

Japan's Voters To Decide Pact

New Diet Elections Will Provide People Opportunity to Repudiate U.S. War Treaty

By Harry Ring

With the U.S.-Japanese war treaty officially sealed and Premier Kishi's resignation pending, the Japanese labor and student movements are mapping plans to obtain repudiation of the pact at the polls. Election of a new parliament is expected in late summer or early fall.

The humiliating political setback suffered by Washington as it forced the pact on an unwilling Japanese people was vividly expressed in the sneak play required to get the final official Japanese seal on the document. Just as Kishi had to be sneaked out of the country in January to sign the preliminary accord in

Washington, so the final papers had to be smuggled into Japan ahead of schedule so that its arrival would not touch off massive new demonstrations.

Meanwhile, Japanese police committed new violence against opponents of remilitarization of the country and of U.S. occupation. In Osaka, club-swinging cops assaulted a large anti-treaty demonstration. Demonstrators defended themselves with rocks and poles. At least 72 cops and an unreported number of protesters were injured.

In Tokyo, Zengakuren, the powerful student federation, is preparing a new giant demonstration July 2 at the parliament building to speed the Diet's dissolution. While Kishi has announced his resignation, he has not yet set a date when it will take effect and he appears to be stalling while rival factions in his Liberal-Democratic party jockey for position.

SP Opportunity

The strong popular opposition to the U.S. alliance and the deep anger at the dictatorial way that Kishi rammed ratification of it through the Diet offers the Socialist party the opportunity to increase its strength significantly in the legislature. In the last elections (1958), the Socialists polled thirteen million votes, 32.9% of the total cast.

Lacking a revolutionary perspective and being far less militant than its supporters, the Socialist party leadership has not yet made clear (at least according to American press accounts) whether it will wage an uncompromising campaign for public

(Continued on Page 3)

Expect Big Cut In Steel Output

Steel workers face heavy layoffs this summer. Industry spokesmen anticipate that production will drop to the lowest point for a non-strike period since the recession summer of 1958.

The industry is now operating at 61 per cent of capacity and is expected to go down to 54.8 per cent, according to estimates of the Iron and Steel Institute. Some industry sources anticipate that the production drop will continue until it hits the 50 per cent mark, only two points above the 1958 low.

The slump has already brought layoffs to 25,000 steelworkers, with thousands more on short work weeks. Many companies will bring operations to a virtual standstill over the Fourth of July weekend. The huge Inland Steel plant at East Chicago will idle all forty-three of its open hearths for four days. It will be the first such holiday shutdown since before World War II.

No Summer Jobs For Young People

By Marvel Scholl

This week 100,000 high school children will pour out of the classrooms into the teeming, dirty streets of New York. The entire city administration is, frankly, scared to death.

These children are all old enough to work — and they want to work. But there are no jobs. As the New York Times says on June 20, "The job market for young people... (is) the tightest in years."

The New York State Youth Employment Service says that 100 apply for every job it has listed.

Commissioner Ralph W. Shelan of the Youth Board calls the situation "tense." The Youth Board has asked for \$1,652,000 in additional funds. (On June 23 Mayor Wagner announced that the Board of Estimate had granted \$250,000.)

The Youth Division of the Police Department expects a "difficult time." All police vacations have been cut and "criti-

cal" areas are getting double coverage. The mayor has organized a committee of industrial leaders to try to cope with the job situation.

The Rev. Doctor David M. Barry, Executive Director of the New York City Missions Society, which has been working in the "depressed" areas (Harlem, the Upper West Side, Chelsea, sections of Jamaica, Brooklyn and the Bronx) calls the situation "explosive," and says:

"... despite recurrent complaints of nothing to do, there actually exists a variety of recreational activities... but what they really need and are asking for are constructive activities that move them toward adult status. The most important of these activities is a job. But there are far too few, particularly this summer."

Helen Harris of the United Neighborhood Settlement Houses, whose agency coordinates the work of 50 settlement houses, agrees with Dr. Barry. She said: "The simple fact is that the job market for youth is practically closed. I believe the situation has the makings of a tragedy..."

An Admission

One interesting feature of these statements, as well as those of Mayor Wagner and the Youth Board, is the admission that the economic and social system is basically to blame for juvenile delinquency. Up to now none of these politicians or do-gooder social workers would admit to any culprit except "parents."

What these officials all fear, of course, is the outbreak of gang warfare now that summer is here.

There are 150 gangs in this city, with approximately 7,500 members. During the past two years the structure of these gangs has changed — from

(Continued on Page 4)

"The Cops Violated Their Rights"



Attorney Conrad J. Lynn (third from left) discusses legal aspects of case with three socialist campaigners arrested in New York on trumped-up "disorderly conduct" charges after participating in street rally for Farrell Dobbs and Myra

Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president. At left is Robert Franklin. Next to him is his brother John Clarence Franklin and at right is Cornelius Suares, Jr. Lynn will represent them at Aug. 9 hearing.

Texaco Breaks Laws of Cuba; Is Taken Over

JUNE 29 — The Cuban government today "intervened" — that is, took control — of the Texaco Oil Company refinery in Santiago. The company's administrative office in Havana was also placed under government control. The seizure came in response to Texaco's defiance of one of the laws under which it has been operating in Cuba. It had refused to refine crude oil purchased by the Cuban government from the USSR despite a 1938 statute requiring oil companies to refine state-owned oil at the direction of the government.

Members of the workers' militia occupied the Santiago refinery. Standard Oil and Shell Oil have also refused to process the Soviet shipment. The government radio was reported as having declared that "any other American company which refuses (to accept) directives of the revolutionary government will be intervened."

Did Truman Draw His Racist Slur?

Thousands of TV viewers swear they heard former President Harry Truman use the epithet "nigger," on the June 11 "College News" conference when he repeated his smear charge that the Southern sit-ins were "Communist-inspired." (He also advised Negroes that they "won't have any trouble if they 'become good citizens.'")

Network officials claim he said "nigras," with a "sturring Missouri drawl." But the Chicago Defender, after playing back a tape recording of the show, is more convinced than ever that he went the limit.

Senate Votes to Suspend FCC 'Equal-Time' Rule

JUNE 28 — Another big step was taken yesterday toward assuring the Republicans and Democrats a clear monopoly of radio and television broadcast time. Without a single dissenting vote, the Senate approved a resolution "temporarily" suspending the law which requires that when a station provides air time to any candidate for public office it must grant equal broadcasting facilities to all other candidates for the same office.

The resolution specifically believes the broadcasters of the need to provide equal time to minority-party candidates. It was approved in return for a promise that more free time would be given the two major parties. Concurrence by the House is expected.

The action strikes at free speech and violates the legally established concept that the broadcasters are licensed to use the public airwaves for private

Handcuffed and Jailed For Talking Politics

By Murray Zuckoff

NEW YORK — Answering a question at a socialist street corner election rally, June 21, the speaker, a Negro, said: "I'm speaking here because I believe everyone should be free, regardless of the color of his skin. My brothers in the South aren't free, and neither am I here in New York."

The accuracy of the statement was verified an hour and a half later when the speaker, Robert Franklin, his brother John Clarence Franklin, and Cornelius Suares Jr., were arrested a few blocks from where the rally was held in Greenwich Village on a trumped-up charge of "disorderly conduct."

The three campaigners for the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket were accused of "using loud and boisterous language, collecting a crowd and refusing to move."

The charge was branded a frameup by their lawyer, Conrad Lynn, the noted civil rights fighter.

Lynn charged that the arrests were part of a growing pattern of police harassment and victimization of innocent people designed to divert public attention from current exposures of wholesale corruption in the police department.

Hit at Free Elections

"In the present case," he added, "the victims of police brutality were engaged in election activity. Their arrest strikes at free speech and the democratic electoral process. They were really taken in because they are Negroes and have been campaigning for socialist candidates."

The rally, held by the Campaign Committee for Dobbs and Weiss, had been orderly and well attended. Both Robert and

Dobbs Brings Cuban Issue to Cleveland Area

CLEVELAND, June 27 — Revolutionary changes in Cuba were "strongly defended here last night by Farrell Dobbs of New York, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party and its candidate for president," the Cleveland Plain Dealer reported Saturday.

Dobbs' refutations of the big-business slanders against the Cuban revolution were also heard during an interview conducted by Pete French on KYW-TV and at public meetings here and in Akron. He also appeared on a second TV interview and addressed the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian Society.

