, influenced as we were by the somnolent sun, lush green of the fields; and fresh new buildings. It is in such quiet rural areas that the small private planes from Florida strike with their incendiary bombs, setting fire to the cane fields.

Last night in a suburb of Havana where we had dinner with some newly made friends, the latest incident came in for discussion.

### Times Fits the News

Tad Szulc, correspondent of the New York Times, reported that the Catholic hierarchs in Cuba had drawn up a pastoral letter deploring Communist influence in the government. The Times gave this a front-page place, handling it as if it were a fact.

The Havana newspapers checked with the heads of the Cuban Catholic Church. No such letter had been drawn up nor is one contemplated.

"How do you explain this?" one of the guests asked. "Isn't the New York Times supposed to be accurate?"

We explained that the Times does generally try to be accurate, the better to put over a monstrous departure from accuracy when political necessity, as this paper sees it, requires that kind of handling of the news. In addition its correspondents are not all equally reliable.

Another guest told us that the great majority of Catholic adherents in Cuba are solidly with the Revolution and the new government and that this partisanship is reflected in the hierarchy. The same holds for the Protestants, particularly the Seventh Day Adventists who are rather strong here.

### Prepare for Worst

The Cuban government is taking a highly realistic attitude toward the sinister anti-Cuba campaign, mobilizing the entire population to prepare for the worst. In this it resembles a capable, militant strike leadership that tells the membership what the company is up to and how the rank and file must close ranks, depend on their own forces and prepare a militant defense against the projected attempt to smash the union.

The clearest and most forceful expression of the government view was made by Prime Minister Dr. Fidel Castro March 28 in a four-hour speech carried over a nationwide TV and radio hook-up. This has been a topic of discussion during the week wherever we have been. It is quite revealing to hear someone on a street corner or in a park forcefully making Castro's points, as if they were his own,

was very cordial, and arranged for us to go in a jeep to visit the Cuba Libre co-operative. Two of his administrative assistants, as well as a soldier were sent with us.

As we drove rapidly towards Central Cuba, Jessie, one of the administrators, explained to us that this trip was a real treat for him, since he had never visited a co-operative. Both he and Hector, our driver, were working fifteen hours a day in the INRA office.

Jessie spoke English. Hector did not, but he had a lovely baritone voice and as we tore along (he was a wonderful driver) he sang. Ramon, the soldier, had visited every co-operative many times. In fact, he worked on Sundays building the new houses at Cuba Libre co-operative.

### Stopover at a Sugar Mill

To our surprise, we stopped first at a sugar mill. After a tour of the works, which looked tremendous, we tasted some of the light brown sugar before it was put in the sacks. This mill is privately owned and is considered small. The workers and their families live in small houses set around a square. Jobs in the sugar mill are skilled and are very desirable.

Next we were taken to another sugar mill, this time a huge one taken over by INRA. Our guides were so proud of the mill and of its being completely electrified that we were taken on an exhaustive tour. We rode up in an elevator to the top of the lofty building, then walked up several more flights until we reached a ladder to the roof.

Our guide from the mill, an INRA manager, would not let us go up until he went first. Apparently he scanned the sky carefully for planes. An American plane had been captured the night before quite near there.

On the roof we were introduced to two soldiers who were manning a machine gun.

We talked to some of the women who lived in the houses around the mill. They told us that they were hoping that women would be employed there soon. One woman told us that her children were in high school in Havana.

We were driven next through a rice co-operative. The growing of rice is in line with the government's attempts to grow other crops besides sugar.

Then we sped on to Cuba Libre co-operative.

### New Housing

Here we visited one of the lovely new concrete block houses built for the workers in the co-operative, as well as one of the old thatched huts which look so picturesque on postcards, but which have mud floors and no plumbing or modern cooking appliances at all. As a new house is finished, a family is moved in and their old shack demolished.

