THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIV — No. 28 222 NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, JULY 11 & 18, 1960 Price 10c

Socialists Issue Election Platform

Fight Against War, Poverty, Jim Crow Stressed by SWP

By M. L. Stafford

NEW YORK, July 5 — The Socialist Workers party today published the text of the platform upon which its national candidates — Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president — will run in the 1960 elections.

Three key issues dominate the 1960 campaign, its opening paragraph states: "(1) How can the world be free from the threat of nuclear destruction? (2) How can hunger and poverty be wiped out? (3) How can democracy and equality be won and maintained?"

The platform notes that America is feared and hated by many peoples today because they believe it is chiefly responsible for the frightening drift toward a third world war. It proposes, among other measures, to turn the arms budget into a peace budget for homes, schools, hospitals, medical research, nurseries, playgrounds, highways, transportation and public parks.

For Planned Economy

The efforts to achieve economic security require the liberation of America's economy from its control by self-seeking corporations and money-mad monopolists bent on blocking world progress for the sake of private profit. The economic successes of the Soviet Union show the vast possibilities inherent in a planned economy even in backward countries. A planned economy in such an advanced country as the United States, "with our skilled labor, our rich resources, tremendous industrial plant and highly developed science, could quickly end poverty on this continent," asserts the platform, "and assure everyone a life of abundance, opportunity and deeply satisfying achievement."

References to police regimes in other lands cannot conceal the fact that the state of democracy in these United States today "presents a sorry spectacle," says the SWP. "Forty-three years after entering the first global conflict to 'Make the World Safe for Democracy,' America has yet to make its lunch counters safe for Negroes in the South." The platform contains over a score of proposals to restore and expand civil liberties, defend labor's rights, and protect the positions of minority groups.

The SWP calls for an end to the Democratic-Republican monopoly of politics and the organization of an independent labor party.

Upon release of the platform, Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, said: "The Democratic politicians in Los Angeles are hoping to hoist their choice into the White House by fabricating a platform which will be all things to all voters. The SWP does not intend to please equally the corporations and their workers, the upholders of Jim Crow and its opponents, the militarists and the masses who yearn for peace. We stand squarely with the working people in their struggles for a better life, with the Negroes in their fight for equality, and against the capitalist warmakers. We ask every voter to consider the genuine alternative which we socialists offer to the bipartisan policies of the big-business parties."

Text of SWP Platform On Page 2

SWP Candidate

MYRA TANNER WEISS, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president.

Let's Hear Cuba's Side!

An Editorial

Wall Street has organized a lynching bee against the Cuban people.

The lynch mob includes the State Department, the White House, every Democrat and Republican in Congress, and the gangsters now here who ruled Cuba with machineguns under dictator Batista.

These representatives of "free enterprise" seek to pit America's mighty economic power against tiny Cuba, a country of less than seven million inhabitants. If this fails to smash the Castro government, they envision more desperate means, like the invasion under State Department auspices that overthrew the lawfully elected government of Guatemala in 1954, or a Korean type "police action."

The capitalist press, radio and TV are howling for blood. They have conspired to drown out the voices of their intended victims, every appeal to reason, every cry for justice or for help. By screaming "communism!" they aim to whip prejudice to a fever pitch.

The declaration of economic war on Cuba was taken on Herter's say so; without any public debate or hearing.

The dictatorial move will arouse fresh hatred and contempt for America throughout the world. In Latin America, the United States will sink to a new low as an evil, grasping power, contemptuous of democratic rights, ruthlessly opposed to independence and a better life for poverty-stricken peoples, callous to the suffering it inflicts at the decree of the oil and sugar monarchs.

We think that every American interested in fair play, every American who believes in democracy and the equality of nations, will shout at Washington:

STOP THE ECONOMIC WAR! LET'S HEAR CUBA'S SIDE!

State Dept. Opens Economic War On Cuban People

Three Urge Aid for SWP Ballot Drive

NEW YORK — Three leading independent socialists have issued an appeal to other independents urging them to help the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket win a place on the ballot in their respective states.

The three are Elinor Ferry, Muriel McAvoy and William A. Price. In a letter mailed nationwide, they asked those willing to circulate nominating petitions, serve as electors or contribute funds to write to them care of P.O. Box 170, Village Station, New York 14, N.Y.

Active in '58 Drive

William Price was campaign coordinator for the United Independent - Socialist Campaign Committee which sponsored the 1958 united socialist ticket in New York. Muriel McAvoy directed the committee's nominating petition drive and Elinor Ferry was in charge of its fund-raising activity.

The text of their letter follows:

"It is the proud boast of our democracy that a freedom of choice is guaranteed in our national elections. We believe this has degenerated into political fiction, and are deeply concerned that socialist voices of dissent are virtually barred from our national elections.

"The undersigned therefore ask your help in winning ballot status in your state this year for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the presidential nominees of the Socialist Workers party. If you are willing to be a presidential elector, to circulate a petition, or to offer help in some other manner including giving funds, please write to us care P.O. Box 170, Village Station, New York 14, N.Y.

"As civil libertarians, and as unaffiliated socialists, we are in favor of independent political action in 1960 to permit as large a protest vote as possible to be registered against the bipartisan cold war policy, the sellout of civil rights and the attacks on organized labor."