A Cuban who attended the meeting here described the oppression in his country before the revolution. He thanked Dobbs "on behalf of the Cuban people" for his efforts to bring the truth about Cuba to the American people.

Dobbs' refutations of the big-business slanders against the Cuban revolution were also heard during an interview conducted by Pete French on KYW-TV and at public meetings here and in Akron. He also appeared on a second TV interview and addressed the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian Society.

A Cuban who attended the meeting here described the oppression in his country before the revolution. He thanked Dobbs "on behalf of the Cuban people" for his efforts to bring the truth about Cuba to the American people.

"Tell your buddy I'll get him." An hour and a half later the three were arrested.

The charges lodged against them have nothing to do with the facts. After the rally, the three had walked other committee members uptown a few blocks, discussing plans for coming meetings. They then turned back to go to the subway station at Sixth Avenue and Third Street, still discussing the campaign.

As they approached the subway station, three cops approached them and ordered them to line up against the wall of a building. John Franklin tried quietly to tell the cops they were simply walking to the subway station. One of the cops knocked him to the ground.

As he lifted himself from the sidewalk, a cop grabbed his wrist, twisted on a handcuff and linked him to Cornelius Suares. The next day Franklin's wrist was still swollen and bruised from the unprovoked attack.

Robert Franklin asked why they were being mistreated and was informed they were being booked. When he asked what the charges were, one cop blandly replied they would take them in first and make the charges later. They didn't know what the charges were until they were brought into court after being held in jail overnight.

They were released on bail, and their case was adjourned until August 9 on motion by Conrad Lynn. A plea of not guilty will be entered at that time, he said.

As they walked out of the courtroom, Suares commented: "We were all born in the South, but we've lived here from 22 to 24 years. We were kids then and we thought we had left the South behind, but here it is, staring us right in the face. We're ready to do whatever we can to stop this kind of brutality."

NAACP Parley Gives Boost to Sit-In Campaign

Southern Student Leaders Take Spotlight at Convention

By Mike Garza

ST. PAUL, June 26 — The fifty-first annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which ended here today, gave unqualified endorsement to the Southern sit-ins in a resolution which put the organization "on record as approving without reservation the intent and method of operation of these movements."

Adoption of the resolution conformed to the mood of the delegates. Throughout the six-day parley, one big fact was evident. The Southern sit-ins were a tremendous force in the convention. The Southern student leaders and adult delegates dominated much of the thoughts and words of the approximately 900 delegates.

The highlight of the convention was the youth workshop and forum. More than 200 delegates and observers attended these sessions. They applauded and cheered as Southern student leaders reported on their battle-line experiences.

The youth sessions became a convention within a convention, and one felt that the really militant leaders in the fight against Jim Crow were in that hall rather than at the adult sessions.

The first youth gathering, June 22, heard a report from Herb Wright, national youth secretary. He said that so far 1,763 people in 15 states have been arrested in the sit-ins. Bail costs have amounted to \$102,720, and fines have totaled \$44,045, with many cases still pending.

Report on Sitdowns

Detailed accounts of the sit-ins were given from the floor by high school and college leaders from cities in eleven Southern states. They provided an inspiring picture of a well-organized and disciplined movement — a movement that went into action without adult sanction, and, in some cases, despite adult opposition.

The students offered an impressive array of arguments in justification of their cause and sailed into the defenders of Jim Crow.

A young man from Texas

Virginia Sitdowns Crack 'White-Only' Restaurants

Rockwell, "fuehrer" of the "American Nazi party," whose goons threatened three Negro counter waitresses before being ejected by police.

The sit-ins were continued until a Woolworth desegregation announcement precipitated the dramatic collapse of store resistance. After successfully testing Woolworth's word, eight students marched to Kann's Department Store where the manager stopped all service, switched off the lights and locked the doors. The students remained. Two hours later the manager returned, turned on the lights and served the students.

Integration of the Hot Shoppes, with Thompson's and Bickford's food chains in Baltimore, Md. following suit, set a new Southern precedent for restaurants serving food only (as distinguished from store lunch counters). Negroes have never before been able to obtain even drive-in service at such places below the Mason-Dixon line. But Arlington's Howard Johnson Restaurant, where two sit-downers were arrested earlier, was still holding out for segregation.

With F. W. Woolworth Co. leading off, two other Arlington dime store chains, three major department stores and two local drug chains integrated their lunch counters June 22-23.

The Arlington struggle was launched June 9 when 18-year-old Dion Diamond of Howard University took a seat at a drug store counter. He was joined by Negro and white students from Howard and George Washington University, and the group then demanded service at other counters, ending at Howard Johnson's where Diamond and another student were arrested.

Earlier at a People's Drug Store the students encountered noisy opposition from Lincoln

brought down the house when, in reply to former President Truman's charge that the sit-ins were part of a "communist conspiracy," he declared: "If fighting for freedom makes one a communist, then what we need is more communists!"

Further floor discussion brought suggestions which included a nationwide "wade-in" campaign at all Southern beaches this summer, more support to the youth movement by the adults and more workshops to help develop effective sitdown and picketing strategy.

Political Action

Cheers greeted a floor proposal to run Negro candidates against the racists in the South. The gathering voted to recommend to the adult session that no candidate be supported who evaded the segregation issue. There also was strong support for lowering the voting age to eighteen.

The fighting spirit which dominated the youth "convention" didn't quite carry into the adult session. A lot of valuable time was taken up with long speeches, attending to unnecessarily technical rules of procedure and counting regional votes on resolutions. The extremely complex voting rules, which created a lot of confusion

See Editorial:

'Jim Crow and the Conventions'

Page 3

and curbed the accurate expression of delegate sentiment, repelled many who were there to get things done. Additional irritation was created by rules which made it necessary to vote certain recommendations up or down without amendment.

Principal speakers included A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, NAACP national secretary; and Ralph Helstein, international president of the United Packinghouse Workers.

They were all somewhat critical of the major party politicians and the trade-union leaders for their stand on civil rights. Randolph charged that the "entire labor movement bears guilt for existence of racial barriers in labor." He said Republican Governor Rockefeller of New York was the only presidential aspirant to speak out on civil rights.

Wilkins, on the other hand, said that Kennedy, Symington and Nixon all had "good" voting records on civil rights. He said NAACP policy will continue to be that of putting pressure on elected officials and voting for the man with the "best record."

Despite the role the youth have played in building the organization — the sit-ins are credited with adding twenty-five

(Continued on Page 3)

Foreign-Born Defense Group Labelled 'Red'

JUNE 28 — The Subversive Activities Control Board yesterday ordered the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born to register with the U.S. Attorney General as a "Communist-front" organization.

The committee defends the civil rights of foreign born people who face loss of citizenship or deportation. Government attacks on the foreign born have been a continuous part of the witch hunt.

The board asserted that the committee seeks to advance the aims of the Communist party and to "win goodwill of the foreign born" — Evidently something the Justice Department can't be charged with. The decision, which has been pending since 1952, is subject to court appeal.

Delegates Cheer New Victory

News that forty-five lunch counters in Virginia had agreed to integrate, following a two-week sit-in campaign, touched off a jubilant half-hour demonstration at the NAACP national convention on June 23.

Students who played prominent parts in the sitdowns would gather from time to time in the corridors outside the convention hall to exchange experiences. One young leader, discussing how the Southern youth were sometimes forced to disregard the advice of local and national NAACP leaders and to form clubs outside the organization in order to launch the sit-ins, said:

"Nothing is so high you can't go over, nothing so low you can't crawl under, nothing is so wide you can't go around, and if there is, then you have to go through it."

The biggest applause at the youth workshop went to a white Saint Paul girl, Diane Moore, for suggesting that the delegates picket Twin-City chain stores which have branches in the South. This the youth delegates did on Saturday, June 25, displaying their militant slogans and chants.

When at their workshop, the youth decided on a nationwide "wade-in" campaign at segregated beaches "from Cape May, N.J. to Brownsville, Texas," Rev. I. DeQuincy Newman, NAACP field secretary in South Carolina, said: "With school vacations there is the danger of a let-up in our activity... the whole world should have no doubt by the Fourth of July in which direction we are moving."

The Truth About Cuba Will "Communists" Take Over?

By Joseph Hansen

Ninth in a series of articles.

It is difficult to find an article about the Cuban revolution or even a dispatch from Havana nowadays in the capitalist press that does not include wringing of the hands or frothing at the mouth over the "advance of communism" under the Castro government. In Cuba, on the other hand, most of the people you talk with indignantly dismiss the charge as slander.