We visited the store, chatted with the co-operative members, took photographs and then drove through what seemed like miles of potato fields. We got out at the vegetable garden, grown for the co-operative workers, and our guides showed us with pride the size of the onions, cabbages and a variety of other vegetables.

We knew how poor and desperate the farmers had been before the co-operatives were set up, and it was obvious that everyone was delighted with the new system. They were especially proud of the school and of a dispensary where the doctor was in attendance four mornings a week.

It was dark when we started back to Matanzas. We all sang with Hector, humming the "26th of July Hymn" and some popular Mexican songs. We had all become friends, and when we got in our car to return to Havana, we felt very sad at leaving them. We drove back under a starry sky, feeling that it had been one of the most wonderful days of our lives.

to a group of ten or fifteen listeners.

The speech is of the greatest interest. One of its main purposes was to destroy the illusion being fostered by the anti-Cubans that the revolutionary leadership is coming apart at the seams. The latest defector, Luis Contes Agüero, sought to picture himself as one of Castro's most intimate friends, one of the leaders from the beginning, who must now sadly part company because of "Communist infiltration" of the government.

### Facts About Agüero

Castro, in response, told the true story of Agüero, and in doing so provided fresh insight into the political history of the July 26 Movement. The two met in student days when Agüero was already a well-known campus figure and Castro a "no-body."

Castro backed him as a candidate for the presidency of the student youth organization. Later when Castro entered politics, he sought help from Agüero as an oppositionist against Batista.

But political differences prevented them from ever becoming really close. Castro's line, which he persevered in without deviation, was that only a revolution could topple Batista. Agüero's line was to function within whatever official opposition Batista permitted.

When Castro was condemned to prison for an attempted uprising in 1953, Agüero defended him over the radio, and this won Castro's gratitude. In subsequent years, however, Agüero's influence was demoralizing. He held that a revolution could not succeed, citing the economic prosperity, the world situation, the professional army, the relative quiescence of the masses, and the romantic, unrealistic, impractical course that Castro was following. Agüero committed some acts that were very damaging to the revolutionaries, which Castro analyzed point by point in his speech.

Finally, after the revolution, Agüero became a kind of leech, who sought to profit from the good things Castro had once said about him, putting those in a good synoptic biography of Castro which he wrote without consultation.

Agüero's role proved to be divisive when divisiveness could only hurt the cause. His final accusations of "Communism" were timed to coincide with the anti-Cuba campaign.

The exposure is annihilating, but for one little acquainted with the internal development of the July 26 Movement, the greatest interest lies in what it reveals about the firmness and adroitness of the leadership.

The bulk of the speech is a

careful analysis of the uses of red-baiting in the current campaign to convert Cuba into "another Guatemala" or "another Spain." It would take an article just to report this with the necessary comments.

The same holds for Castro's documented presentation of what the aims of the revolution were from the beginning and how much has been accomplished. Slowness in carrying out some of the promises, Castro explained, is due to the desire to make a smooth transition with the least disruption. Among the promises still to be realized are industrialization and a planned economy.

The main axis of the speech is to arouse the greatest energy in the defense of the Revolution against the attack now under preparation. In the civil war, the rebels acted with exceptional generosity. If an attack is launched on Cuba from abroad, no such generosity will be shown. The attackers will meet with the fiercest resistance in all history. "Let him who comes make his will."

### A Democratic Revolution

Just to indicate the power with which Castro speaks, let me translate a few paragraphs dealing with the accusation that Cuba is undemocratic:

"Are they going to impugn the democratic spirit of this Revolution? But who? Who is going to impugn the democratic spirit of this Revolution? Who? Trujillo? Somoza? The oligarchies and the camarillas who exploit the people there? Do they doubt that we are democrats? All right, I challenge those who say that we are not democrats to give arms to the students, to the peasants, to the workers. (Applause.)"

"I challenge them. Because the peasants, the workers, the students, the lowly sectors of the country are the majority. Is there anyone who doesn't know this? Everybody knows it. "But we gave the majority something more than the vote; we gave them guns, guns as an absolute proof of their support, of their confidence, of how they interpret their interests."

"I challenge those who call themselves democrats, who believe that we are not democrats, that they simply buy guns for the peasants, the workers, the employees, and the lowly of the country (applause) and to demonstrate that they are democrats and that they believe the majority supports them, that they give them guns."

"This is the supreme proof of democracy; to give guns to these lowly families, for then in truth we are equal, we are all democrats. When the people have guns, when a government gives guns to the people, this government is really democratic, and this is the supreme proof."

Dr. Uphaus Warns Of the Danger to Civil Liberties

Editor: I was deeply disappointed to have the State Supreme Court rule against us, but Mrs. Uphaus and I, and many throughout the country and in other lands, have long since fortified ourselves against temporary upsets.

ism, it is good to feel solid moral foundations under our feet. Our civil and religious liberties are inherent in the nature of man and the universe.

year "contempt" sentence for having refused to turn over to the Attorney General of New Hampshire the guest list of the World Fellowship Center of which he is director.

Protests Report On ILGWU Officer

Editor: I want to protest the Militant's uncritical reporting of Charles Zimmerman marching at the head of a picket line at Woolworth's in New York.

Willard Uphaus (Dr. Uphaus is serving a one-

A New York Dressmaker

...Quill Hits Two-Party Hoax

(Continued from Page 1)

Negroes are denied the right to vote, the poor white citizens who cannot pay the tax are also denied the vote.

"And," Quill continues, "while the 3-ring circus whirls on in Washington, men and women of the South are being murdered, maimed, imprisoned and whipped because they dare conduct protest meetings, picket lines and sit-down strikes in lunch rooms and cafeterias demanding equal service for their American dollar."

People are asking, says Quill, what the leaders of the American labor movement are doing about the civil-rights scandal.



Senator Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee, is happy at the way northern Democrats and the Republicans have paraded down "civil rights" bill to the point where Dixiecrats need not oppose it too stiffly.

ized labor movement. Quill takes a dim view of the possibility of forming a labor party for effective intervention in the 1960 elections.

"While we support Labor's political arm, COPE," he says, "until this new and more powerful instrument is forged together, we should do everything in our power at our trade union meetings and at political discussions and at every level of labor conferences to convince our leaders that COPE, the political action of organized labor must be used as a stepping stone to an independent political party."

And, Quill concludes: "When that day comes, and not until that day, can we expect a full and complete Civil Rights Bill, embracing the whole of the American people, as their lawful heritage."

For those who advocate a break with the two-party fraud and the formation of an independent labor party there is little to quarrel with over Quill's presentation of the problem — with the exception of what to do now!

To follow COPE in its lesser civil politics would be to aid in perpetuating the labor-Democratic party coalition with all of its disastrous consequences for the working people. It would not help to advance the movement for a labor party but would hinder and retard it.

The Socialist Workers party has long advocated the formation of an independent labor party based on the trade unions. Their nominees in this election, Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president, intend to campaign on this issue.

What Course for 1960? We are now in the midst of a presidential election campaign in which the two-party monopoly is not seriously challenged by the organ-

Intimidation on Jobs Allows IUE to Gain Slim Victory in Lynn

By C. Thomas

The AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers won a union-representation election on March 25 in a heated contest with the independent United Electrical Workers at the Lynn, Massachusetts, Everett and River Works plants, of General Electric Corporation.

The IUE squeaked through with a margin of 269 votes over UE with some 6,859 ballots cast. The IUE received 3,444 votes to 3,175 for the UE, with 180 ballots challenged and 60 voting no union.

As the 180 challenged ballots could not affect the final outcome, the National Labor Relations Board designated the IUE as the collective bargaining agent.

This was the fourth representation election since 1950 when the IUE won a majority after the UE was ousted in 1949 from the CIO as a "communist dominated" union.

The 269 majority was lower than any of the preceding election contests. In 1950 the IUE won the election by 900 votes. In 1951 the margin rose to 1,100 and increased again in 1953 to 1,140.