Is all that smoke in the press about "communism" just a Wall Street smudge or is there, perhaps, some fire behind it? To answer this question, we had best begin by attempting to discover what is meant by "communism."

To some capitalists, and they happen to be among the most powerful, any public measure that puts limits to "free enterprise" signifies "communism." They consider it "communism," for instance, to prevent them from plundering our natural resources, or from raiding the public treasury. A lot of Wall Street's clamor about what is going on in Cuba refers to restrictions of this type.

Confused with Stalinism

Among many radicals and even socialists, the term "communism" refers to something quite different—it means the antidemocratic practices, including one-party slates, blood purges, frame-up trials and similar manifestations of dictatorial rule that have occurred in the Soviet Union under Stalin and his heirs.

This is also pretty much the popular view. When ordinary people today express fear of "communism," what they think of is the lack of democracy and civil liberties in the Soviet bloc countries. They say quite rightly, "We don't want concentration camps in America or the cult of an individual like Stalin." Thus they find it depressing to hear about Cuba going "communist." Why would the Cubans want a regime like Stalin's?

Among Marxists, "communism" has still other meanings. First of all, it is the name of the society toward which all countries are clearly evolving, a society of complete freedom based on a co-operative, planned world economy that has achieved unlimited abundance and thereby brought the painful class differences, the wars and depressions and hatreds of our time to an end. Secondly, it is the name of the international political movement organized under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky in 1919 to fight for and hasten the inauguration of this abundant communist society of the future.

In the early twenties and even into the thirties this was the splendid meaning of the word "communism" and that was the way most people thought of it, even opponents — when they considered it honestly.

Clearly enough, the Stalinist displacement of Leninism brought "communism" into evil repute, converting the word in the popular mind into the opposite of its real meaning and offering reactionaries an invaluable propaganda advantage. But all this is another story. For our present purpose we need consider only two possibilities that people think of when they ask about Cuba going "communist": (1) inroads on capitalist property relations; (2) a shift in government that would give power to Stalinism. The two possibilities are not at all synonymous or dependent on each other.

What the Record Reveals

Let us begin by considering the second. Is there anything in the record of the Cuban Communist party (it has called itself the "Popular Socialist Party" since 1944) to indicate that it might seek power in opposition to the July 26 Movement which led the revolution against Batista?

The communist movement, as Lenin and Trotsky conceived it, began in Cuba in the early twenties in Oriente, the traditional revolutionary center. Outlawed by dictator Machado in 1925, the party fought in the underground. But with the rise of Stalinism, the Cuban Communist party, like its sister parties throughout the world, was converted from an expression of Cuban revolutionary protest into an agency of Soviet foreign policy. With the fall of Machado, it engaged in wild ultra-leftist adventures typical of the "Third Period" of Stalinism. (In the United States, by way of parallel, Franklin D. Roosevelt was labeled a "fascist.")

After Hitler walked into power in Germany, without a fight from either the Communist party or the Social Democracy, Stalin shifted to a tactic of the most cynical class collaboration with what he called the "peace-loving"

It's Special During Election

To help win a wider audience for the truth about such big issues as independent political action, the struggle for Negro equality, the freedom fight of countries like Cuba, the growing movement for a world of peace and abundance, we're making a special subscription offer during the election campaign. A full 26 weeks for only 50 cents!

We hope you'll continue to subscribe to America's fighting socialist newspaper after you've read it for 26 weeks, but there's no obligation.

The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Yes, I'd like to take advantage of your special election offer. Enclosed is 50 cents for a 26-week subscription.

Name
Street Apt.
City Zone State

powers. Class collaboration, scored since the time of Marx and Engels as betrayal of the interests of the working class, was given new packaging and labeled the "popular front."

Stalin began to make this turn about the time Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union in 1933. One of the services which Stalin offered Roosevelt in the negotiations leading up to recognition was help in stemming revolutionary unrest in Cuba. That was how the Militant analyzed it as can be seen from an editorial printed November 25, 1933:

"Cuba may very well turn out to be the Achilles' heel of the Wall Street monster. The contradictions between its domination by U.S. imperialism and the life interests of the masses are at the explosive point there. For many weeks now the struggle has been blazing into a conflagration which the whole world could see. The workers on their own initiative have been taking possession of American properties and have even, in some instances, proceeded to the formation of local Soviets.

"The island is small, but the uprising of its people has an enormous strategic importance and moral power. The Wall Street bandits justly regard it with apprehension as the peoples of Latin America and the conscious workers in the U.S. look to it with sympathy and hope. The U.S. bandits stand ready to crush the revolt with the brutal force of armed intervention. The workers and the peoples ought to be shown the way to unify all their efforts with those of the Cuban workers for the frustration of these designs. . . .

"In the present instance, filled with such great potentialities, the Comintern of Stalin remains as silent as the grave. And as for Stalin himself, the 'best disciple of Lenin,' his mouth, as the saying goes, might be filled with water — he cannot utter a word of advice, encouragement or hope on the grandiose events in Cuba.

"Is this 'nonintervention' in the Cuban revolution a deliberate policy? Was an express promise to keep 'Hands off Cuba' a part of the Washington agreement for recognition? If not, please explain the precise meaning of the following clause in Litvinoff's letter:

"(4) Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group — and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group — which has as an aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

"This treacherous pledge, which brings the blush of shame to every revolutionist, does not refer to some territory on the moon. It refers, directly and concretely, and at the present moment, to Cuba.

"In our opinion, and we say it with blunt and brutal frankness, it was explicitly so discussed and understood in the negotiations. . . ."

The "Popular Front" in Action

Batista's rule was so bloody, as the Cuban dictator aped some of the practices of Mussolini and Hitler, that it was not easy for the leaders of the Communist party to overcome the revolutionary sentiments of the rank and file and get them to support the dictatorship. But by 1938, the party was following Stalin's "popular front" line as assiduously as its American counterpart which was now, under Browder's guidance, helping to spread the cult of "FDR." In August of 1938 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist party openly resolved "to take a more positive stand towards Batista since he has ceased to be the center of reaction and now professes democracy."

Batista reciprocated by immediately legalizing the Communist party. Blas Roca, general secretary of the party, explained the Cuban "popular front" on a visit to New York: "It must be remembered that Colonel Batista himself comes of the people. He was a worker, the leader of the greatest democratic movement we've had."

In 1940 the Communist party was conspicuous in the coalition that Batista put together around the slogan, "Batista for president!" On March 6, 1943, the dictator appointed a Communist party leader, Juan Marinello, to his cabinet and on March 14 of the following year, he added another, Carlos Rodriguez.

In the 1944 elections the Communist party supported Saladrigas, a Batista puppet, for the presidency against the opposition candidate Dr. Grau San Martin. When Grau won, the Communist leaders saw that they had made an error in sticking so faithfully to Batista. However, they speedily rectified the error. They ran after the bandwagon of the new president after it was unhitched in the presidential palace. Grau let them climb on the tail board.

McCarthyism in Cuba

With the beginning of the cold war and the opening of the witch-hunt in the United States, the Grau government altered its policies to conform with those of Washington. Batista had utilized the services of the Communist party principally to keep the trade unions under government control. Grau's Minister of Labor, Carlos Prio Socarras, began a government witch-hunt of "communists" in 1947, the same year that Truman issued his infamous decree requiring a "loyalty" oath of government employees. Prio sought to oust trade-union leaders under Communist party influence and replace them with officials selected from his own Autentico party. In 1948 he ran for the presidency and won on an "anti-Communist" plank. In office he continued the witch-hunt in imitation of Truman.

When Batista seized power again in 1952, he kept up the Cuban emulation of McCarthyism, breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union on April 3, 1952, and outlawing the Communist party on October 31, 1953. However, the Communist party never suffered, even in the worst final years of Batista's murderous rule, as did the July 26 Movement and similar revolutionary-minded groups. In fact, it appeared that Batista had a working arrangement under which the Communist party, in return for a lenient attitude, utilized its positions in the trade unions to block the working class from militant action. The Communist leaders, of course, never supported the July 26 Movement during Batista's terror; in fact, they attacked it.

Today the Cuban Communist party press is sweet as molasses toward the July 26 Movement. Whether the leaders of the "barbudos" find this thick praise very palatable may well be doubted. Certainly it has not served to rehabilitate the Communist party in the eyes of the Cuban people.

We are fairly safe in concluding that a party that could toady up to Stalin and Batista for a quarter of a century is not exactly the kind that will seriously contend for power. That the leaders will seek government posts and special privileges is, of course, to be expected. In that they remain true to their past record,

Dobbs Tells Two UAW Locals Why Labor Should Run the U.S.

DETROIT, June 19 — Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, gave the following talk today at meetings of Locals 157 and 227 of the United Auto Workers:

The Socialist Workers party believes that the rich have run this country — and run it into the ground — long enough. The time has come for the working people to take affairs into their own hands and run this country in the interests of the working people for a change.

We can see working people throughout the world doing exactly that. Take Cuba as an example. The present revolutionary government in Cuba is putting shoes on the feet of the Cuban farmers and workers, protecting and creating jobs for those who work in the plants and on the land, building schools and hospitals — in general, doing something in the interests of the vast majority, the working people.

In the process they have impaired the profits of the American monopoly corporations who have exploited Cuba for many years. That's why the capitalist politicians in this country, who serve the interests of American big business, scream about the Cuban revolution. That's why the capitalist newspapers here distort the truth about what's going on in Cuba — just as they distort the truth about the strikes that you are involved in.

The Socialist Workers party contends that the American working people, in the interests of upholding the democratic rights of working people anywhere in the world, should say to the American capitalists and their stooges, the Democrats and Republicans: "Hands off Cuba. Let the Cuban people and all other working people throughout the world run their own affairs as they see fit."

Of course, the American cor-



FARRELL DOBBS

porations don't want to keep hands off. They don't want to cut down on their profits. They are willing to fight to the last drop of your blood to defend their profits and they are willing to use the last penny of your tax money to build a huge war machine so that they can interfere in the affairs of other peoples throughout the world.

There are some working people in America who argue that war production creates jobs for the workers here and, therefore, we need a big arms budget to cut down unemployment. But even government economists admit that despite the huge arms budget, despite the many war contracts with private industry, despite the building up of a

gigantic war machine, jobs are being lost.

Economists don't dispute the fact that we are now heading for an economic slump — in spite of the arms program. The only question they argue about is whether the slump will hit us this year or next spring.

The government is now spending seventy-two cents of every tax dollar for armaments and only a plugged nickel of your tax dollar goes toward some small measure of benefit for the working people of this country. The Socialist Workers party maintains that we should switch that around — the major portion of government spending and legislation should deal with problems of working people.

The problem that worries workers the most is unemployment. The obvious answer is to reduce the work week to thirty hours without reducing weekly take-home pay. The employers are not going to grant such a demand unless labor fights for it with the same militancy it needed to win the forty-hour week.

The Republicans are against a thirty-hour law. The Democrats are against it, too. You won't get a shorter work week law by depending on those parties any more than you will get a shorter week in your union contracts by depending on the good will and generosity of the employers.

The same applies to medical care for the older people, adequate health and pension plans, a higher minimum wage, decent unemployment compensation and all the other things that the unions are working for. The record shows that the capitalist parties and capitalist governments are not interested in promoting such legislation.

In the 1958 election, labor played the principal role in giving the Democrats the biggest majority in Congress since the days of the New Deal. And what

has this Congress produced for labor? An anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Giffin law for the union movement. A fake civil rights law that accomplishes nothing significant at all for the Negro people.

The Forand Bill, inadequate as it is to meet the needs of the older people, is still bottled up in committee.

Now, labor can accomplish a great deal in the political field — but not by supporting and voting for the two company parties, the Democrats or the Republicans. The labor movement in this country can use the same dynamic power it put into action during the thirties when it built the CIO and the UAW here — it can use that same dynamic power to enter politics in its own name, with its own candidates and with its own program.

Labor Party

Labor can form a labor party which will immediately have the support of the Negro people who are today struggling for democratic rights and human dignity. Such a labor party will immediately attract the support of the working farmers, the housewives, students and all sections of our society who have a common interest with the organized labor movement.

You can cast your vote for that concept of political action by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers party in 1960. You can voice your opinion that you have had enough double-crosses from these so-called friends of labor, that you think the time has come for labor to stop acting in the interests of the bosses and their parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and start acting in the interests of the vast majority in this country who labor with hand and brain. You can do this by voting for the Socialist Workers party.

Youth Paves Way in Japan and Britain

By Gerry Healy

The defeat of the Hungarian revolution in 1956; the coming to power of De Gaulle in France; the abandonment of any reference to socialism by the German Social Democratic party and the triumph of the Tory party in the October, 1959, general election, were powerful indications of the growing strength of the right-wing reaction over the continent of Europe.

The past few years have been anxious ones for European Marxists and in particular for our movement in Britain. Such events have, in fact, formed part of the background to recent Right-wing and sectarian defections from the Socialist Labor League. Notwithstanding the dangers inherent in the situation, however, we patiently insisted that it would be wrong to characterize the victory of reaction in Europe as one which signified a definite defeat for the working class as was suffered in the early and middle 1920's.

Colonial Revolution

The colonial revolution, which has now spread from Asia to the continent of Africa, upset the equilibrium of imperialism to the extent that permanent stability is well-nigh impossible. But this conflict, important as it is, cannot by itself overturn world imperialism. For this we need great movements led by revolutionary Marxist parties in the advanced imperialist countries.

To faint-hearts whose opinions are formed on the basis of superficial impressions, it appeared that the construction of such parties was something to be ruled out for the next period. They looked for political gimmicks to answer difficult problems.

It was suggested that the de-Stalinization process in the Soviet Union, the rapid tempo of industrialization in that country, and the extension of the colonial revolution were a sufficiently powerful force in themselves to ensure the restoration of democracy in the Soviet Union. From these impressions the conclusion was drawn that the Stalinist parties, suitably de-Stalinized, might lead the working class to power and thus obviate the need for the construction of revolutionary Marxist parties. The Marxist movement was seriously endangered by these revisionist ideas, particularly in the countries of imperialism, where the struggle to construct revolutionary parties was hardest.

Two Great Events

In the last few weeks two events which are of tremendous importance for the future of the struggle in the imperialist countries have taken place.

Gerry Healy is national secretary of the Socialist Labor League, an organization of Marxists in the British Labor party. The article printed here first appeared in the June 25 issue of The Newsletter, weekly publication of the SLL. The reference to Transport House in Healy's article is to the Labor party headquarters, whose national headquarters are at Transport House, London.

First, the great Japanese demonstrations where tens of thousands of students, solidly backed by working-class organizations, brushed through the ranks of the Kishi police and created a situation where the arch-representative of imperialism, President Eisenhower, was unable to visit Japan.

It would be quite inaccurate to speak of the struggles in Japan as an extension of the colonial revolution. Japan is an advanced industrial country with a modern proletariat. It is the home of a ruthless and brutal imperialism. These great demonstrations have, therefore, much more specific weight than the extension of the colonial revolution, important though that is. What is being posed over the next period in Japan is a social revolution.

This is the beginning of a great movement in the imperialist countries which will provide firm foundations on which the Marxist parties of the future will be built.

Crisis in Labor Party

The second event is the crisis in the British Labor party. In its editorial of Monday, June 20, The Times described this crisis as follows:

"The present disarray in the Labor party is tragic. It is not so much a struggle for power — the lines of fission criss-cross in the most bewildering manner — as a desperate flurry by a great party threatening fragmentation. Were this to lead either to Conservative rule for a generation or to the ultimate victory at the polls of a newly oriented Opposition, our society would make a decided shift. The fight centered around Mr. Gaitskell is a fight involving the future of Britain."

These remarks describe very effectively the serious nature of the conflict within the Labor party.

The political log jam created by the division of labor between the leaderships of the old parties of Tweedledum and Tweedledee, is breaking up. The process of change under the surface of political life in Britain is about to become transformed qualitatively into the emergence of

powerful new trends. That is why all the King's horses and all the King's men, supported by the Fabian Society, cannot put the Humpty Dumpty of Transport House together again.

The possibilities of a satisfactory compromise seem remote indeed. A new stage in the long process of revolutionary change opened up by the election of the Labor government in 1945 is now on the agenda.

The Youth

What forces will supply the recruits for the new Marxist leaderships in the imperialist countries? In our opinion these will undoubtedly be drawn from the youth in industry and the universities. Was it not the tens of thousands of student youth who pioneered the Aldermaston marches in the fight against the H-bomb? Who made a powerful contribution to the creation of a great anti-H-bomb movement?