The IUE is headed by James Carey, one of Reuther's chief lieutenants in the AFL-CIO. The Carey leadership can derive little comfort from the outcome of the election. The result indicates a growing dissatisfaction with the Carey leadership, which has been unable to stem the mounting anti-union aggressiveness of the corporation. In commenting on the election, the Lynn Daily Evening Item attributed the outcome to the fact that:

"In the last analysis the IUE victory was credited to the uneasy feeling among many GE employees that the government might hesitate to award defense contracts to local plants if the UE represented the workers."

The Carey group deliberately fostered and played upon this fear. On March 24, one day prior to the election, they published a full page ad in the local press with the screaming headline: "U.S. Senator says UE Vote Would Endanger Jobs."

Humphrey Telegram The text of the ad consisted of a reproduction of a telegram from Senator Hubert Humphrey stigmatizing the UE as "communist dominated" and stating: "As a member of the United States Senate, I would question seriously the award of any sensitive defense contracts to plants whose workers were represented by an organization whose record leaves doubt as to their first allegiance."

This was bolstered by a full page ad quoting Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts testifying to the "loyalty" of the IUE leadership. A full page ad expressing support from the AFL-CIO and several smaller ads rounded out the election material in the Daily Evening Item. In addition to the dignitaries mentioned above, a special issue of the IUE News contained statements from labor-baiter Senator John F. McClellan and Harry Truman, lauding the IUE.

The propaganda of fear was supplemented by the propaganda of smear. Reprints were distributed of articles by the gutter journalist, Victor Riesel, witch-hunting the UE and warning that the "Pentagon security people" were disturbed about the possibility of the UE winning the election. Outdoing even the professional McCarthyites was a local product of the IUE, a lurid pamphlet entitled, "The Shameful Record of the UE on Communism," depicting blood dripping on the grave of an American soldier killed in Korea.

The Carey group pulled all stops in their campaign of fear and smear to eke out a slim majority. But the lesson of the election is that their days are numbered unless they can provide effective leadership in the fight against the corporation.

Meanwhile, new sit-ins and jailings occurred in Tallahassee, Fla., Memphis, Tenn., Charleston, S. C., and Birmingham, Ala. New victories included desegregation of the Greyhound Bus depot lunch counter in Nashville, Tenn., and the serving of food to demonstrators at Woolworth's and another store in Jefferson City, capital of "I'd throw-them-out" Harry Truman's home state of Missouri.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Strictly from Vote-Hunger

By Arthur Jordan

President Eisenhower was "happy," said congressional leaders April 5, with the pending "civil rights bill." Its chief enforcement provision, making it a crime to obstruct all types of court orders seemed to be fashioned not so much against denials of civil rights as against union activities.

Coupled with this was a "referee voting plan" — under which, after protracted litigation, Federal court-appointed officials might enroll a few Negro voters in a few Southern election districts.

It was an open secret that the "civil rights" debate was a mock battle, elaborately staged by Democrats and Republicans through their respective leaders (Senators Lyndon Johnson and Everett Dirksen) so that everybody — Southern racists, Northern liberals and the Eisenhower Administration — could "make the record" in an election year. The final product would be swallowed painlessly (if with a public grimace) by the most rabid segregationist.

On March 24 the House passed a bill, and staging called for a scene shift back to the Senate. Leaders there had hinted they would maneuver around Senator Eastland's (D-Miss.) Judiciary Committee, bringing the House bill direct to the Senate floor. Instead they referred it to committee with instructions to send it back in five days. Let the committee amend the bill, they explained; the full Senate will restore it intact.

March 29 the committee adopted fifteen amendments to the House bill. The period for preserving voting records was shortened. The section on bombing was weakened. The section on schooling for service children was struck. And then occurred what Russell Baker in the March 30 New York Times called "one of the day's surprises." Administration leader Dirksen, reversing his previous position, moved to broaden the section on obstruction of court orders to include all court orders, including, of course, anti-labor ones. Baker speculated that this "clears the way for a stiff battle" by Senate liberals "to kill the entire section."