Is it not also a fact that these youth, who started out from universities and colleges are now more and more being joined by the big battalions of labor, the trade unions? Is it not the great change which has sparked off the present crisis in the Labor party and prompted the thoughtful editorial in the Times?

Compare these events with the role of student youth in the recent Japanese demonstrations. The News Chronicle correspondent, Bruce Rothwell, writing in that newspaper on June 20, described an interview he had with two Japanese student leaders, Onda and Kurodi. They both "bitterly denied Premier Kishi's charge that they and 30 other committee members leading the Zengakuren are Communists. . . ."

"The Zengakuren, covering 130 universities and schools and nearly a million students, was broken up by pre-war military officers. Banned during the war, it was revived by MacArthur in 1948 as a contribution to teaching Japan democracy.

"The Communists quickly infiltrated it. But last November — when Kishi tried to legislate wide police powers and students broke into the Diet in protest — the Communist party officially denounced them.

"It called them Trotskyists and expelled Zengakuren's leaders from the party. 'Few knew of Trotsky, but they held elections and confirmed their hold on the committee over 'moderate' Communists, read Trotsky literature and began denouncing Khrushchev as well as Kishi.'"

How much now for the worthwhile thinking of those who so optimistically declared that the

Stalinist parties with the Khrushchev "new look" may well be the Marxist parties of the future. On the contrary, it was the youth of Hungary, backed by the industrial working class which led the great revolt against Stalinist bureaucracy. It is the student youth of Britain who organized themselves under the slogan of unilateral abandonment of the H-bomb, who pioneered the way in the mobilization of the trade unions behind this demand.

It is the youth of Japan, also backed by the trade unions and workers' organizations, who are paving the way for a resurgence of Marxism.

Stalinists Thwarted

In no case have the Stalinist parties been in the leadership of these movements. In fact, in order to build it is necessary to wage an irreconcilable struggle against Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracy. This does not mean that Stalinists have not participated in these movements, but unlike pre-war Europe, the Stalinists have been unable to utilize these movements for their own ends. In Britain the influence of the Socialist Labor League is at present enjoying a modest growth in the universities. A resurgence of Labor's Young Socialists and the great apprentices' struggle, taken in conjunction with the anti-H-bomb demonstrations, are drawing many thousands of youth in the direction of Marxism.

That is where the great confidence of the Socialist Labor League comes from. We are not unduly bothered about the desertions to the extreme Left or the extreme Right. Our task is to look reality straight in the face. The new crisis in the British Labor party will have decisive repercussions on the evolution of the struggle against imperialism in the days that lie ahead. It is a great omen for the construction of the Marxist parties of the future.

Advertisement

JUST OFF THE PRESS

Too Many Babies? A New Pamphlet

by Joseph Hansen

A Marxist answer to some frightening questions: Is a "population explosion" the world's main danger? Will our planet become too crowded to stand on? Will mass sterilization help to stamp out hunger?

48-pages 25¢

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50.

THE MILITANT

Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN, Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS, Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Vol. XXIV - No. 27

Monday, July 4, 1960

Jim Crow and the Conventions

The Negro leaders, A. Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., have called for marches on the national conventions of both major parties this month to force them to insert forthright declarations against racial segregation and discrimination in their platforms.

As Randolph and King point out: "School integration has virtually ground to a halt. Six years after the Supreme Court decision, only 6 per cent of Southern Negro students attend integrated classes.

In view of this record, what sense is there in asking the Negro people once again to turn toward these upholders of the Jim Crow system for an end to racism or for the repudiation of the white supremacist elements in their leadership?

Suppose — and this is in itself unlikely — that by such means the opponents of discrimination do succeed in pressuring the Democratic convention at Los Angeles into adopting a strong plank on the civil rights question.

To collect enough votes to insure victory for their candidates, the Democratic and Republican politicians are capable of making the most sweeping and seductive promises in their platforms and campaign

speeches. These declarations are conveniently shelved once they get into office.

Liberal Democrats specialize in this runaround. In 1948, for example, Truman insisted on a strong civil rights plank in the platform and even broke with some diehard Southern Bourbons who didn't see the need for this kind of deception.

The Democrats have given the same raw deal to the labor movement. In 1948 and 1952 they promised to work for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Such was the payoff the Negro people and labor got from the capitalist parties.

"How do we move against the bipartisan chicanery that reigns in the halls of Congress?" ask Randolph and King in their call.

To our mind the most effective and forward-looking answers to this question should be along the following lines: No more confidence in the promises of the Democratic or Republican double-dealers.

The only effective way to protest against the Jim Crow practices of the capitalist parties in 1960 is by voting for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the candidates of the Socialist Workers party, who are dedicated to the cause of integration without conditions or delay.

Well-Heeled Delegates

The five thousand delegates and alternates who will choose the Democratic and Republican candidates at Los Angeles and Chicago this year will pay heavily for the privilege. They do not come from the poor sections of the population.

According to a Brookings Institute study, the average income of the delegates to the 1948 Democratic convention was \$10,150. That's equivalent to about \$15,000 in 1960 depreciated dollars.

Personal expenses per delegate in 1952

ranged from \$200 to \$500. But that was only a small part of the overhead. Would-be Republican delegates from Indiana in 1952 had to pay a \$500 assessment each.

Expectant delegates have to attend \$100-a-plate dinners and cough up other contributions. They have to pay state filing fees of \$50 or more. It is not uncommon for friends of presidential hopefuls to finance some delegates' trips.

Wagner Hands Rockwell an Issue

George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi who advocates Hitler's gas-chamber way of ending "the menace" of "Jews and Negroes," announced June 27 that he is calling off his plans to stage a rally in New York's Union Square on July 4.

"The New York Civil Liberties Union hates my guts," he is quoted as saying, "but they have a terrific stake in protecting my right to speak. They can't afford to protect the rights of Communists and Jews, and look the other way while my rights are being denied."

Mayor Wagner is to be blamed for handing this grievance to Hitler's American admirer. At a court hearing June 22 over an injunction to bar city officials from issuing a permit for Rockwell's rally, a crowd expressed its opposition to Rockwell's provocative statements in such vigorous fashion that the police intervened and rushed the Nazi out of town.

The groups that first took notice of Rockwell's plan to stage a Nazi rally in Union Square, did not question his right to free speech. The Committee to Protest Racial Defamation, for instance, did not seek to stop Rockwell from speaking.

Conrad J. Lynn, representing the Committee to Protest Racial Defamation, put it like this in a letter to the Department of Parks in which he pressed for a permit for a public meeting in Union Square on July 4 to answer the Nazis: "We believe that evil thought must be allowed to ex-

press itself as long as truth is free to combat it."

The New York Post, after first publicizing the Nazi rally, closed its columns to further news until the court incident occurred. Then, in an editorial, it advocated a policy of silence toward Nazis like Rockwell.

The latest moves are to illegalize the American Nazis and put them on the so-called "subversive" list. New York State Supreme Court Justice Louis L. Friedman signed a temporary injunction June 28 restraining the party and its commander "from engaging in any subversive political activities in New York State," according to the press.

In our opinion, such moves are wrong on two counts. First of all, they are infringements of the right of free speech and the right to engage in politics. Such infringements of anyone's rights, no matter who it may be, inevitably put in question everyone's democratic rights.

Secondly, such moves are ineffective in counteracting the poisonous racist views of the Rockwells. In fact, by victimizing them it helps them win sympathy.

To follow any other course is to betray lack of confidence in democratic rights and democratic institutions.

Are Moscow and Peking Now in Accord?

By Murry Weiss (Second article in a series.)

The latest occasion for the continuing debate between Moscow and Peking on what attitude to take towards the imperialist West and on the meaning of "peaceful coexistence," was provided by the third Congress of the Rumanian Communist party held June 20-25 in Bucharest.

In a speech June 22 Khrushchev submitted the criticisms of the Kremlin's foreign policy, voiced by the Chinese CP leaders over the past two years, to coarse abuse, ridicule, denunciation and gross distortion.

It was obvious that Khrushchev was speaking with the confidence that his power is firmly entrenched in the Kremlin — at least for the time being.

The delegate of the Chinese CP, Peng Chen, who is the Mayor of Peking, also spoke at the congress. In a pointed allusion to the hopeful speculations in the world capitalist press concerning a break in the alliance of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, he stressed the need for strengthening the united front against imperialism and particularly the need for unity of the "international communist movement."

Sharp Attacks

The Moscow and Peking press utilized their daily reports of the congress to level some of the sharpest attacks yet at one another. (See excerpts of these recent statements of the Moscow and Peking positions on this page.)