But the events proved otherwise. When the bill came on the Senate floor March 30 the "broadening" amendment passed by an overwhelming bipartisan vote: 68-20. Apparently, liberal ranks were sadly thinned. In a rush the Senate approved every Judiciary Committee amendment, with one exception, an attempt by Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) to further weaken the "referee plan." Senators Javits and Keating, both of New York, assured him, however, that Southern election officials would have ample opportunities to challenge prospective Negro voters under the plan as it stood.

Adoption of substantial amendments meant the bill must eventually return to the House. This was not the original "strategy," as announced. But, as Baker had already observed in the March 29 Times, "Senate leaders now reckon that the task of again freeing the bill from the [House] Rules Committee coalition of Southerners can be managed if the end product is weaker than the House bill."

Senators Johnson and Dirksen, linked in stern pursuit of that end product, now succeeded in doing what had hitherto seemed impossible (at least against a Southern filibuster) — namely, curtailing Senate debate.

Northern liberals ostensibly seeking to "strengthen" the bill protested, as did a few Southerners attempting to mutilate it further. But protests from neither group carried conviction; they were "making the record." This phrase ran like a refrain through accounts of the debate: "designed largely to let the more fervid proponents of civil rights perfect their record" (Baker, March 24); "The Southerners... will be satisfied with fairly brief denunciations for the record" (Anthony Lewis in the April 4 New York Times); "giving the Southerners a last chance to perfect their records" (Baker, April 6).

The debate and voting... has a sham quality," concluded Baker. Against the larger drama of the lunch-counter sitdowns in the South, Congress pursued its wretched little farce.

Notes in the News

STUMPS THE FLAG WAVERS—A growing number of scholars have rapped the widespread "loyalty-oath" requirement for teachers. But Dr. Jefferson Fordham, dean of the University of Pennsylvania law school, showed how witch-hunters can be tripped up by their own laws. He recently declined to deliver a series of guest lectures at the University of Colorado when he learned he would have to sign a state "loyalty" oath which requires, among other things, teaching respect for the flags of the United States and Colorado. Dr. Fordham advised Colorado authorities that if he took the oath he might be "swearing falsely" since he did not plan to mention either flag in his lectures.

POLISHING THE BRASS PAID OFF—The Martin Company, a leading missiles manufacturer, has shown much concern for the welfare of retired Pentagon brass hats. Sixty-two of them are on the company's payroll. Last month, Martin announced that in 1959 the company enjoyed an 8 per cent increase in sales and a 13 per cent hike in profits. This was the ninth consecutive year that Martin showed an increase in profits.

UNIONS SHOULD SPEAK UP FOR CUBA In a letter to the Record, weekly newspaper of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, Delizabeth Misas, a member of the union, wrote: "The Cuban people and their government are being attacked by the same enemies who obstruct the progress of American workers. Why can't our unions speak up for the Cuban workers? Would it not be beneficial for the welfare and the progress of our cause to send representatives to determine if accusations against Cuba are true or not? I believe that it is our duty as unionized workers to learn the truth about the Cuban situation."

RAILROAD WORKER FILES SUIT—Waddell B. Sells, a former employee of the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad, filed a federal damage suit on March 25 for \$100,000 against the railroad and Local 353, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Sells holds a license as a stationary engineer. He charged that, because he is a Negro, the company and union combined since 1937 to prevent him from obtaining the type of job he is qualified for. He was fired last October after working for the company for almost twenty-five years.

MAYBE IT WAS THE WAY HE PARTED HIS HAIR—According to the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union, a Chicago cop recently arrested a young industrial worker, Joseph Cholico, who, said the cop, had stared at him "peculiarly." Cholico was booked on a disorderly conduct charge and held incommunicado overnight. The arrest slip was made out to indicate he was arrested in a tavern adjoining the restaurant. However, the tavern owner, who was listed as the complaining witness, denied ever having seen Cholico. The case was finally dismissed. The Illinois ACLU has previously documented instances of illegal arrest and detention by the Chicago police.