At the conclusion of the congress, twelve Communist parties, including the Chinese, joined in a June 27 statement "reaffirming their allegiance to the principles of the declaration and the manifesto of peace."

The Bucharest statement was variously interpreted in the capitalist press as (a) a victory for the Kremlin, since the 1957 Moscow declaration held the achievement of "peaceful coexistence" to be the "most important world-wide task of the day"; (b) a victory for Peking, since the Moscow declaration stated that there will be danger of war as long as imperialism exists and since it envisaged the possibility that violence organized by the capitalist class will block peaceful revolutions;

Curious Debate

The curious manner in which the debate is conducted, however, makes the description, "open," strictly a relative matter. The conduct of the Peking-Moscow dispute bears no resemblance to the great debates on policy conducted in the Communist International during the first years following the Russian Revolution.

The debate between Peking and Moscow, however, is rigged to exclude the masses from participation. Note the procedure that is being followed: The Chinese CP leaders attack Khrushchev's statements on foreign policy as "anti-Leninist" and "revisionist."

Excerpts from Debate

Moscow

"Only madmen and lunatics can now call for another world war. As for the men of sound mind — and they account for the majority even among the most deadly enemies of Communism — they cannot but be aware of the fatal consequences of another war."

"It should not be forgotten that Lenin's propositions on imperialism were advanced and developed tens of years ago when the world did not know many things that are now decisive for historical development."

"Besides . . . one cannot mechanically repeat now on this question what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said many decades ago on imperialism, and go on asserting that imperialism wars are inevitable until socialism triumphs throughout the world."

"One must not only be able to read but also correctly understand what one has read and apply it in specific conditions of the time in which we live. . . . All this gives ground to say with confidence that under present conditions war is not inevitable."

(Khrushchev, June 22 Bucharest speech.)

Peking

"We need peace and peaceful coexistence, and we have confidence in peace. The question is to obtain peace from what standpoint, with what method and relying on what forces? Shall we believe in the people of various countries or in imperialism?"

"Is our confidence built on the realistic basis of the peoples' struggle and on the class struggle or on unrealistic illusions that the nature of imperialism can be changed and that, though its nature is unchanged, it will renounce policies of war and aggression and will harbor a 'sincere desire' for peace?"

(Peking People's Daily, June 23.)

"As long as the monopoly capitalist clique continues its rule in the United States and United States imperialism exists, the threat of war will not be eliminated and world peace will not be guaranteed."

(General Li Chih-Min in People's Daily, June 25.)

"Only when . . . the capitalist system [is] eliminated on earth . . . can there really be lasting world peace."

(People's Daily, June 29.)

Both Fear Masses

Internal disputes within the bureaucratic hierarchies of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China are conducted in an atmosphere of fear that the working masses will find an opening to speak their minds, pour out their bitter grievances against the bureaucratic officialdom, press their demands for socialist democracy and equality, gain confidence in their own political power, and find an organized means to express this power.

Thus, as Khrushchev disposed of his rivals in the struggle for the succession after Stalin's death, he would, it is true, name his victims. But he never allowed his opponents to state their own positions. He would relieve them of this responsibility and report their "positions" for them — in the guise of prosecutor reading off a list of their "heinous anti-party crimes."

It would be wrong, however, to simply equate the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union with that of the People's Republic of China, even though both regimes are guilty of suppressing workers' democracy. There are many important differences in the history of the two regimes, in the stage of the revolutions in the two countries, in the relation of the party leaderships to the masses and in the position of the Soviet Union and of China

Japan to Vote on Pact

(Continued from Page 1) repudiation of the treaty.

The June 26 New York Times reported: "The Socialists announced last week that they consider the new pact invalid and would fight the coming election on the issue."

But two days earlier, the same paper reported that Saburo Eda, secretary general of the party, had declared the SP would press for amendments to the treaty—a course that would in effect mean acceptance of the basic concept of some form of military alliance with Washington.

CP Smear

Meanwhile, the Communist party, which lost considerable support by its refusal to consistently support a policy of militant struggle against the treaty, gave itself a new political black eye. It sought to exploit for factional purposes the death of Michiko Kamba, the Tokyo University student who was killed in the June 15 police attack on demonstrators at the parliament building.

The Japanese CP leadership boycotted Miss Kamba's funeral after charging that "Trotskyists" had been responsible for her death.

(A majority of the Zengakuren leadership, known as the "Mainstream" group, are former CP

in the struggle against imperialism.

The term "bureaucracy" is not an epithet. It is employed by Marxists to describe a social formation which arises and gains domination over the labor movement in capitalist countries and which, under certain historical circumstances, fastens its rule on workers' states.

Clearly, labor bureaucracies can be as different from one another as the specific historical developments and social pressures that produced them. Within a single bureaucratic formation, too, there are different strata and antagonistic groupings often reflecting contradictory class pressures, including the pressure of the working class.

Differ in Features

We shall in the course of these articles return to this subject. For the present it is sufficient to note that the debate between Moscow and Peking has disclosed not only essential similarities between the two bureaucratic formations but what is even more important, their considerably different features.

The most important difference at this point is not in the basic outlooks of Peking and Moscow. Both are bound by the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," which so clearly expresses the innermost nature of their bureaucratic regimes; by their consequent rejection of revolutionary struggles in the capitalist orbit as the main, strategic means for defeating the imperialist war drive; and, yes, by their common acceptance of the Stalinist concept of "peaceful coexistence."

Khrushchev's claim, echoed by uninformed capitalist commentators, that those who hold the position of the Chinese CP leaders are opposed to "peaceful coexistence," is completely false. The Chinese themselves have repeatedly invoked the 1957 Moscow declaration, with its reaffirmation of "peaceful coexistence," throughout the debate. During the stage of the dispute that marked the occasion of Lenin's ninetieth birthday in April, practically every article written in the Chinese Communist party press quoted extensively from the Moscow declaration.

What the Chinese leaders have been saying in effect is this: We agree with "peaceful coexistence," but we can't agree with the sacrifice of the Chinese revolution; we can't agree with bartering China's interests across the table in the course of the Kremlin's negotiations with Western imperialism; we can't agree with the idea that what is good for Moscow is good for the whole Soviet orbit including us; and we don't think China's needs are "expandable" in the pursuit of "peace."

Sit-ins, Cuba Featured In Socialist Quarterly

The summer issue of the International Socialist Review contains an unusually rich assortment of articles on current developments and theoretical controversy.

Joseph Hansen's provoking discussions, "Ideology of the Cuban Revolution," will intrigue all those concerned with the progress of that revolution. It is the first trustworthy presentation to appear in the United States of the ideas of Che Guevara as expressed in his recently published book The Guerrilla War.

Guevara is one of the key figures of the Cuban revolutionary regime and his political views are therefore of enormous importance. Inasmuch as The Guerrilla War is not available in English, the Hansen article will be of special value to the non-Spanish speaking public.

"Three Radical Parties and the 1960 Election," by Murry Weiss examines the contortionist arguments employed by the leaders of the Communist party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation to justify their support to the Democratic party. The importance of the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers party is discussed by the author in relation to the appearance of a new generation of radical youth.

Bert Deck, in "Challenge of the Negro Student," investigates the record and ideology of pacifism in the current struggle of the Negro against discrimination.

"The deep gulf," he writes, "between the new generation and the conservative NAACP leadership is well understood by all commentators. What is not yet fully appreciated is that the students are likewise separating themselves from the leadership of the radical pacifists such as Reverend King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference."

Daniel Roberts describes the dramatic advantages which accrue to a country which has

Actually, this is a contradictory position. Peaceful coexistence as practised by Stalin and Khrushchev following him has meant precisely to sacrifice revolutions for the sake of an agreement with imperialism to freeze the status quo.

It is beside the point in this context to argue that to "freeze" revolutions is to remove the decisive obstacles to war and that, moreover, the Kremlin isn't always able to put revolutions in cold storage.

The point is that the Kremlin has sacrificed revolutionary movements repeatedly and that the Chinese know all about it, because they have been identified with the Kremlin's policies. But now these policies have led to the revolution from which the Chinese CP leaders derive their own power being put up as a sacrificial offering to imperialism. And the Chinese leaders quite naturally object.

But perhaps the Chinese CP leaders are being overly distrustful of Khrushchev's intentions. Surely Khrushchev realizes that the Chinese revolution has interposed considerable power between the Soviet Union and aggressive imperialism. We shall discuss these and related questions in a subsequent article.