HUNGER STRIKE—Staff members at Harlem Hospital in New York, including internes and resident doctors, staged a two-day hunger strike to protest eating and living conditions at the hospital. A spokesman for the 125 staff members said it really was a hunger strike because their wages were so low they couldn't afford to buy meals outside. He said that with paydays coming up the boycott of the hospital dining room would be continued but the hunger strike would be ended.

CRAZY, MIXED-UP KIDS?—Bucknell University has temporarily dismissed three students who burned a 20-foot cross at a fraternity house whose membership includes three Negroes. A school spokesman said that the cross-burners, Robert Mize, Edgar Roberts and Gene Olgilvie, would be able to apply for readmission next term. The three explained their Klan-like action as "a childish release of energy."

"AMERICANIZATION"—The Voice of Israel, the Israeli government radio, has begun to carry spot commercial announcements. Harry Zindler, director of Voice of Israel, said there had been a public murmur of forbidding over this newest bit of "Americanization." He added, somewhat hastily, "This is not a bad word, you understand. It just has a certain connotation."

OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM AT WORK—Wheat prices dropped 39 per cent in 1959 but the price of bread went up 42 per cent, according to Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association.

BUG MAN BACK AT WORK—During the 1958 investigation of businessman Bernard Goldfine's gifts to presidential aide Sherman Adams, a hidden microphone was discovered in Goldfine's Washington hotel room. The eavesdropping device was traced to a room occupied by Baron Shacklette, chief investigator of the House Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight. Shacklette resigned under fire. But apparently his special abilities were missed. He's now back in government service, this time as an investigator for a House committee looking into the federal highway program.

As for himself: "I have only one answer, and that is that a national labor party must be built — a party of working people, organized and unorganized, which will treat the Negroes and other minority groups with equality and dignity, and without ifs, ands, or buts!"

What should this labor party be like? "This American Labor Party," says Quill, "should take into its folds liberals from every walk of life be they small business people or professionals. The day is rapidly approaching when we cannot afford to suffer any longer as the tail to the kite of the Democratic Party which is led by men of the ilk of Eastland, Russell, Talmadge, McClellan, Byrd, Thurmond, and the unmentionable Faubus.

"Nor," he adds, "can we be associated with the Republican Party of Goldwater, Dirksen, Capehart, Case, Hickenlooper, Williams and Mundt. They are all co-conspirators in this crime against the American people!"

To emphasize his point, Quill adds: "We of labor should no more associate ourselves with these parties than we should with the crooks, gangsters and criminals that some of these holier-than-thou politicians have peddled to the American people as wedded to labor."

To the doubters and sceptics Quill says: "The building of a political party of working people in this country is not impossible. In this age of auto-

Unheeded Protests

The labor movement has protested, says Quill, on a national and international level — but these protests go largely unheeded. "We in the American labor movement," he adds, "are being asked why we are not more effective in our demands upon the U.S. Senate for a Civil Rights Bill that would clear up once and for all this cancer of racism that has plagued us for so long now and over which the bitter Civil War was fought."

The answer? "Our members in the leadership of the labor movement point out to us that we are powerless to influence these American Senators despite the fact that many of them were elected by the labor vote."

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) is doing the best it can, says Quill, but it is totally ineffective. "We are being asked daily," he continues, "why do we go along and continue to support these senators in their work against the best interests of our country and our government?" There is no answer from the labor leadership. "Others in the leadership of the labor movement may have the answer to this question," he says, "but if they are in possession of this great secret they have not yet divulged it."

No Ifs or Buts

Well, the very best way I can suggest is to take advantage of our introductory offer of a six-month subscription at the special election — campaign price of fifty cents. Beginning April 15 and extending over a period of three months until July 15, this offer to new subscribers will hold good. By taking advantage now of our special campaign offer, new subscribers will be assured of receiving the Militant throughout the 1960 presidential election period.