NAACP

(Continued from Page 1)

per cent to the membership—they were given little voice at regular convention sessions. You got the impression that the convention was upside down when you saw a special section in the rear of the hall reserved for the youth who comprised about half the total delegation.

But the impact of these young fighters still made itself clearly felt. No main speech omitted reference to the sit-ins. The South was the central subject of corridor and restaurant discussions.

Some organizational recognition was extended the youth. The National Board will now include a youth representative. A newsletter with sit-in information will be published. A youth march on Washington was scheduled for October.

The most dramatic expression of the impact that the Southern fight had on the convention came when the delegates rose up against a recommendation to hold the 1962 convention in Portland, Ore.

The delegates voted to change the site to Atlanta, Ga. Cheers and applause greeted Rev. Oliver Hill of Richmond, Va., when he declared: "It is time to bring the civil rights struggle to the heart of the Confederacy. . . . Let us march on Georgia in 1962!" By previous decision, the 1961 convention will be held in Philadelphia.

overtaken its capitalist class. His economic survey, "India and China — a Contrast," is a well-documented study of these two countries which a decade ago stood practically on the same rung of the economic ladder.

"Can the intellectuals prevent war?" is the question asked by William F. Warde in his review-article on C. Wright Mills' book, The Causes of World War III. While taking due note of Mills' constructive attempts in the field of sociology, Warde counterposes the Marxist understanding of current international conflicts, to that elaborated by Mills.

Another aspect of the problems of war and peace is contained in the article "Economics of Peaceful Co-existence" by Shane Mage. This piece consists of excerpts from a speech given by the author to the Founding Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Periodicals in Review" department by Tim Wohlforth deals with the changing moods on the American campus and their reflection in current publications. The Book Review section features an extensive discussion by Trent Hutter on "W. Somerset Maugham and the Social Question."

The issue sells for 35 cents a copy and may be obtained by writing to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Advertisement

Book Service

Rare and out-of-print books and pamphlets. If not readily available, we will search for them. We can also supply you with any current book that socialists put on their "must" list.

Our speciality: the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Catalog sent on request.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Did Bosses Hide Switch to the Fan?

Editor: The hotel kitchen where I've been working for almost a year has been darn near like a blast furnace.

It's not difficult to describe what it's like working in a hotel kitchen with hot ranges going at full blast, broilers at white heat, steam, and what have you — particularly when there's no air coming in.

Last summer several workers fainted from the heat. Some of the women salad makers just refuse to work at all, comes summertime.

A bunch of us got together and managed to put enough heat on the union business agent to get him to come down. We told him if the hotel didn't get the air vent system working we were going to hold a job meeting during the rush hours.

We put on so much pressure that he requested a special meeting with management — a very unusual event in these parts. The hotel executives got so excited when we requested a special meeting to discuss a grievance that they brought in the eastern general manager from Chicago to personally handle the problem.

When he was advised of the grievance, he told the local executives to take care of it right away. The general manager immediately turned the problem over to the residential manager who turned it over to the floor manager who told the chief engineer to get the vent fixed.

They worked on the problem for a week, discussing various theories about what was wrong with the vent, etc. The deadline

came and we said we were going to hold a rush-hour meeting. Friday morning, Charlie, an engineer employed here for the past 32 years, walked into the kitchen, looked the situation over and asked us to move a big refrigerator from the wall.

We did. He walked up to it, threw a switch that had been hidden behind the refrigerator and the blowers started working.

Paul Williams New York

Houston Sit-Ins

Editor: The sit-ins down here have been very good. They must have been to cause our city government to take some action. Some cafeterias have been integrated, at least for the time being.

The students have been sitting in and picketing at Woolworth's, Foley's, Kress' and Grant's and some of the department stores. Six youngsters sat down in the bus station restaurant and refused to leave until it was shut down. They were locked up in there for three hours but this didn't seem to bother them.

The people here are also demanding school integration, inclusion of Negro history in the school books, desegregation of the pools and beaches and better job opportunities.

F. B. Houston

It Was the Truth Simply Stated

Editor: The following is a copy of a letter that I sent to Frank Lovell, the Socialist Workers party candidate for Senator from Michigan:

When I read your speech, "What Socialists Want," in the June 6 Militant, I was intrigued with its simplicity.

It was socialism in its essence, containing the poetry and sweetness of Gene Debs.

Nothing is there that the workers couldn't understand and believe in; no abstruse terminology to bewilder them. It was the beautiful love that one human being naturally has for another. This is the essence of truth, and it will ultimately bring us all together into the common brotherhood which the workers have always yearned for.

Castro well understands this simplicity and is able to bring it to all the people of Cuba. He will realize the deviousness of the boys on Madison Avenue who dubbed capitalism "free enterprise."

He knows how the greed of some few people able to pay can prostitute the more articulate and bring them into their orbit of hypocritical subterfuge. And that is why the press, with its orders from Washington, is reviling him and deceiving our American newspaper readers.

Paul Dennie Los Angeles

'Give 'Em Hell,' Says Southerner

Editor: I am mailing you \$10. Please use \$3 to renew my subscription and apply the \$7 to your socialist fund.

I would like very much to hear some socialist talks in the months ahead. But I suppose this is too far south. But if that could happen, I would like to have advance notice so that I can pick them up on TV or radio. Of course the press down here will not give you much space. How nice it would be to hear James Cannon give 'em hell. And he is the boy that can do just that.

E. R. M. Georgia

Himmel Flays Brokers On Mich. Housing Bias

DETROIT, June 26 — Robert Himmel, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor, delivered a stinging attack on Jim Crow housing practices at a state hearing held here last Tuesday.

The hearing developed out of the scandal about the "point system" in Grosse Pointe, wealthy Detroit suburb. It was called by the Michigan Corporations and Securities Commission to hear views about its proposed state regulation to forbid real estate brokers from racial, religious and national discrimination in property sales.

A number of broker spokesmen appeared to denounce the regulation as an illegal, unworkable and un-American violation of the "right" to discriminate.

'Racist Candor'

Himmel pulled no punches in answering "the type of poison that you heard a few minutes ago." He said that the only unusual thing about the Grosse Pointe racists was their "candor and thoroughness." Actually, segregation and discrimination "pervade our whole society" and

Thompson's Appeal On Pension Rejected

JUNE 28 — A federal court in Washington struck a harsh blow at free speech when it ruled today that the Veterans Administration could deprive Communist party leader Robert Thompson of his disability pension because he spoke against U.S. intervention in Korea.

Holder of the Distinguished Service Cross, Thompson had been receiving \$150 a month pension for having been stricken with tuberculosis in New Guinea.

In 1955, the VA cut off his pension on the ground that his opposition to the "police action" in Korea constituted "assistance to the enemy."

Judge Alexander Holtzoff and Richmond B. Keach ruled that the VA had backed its action with "reasonable proof" that Thompson had "aided" an enemy power.

In a dissent, Judge Charles Fahy held that the statute under which the pension was cut off violated the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

Rita Newton White

Dr. Rita Newton White, a member of the Socialist Workers party, died in Oakland on June 13. She was thirty-two years old.

Rita White was assistant professor of education at Mills College in Oakland. She was an "art specialist" who instructed teachers of art in the elementary schools.

Rita had oriented towards socialism since her college days at Smith College and the University of Illinois, and she and the Socialist Workers party finally found each other in 1957. In the SWP, she also found her husband, Geoffrey.

At the time of her death, Rita, at the request of William F. Warde, was working on an article for the International Socialist Review. This article was to be a factual account of the ideological conflicts in the educational field.

In her correspondence with Warde about the article, Rita indicated the road that had brought her to socialism.

"I am looking for tools of thought for working on necessary tasks in reality. When a set of tools accomplishes as much in my hands as socialist thought has in helping me to deal with professional problems which I found previously insoluble, then I am far more confident that the ideology has been 'proved'."

"What is exciting to me in your writings and in your recent letter is the cross-validation which we have in effect achieved: I started with no particular interest in a socialist solution to the pressing educational problems... and eventually had to develop socialist methods. (Learning through struggle) doesn't always mean getting hit by a cop while picketing.)"

"You started with a commitment to socialist thought arrived at through different fields of experience, and when you worked on problems of educational philosophy you developed ideas similar to those which I and others before me had developed within the education profession."

In Rita's Ph.D. thesis, submitted and approved for her

For Governor



ROBERT HIMMEL, Socialist Workers party candidate for governor of Michigan.

Fruit Growers In California Hit by Strikes

Leaving the cherries, apricots and peaches to rot on the trees, if need be, the migratory farm laborers have hit California corporation farms with a strike wave. The workers, who usually receive ninety cents an hour or less, are demanding a \$1.25 minimum wage plus union recognition.

Resulting from an intense organizing drive, launched last year by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and supported by the AFL-CIO, the strike began last month in the vast cherry orchards surrounding the city of Stockton. Since then it has been spreading

...No Summer Jobs

(Continued from Page 1) tightly knit nationality or racial groups functioning within sharply delineated geographical areas, to large, integrated gangs who no longer fight for their own "turf." A police officer from the Youth Division said: "Gang warfare has gone underground. We now have to combat guerrilla activities. That means that there are fewer outbreaks than before but the situation is just as dangerous, if not more so."

This new tactic is called "jitterbugging," and consists of smaller bands of boys attacking individual members of rival gangs or innocent bystanders. This is done to enhance individual status within the large gang. In much the same manner as an Indian boy on the Plains established his status within the tribe by "counting coup," so today an individual gang member attains or keeps leadership by victories via the "jitterbug" route. Last summer ten fatalities involving youth were the result of "jitterbugging."

Meanwhile, except for uttering dire warnings and admitting to their own fears, what have the city officials done about a situation which has grown in magnitude since the end of World War II? What has the Federal Government done about it?

They have held symposiums, organized committees, established "Youth Boards," increased the size of police forces, passed ever more restrictive legislation, built and filled more and bigger prisons — thus assuring youngsters of a finishing course in crime.

But have they eradicated any of the social causes of juvenile delinquency: slums, crowded schools, inadequate food and clothing, absence of recreational facilities, lack of jobs? Have they made it possible for the present generation — the "war babies" — to find any of the good things of life? Is there any prospect for this huge army — millions on a national scale — to get adequate education?

New York City schools are so crowded today that most children go only half a day. Educational standards have dropped as a result of both the overcrowding and the inadequate salaries paid to teachers. Only exceptionally bright children can qualify for colleges. Colleges are also overcrowded, and they would be if the present situation did not allow them to be very selective in admitting students.

How can a child who has gotten only half an education during his elementary and high school years qualify — especially how can he get into college in competition with the children of rich people who can afford to send their kids to private schools and/or have tutors, to help them through? And even

Under capitalism youth is condemned to endless fear. Let us build a new society and give our children something to live for, something to hope for. Then and only then will we conquer this problem of "juvenile delinquency." A delinquent social system cannot do the job.

Report Soviet Leads West in Automation

A group of Western experts touring the Soviet Union are "flabbergasted" by automation achievements there, according to a June 29 Associated Press report from Moscow.

After a tour of the Soviet Institute of Automation and Telemechanics, the consensus was that it is far ahead of anything in the West, with only the Massachusetts Institute of Technology remotely approaching it. "We've been a bit shattered," one visitor said.

Calendar Of Events

- LOS ANGELES: Japan at the Crossroads — The U.S. Defeat in Asia — Will Japan Go Socialist? Speaker, Lois Saunders, Friday, July 8, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Questions, discussion, refreshments. Aup. Militant Labor Forum. Contribution 75 cents. Students 25 cents.
- FARRELL DOBBS: SWP Candidate for President On Tour: NEWARK, FRIDAY, JULY 8, 8:30 P.M. "The Cuban Revolution As I Saw It." Chairman, Gladys Grauer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator. Workmen's Circle Center, 179 Clinton Ave. (Near High St.) Contribution, 50 cents. Aup., Socialist Workers party.
- PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 8:30 P.M. Campaign Headquarters, 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. "The Changing South and the 1960 Elections." Social follows discussion. Contribution, 75 cents.
- MINNEAPOLIS, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 8:30 P.M. Campaign Headquarters, 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. "The Changing South and the 1960 Elections." Social follows discussion. Contribution, 75 cents.

It's Better to Give

By Joyce Cowley

Wall Street financiers, heads of large corporations and the like, are not too generous in their regular dealings with employees, the public, or even each other. But they do make liberal gifts to worthy causes. I have heard that when you reach the upper tax brackets, you can make what appears to be a very large contribution and it doesn't cost you much. But I never realized until today that giving money away can be quite profitable. I got the details from a booklet appropriately called "Opportunity," which a large university sends out to solicit funds.

Section I, "Several Ways of Making a Gift," does not deal with whether you should wrap it up and mail it, or deliver it in person. It explains the complicated procedures by which you can come out ahead if you make a gift. For example — "Gifts from Income or Capital": "The higher one's tax bracket, the greater is the tax benefit to the donor... Gifts may cost very little. Gifts of property may at times even produce a real gain for a donor in a high income bracket."

This may puzzle you, as it did me, for I never got beyond elementary bookkeeping. But here is how it works. If you give securities purchased at \$10,000 but now worth \$30,000, you take the full \$30,000 deduction on your tax without paying the \$5,000 capital gains tax. If you have an income of \$100,000, you will also save \$25,200 in income tax. Total savings \$30,200. In this case, the \$200 profit is just pin money; the real satisfaction comes from knowing that you have given generously.

Another way to save on taxes is to set up a "Life Income Contract." You give a portion of your estate to the university, and they in turn pay you an income on this as long as you live. Thirty per cent of your gift is tax deductible and you also avoid paying a capital gains tax if the property you give has increased in value. "In this way, one may capitalize his unrealized profit at its present market value without payment of tax on the capital gain."

Notes in the News

WHY THAT NAVAL BASE IS NEEDED — A Treasury Department investigation has revealed that "hundreds of thousands of dollars" in federal liquor taxes have been evaded by an organized ring of 1,000 officers engaged in rum-running from the Navy's base at Guantanamo, Cuba. The officers use military planes to fly loads of undeclared liquor into the U.S.

A PENNY FOR PREVENTION — For every dollar that disease and disability costs the American people, the federal government spends slightly more than a penny for prevention. According to the National Health Education Committee, disease and disability costs average \$194.44 annually for each man, woman and child. Research appropriations average \$2.22 per person. The committee also reported there are 17,000,000 people in the country suffering from mental and emotional disorders, 15,800,000 afflicted with heart and circulation diseases, and 11,000,000 suffering with arthritic and rheumatic diseases.

PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS TALENT — British star Alec Guinness has turned down a \$1.4 million offer to do a television series for a beer company here. "I would rather die of poverty in the gutter," he said. "It was advertising, and I would have despised myself," he explained.

KEEP 'EM GUESSING — Dr. Herbert Ratner, a leading Catholic physician, says that church premarital counselors should segregate men and women during discussions. He told the National Catholic Family Life Convention in San Antonio that doing so would help "to preserve the mystery and excitement of sex for each partner." Msgr. Irving DeBlanc told the

gathering that recent surveys have shown that Catholic couples use contraceptives "in about the same measure" as their Protestant and Jewish neighbors.

DIGNITY A CRIME? — A Memphis cop arrested a nineteen-year-old Negro for refusing to pick a quarter off the street that the cop had tossed him in payment for a soft drink. The cop said the youth was "arrogant and smart" for explaining to him that "he didn't pick up money pitched at him by anyone." The case was dismissed.

HENDERSON FREEDOM FIGHTERS — With the Henderson, N.C., textile strike now in its eighteenth month, more than 200 have been arrested. Some fifty have already served time in jail, with twelve currently in state prison. Others are awaiting the outcome of appeals. Scores have been given suspended sentences which forbid them to join the picket line. The Joint Strike Committee of the Textile Workers Union of America reports that the victims go off to jail singing, "while those left behind stand solid, determined and angry."

AIDING THE JOBLESS — Some 7,000 free vegetable plant kits are being distributed to long-unemployed mine workers in West Virginia.

BESIDES, IT'S CRUMMY WORK — The town of Columbus Grove, Ohio, has been advertising for a full-time cop ready and able to meet these requirements: Willing to work seven days a week; on call 24 hours a day; furnish own car, equipment and uniform; salary to be discussed later. As of our last report, the job was still open.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.
- CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203. Open Thurs. nights 8 to 10 P.M.
- DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES: Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
- MILWAUKEE: 150 East Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS: Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Federal 2-7781.
- NEWARK: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.
- NEW YORK CITY: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
- OAKLAND - BERKELEY: P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
- PHILADELPHIA: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO: The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Room 4, Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
- SEATTLE: 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.
- ST. LOUIS: For information phone MO 4-7194.

—Asher Hazer