To get back to the Wisconsin primary for just a moment — I was struck by a recent report in the New York Times by their ace columnist, James Reston. He told about the experience of one of the candidates on a television program who had invited viewers to telephone their questions to the station. The questions revealed that the real issues with which the people are concerned are quite different from the spurious issues the candidates have been "debating."

"Last night," says Reston, "the voters were asking not about religion but about the question of the old people; not about Benson but about Castro, not about the price of milk but about the cost of war and the possibility of disarmament; not about Kennedy's pop or about the Pope — the two favorite

matation and industrial revolution, there is no reason why such a political party cannot be built."

Of the vital need for the labor party to remain independent, Quill says: "It can be called the first party or the sixth party, but such a labor party should be free of political entanglements and political alliances with the two major parties which are now dragging the good name of the American people and the good name of organized labor down the spillway with them."

What Course for 1960? We are now in the midst of a presidential election campaign in which the two-party monopoly is not seriously challenged by the organ-

Let Militant Help You Get at Root of Issues

By Carolyn Kerry, Business Manager

Judging by the "heat" developed around the recent Wisconsin primary fight, the 1960 presidential election campaign is now well under way. How are workers, trade unionists, students, the Negro people and other minorities, to cut through the welter of confusion deliberately contrived by the capitalist candidates to fog the real issues confronting the American people?

Well, the very best way I can suggest is to take advantage of our introductory offer of a six-month subscription at the special election — campaign price of fifty cents. Beginning April 15 and extending over a period of three months until July 15, this offer to new subscribers will hold good. By taking advantage now of our special campaign offer, new subscribers will be assured of receiving the Militant throughout the 1960 presidential election period.

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"Last night," says Reston, "the voters were asking not about religion but about the question of the old people; not about Benson but about Castro, not about the price of milk but about the cost of war and the possibility of disarmament; not about Kennedy's pop or about the Pope — the two favorite

subjects in the East — but about schools and more pay for teachers and civil servants."

I believe that Reston sums up in one paragraph the best reason why everyone interested in the real issues should subscribe to the Militant. For it is precisely the topics he cites as being on the minds of the questioners in Wisconsin — together with equally pertinent problems of the struggle for civil rights, for defense of labor against the union-busters in Washington and Wall Street, for academic freedom and an end to the witch-hunt on campus — that the Militant deals with each week.

As we have done in previous elections, the Militant will be supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers party, whose nominees in 1960 are Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president. Through our weekly reports of their campaign, you will become acquainted with their background and qualifications as well as what they stand for. We believe you will enjoy reading about the forthright way in which, for example, they defend the Cuban revolution against Wall Street and the Republican and Democratic candidates, and about their support for the Negro students in the South.

If you are a regular reader of the Militant now, we urge you to take advantage of our introductory offer to get an election campaign subscription for a friend, fellow worker, relative or neighbor. The gift will be appreciated by anyone seeking clarity on the real issues of the day.

Clip the special introductory blank published below and send it to us right away. Don't delay — do it now!

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Calendar of Events

NEW YORK Hear Elinor Ferry discuss: "THE CATHOLIC VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES." Friday, April 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Auspices Militant Labor Forum.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, Box 5520, Lake Street Station, Minneapolis, Minn.

Dinner to Greet Dr. Rubinstein

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will be welcomed home at an informal dinner given by a committee of friends, Friday, April 22, at the Weissman's, 325 East Seventeenth Street, New York City. Dr. Rubinstein will report on the "pulse of the country." She spoke to more than 60 liberal and radical audiences, coast to coast, in 30 cities and 18 campuses. There will be toasts to the occasion at 5:30 p.m. and dinner at 6:30 p.m. Contribution, including dinner, is \$1.50.

Keep Me Posted!

The Militant 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y. I want to follow from week to week how socialists size up the issues facing the country in the presidential elections. Please send me a

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