Oil, Sugar Interests Seek Overthrow of Castro Govt.

By Alex Harte

The Eisenhower administration, solidly backed by a bipartisan Congress and prompted by domestic sugar-growers, the giant oil trusts and other segments of Big Business, this week openly declared economic war upon Cuba by banning further imports of sugar from that country.

In return Premier Castro's cabinet passed a law giving the president and prime minister the right to nationalize property belonging to U.S. citizens if that is necessary for the country's protection.

The preamble to the Cuban law reads: "Whereas the attitude assumed by the government and legislative powers of the United States of America is one of constant aggression, with political aims against the fundamental interest of the Cuban economy, emphatically evidenced by the recent amendment accorded by the Congress of said nation's Cuban sugar law . . . the revolutionary government is obliged to adopt all means deemed necessary for the defense of our national sovereignty and the free economic development of our country."

Secretary Herter halted sugar imports from Cuba as a punitive measure against the Cuban government for seizing the oil refineries owned by Texaco and Esso. This move is designed to tighten the economic blockade of the island and force the revolutionary regime to its knees by cutting off its main source of foreign exchange.

The atmosphere around Washington's campaign against the Cuban revolution is heavily saturated with the stench of oil imperialism. The State Department has been operating in close collusion with the big oil companies there to put the squeeze on Cuba and force the regime to accede to its dictates. But they have met an adversary in the Cuban government and its people which is not easily frightened and is prepared to defend its national economic welfare against all threats and coercion of "dollar diplomacy."

After concluding an economic agreement with the Soviet Union the Cuban authorities asked the oil companies to process the crude oil bought from there. The U.S., Dutch and British-owned companies ganged up and refused to do so, disregarding a 1938 Cuban law requiring them to refine all oil at government request.

When the Cubans demanded an end to this sabotage, Esso and Shell discontinued all new imports of crude oil. The oil magnates put pressure upon foreign shipowners to refuse leasing their tankers to carry oil from the Black Sea to Cuba. They have refused credit to Cubana Airlines which prevented its planes from refueling at foreign airports.

Cuba was left with no recourse but to take over the refineries and operate them. According to oil experts, their men are competent to do so.

U.S. officials and the oil monopolies are trying to clamp an international oil boycott around Cuba while the press hypocritically condemns Castro for turning to the Soviet Union for oil and thus siding with "Communism" in the cold war. The American ambassador is reported to have intervened when Cuban representatives inquired about obtaining supplies of oil from Mexico which nationalized its oil industry in the thirties. "It is considered almost certain," says the July 3, New York Times, "that the United States is prepared to go to unusual lengths to discourage the sale of Mexican crude oil for refining in the American and British-owned plants seized by the Fidel Castro regime."

Cuba is the world's largest sugar producer and supplies one-third of the 9,400,000 tons consumed in the U.S. The suspension of imports is a knife-thrust into the vitals of its economy.

Although the sugar quota and tariff is depicted as a bounty given to Cuba by a generous Uncle Sam, in reality, as the June 25 New York Times points out, the quotas "exist to protect the domestic producers, not to help Cuba." The immediate victim of the government's action is the American housewife who will pay more for sugar at the supermarket.

(See other articles, Pages 2 & 3)

94% in Rural Areas Favor Castro Govt.

The capitalist press is headlining some individual defections in Cuba such as have occurred each time the government has taken vigorous defense measures against pressure from Wall Street and its State Department.

But an authoritative nationwide poll published by the independent magazine Bohemia June 26 offers fresh verification of the popularity of the Castro government.

Support in rural areas is 94%; in urban, 84%; and in Havana 81%. Since a survey a year ago, Bohemia noted an overall decrease of 2% in the government's popularity. This decrease, which "stems from the middle and upper classes," has been "offset by an increase among the working class" and by a "slight increase in the intensity" of support.

Dobbs-Weiss Group Hits False Arrests

NEW YORK, July 5 — The Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee protested today against police harassment of three of its members.

Robert Franklin, John Clarence Franklin and Cornelius Suares Jr., campaigners for the Socialist Workers presidential slate, were arrested June 21 after a street rally and booked on trumped-up charges of "disorderly conduct."

They face trial Aug. 9 and will be defended by Conrad Lynn, noted civil rights attorney.

The committee's protest was made in a letter to Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy by Murray Zuckoff, chairman. The text follows.

"We wish to lodge a formal protest against police harassment of members of the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee which is supporting the candidacies of Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president on the ticket of the Socialist Workers party.

"We refer specifically to the arrest on trumped up charges of 'disorderly conduct' of three members of our committee following a street meeting on the evening of June 21 at Sixth Avenue and Eighth Street in Manhattan.

"This incident occurred after one of the persons involved was threatened by a police officer immediately following adjournment of the meeting organized as a political rally by the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee.

"The arrests occurred a few blocks from the scene of the street meeting later the same evening. Two of the persons arrested were on the list of speakers at the meeting. Both were manhandled by the arresting officers.

"The Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee has retained counsel and intends to seek a remedy in the courts for what we consider an outrageous violation of the elementary civil liberties of persons pursuing their right to engage in electoral action during the period of the presidential campaign.

"We bring this matter to your attention in the hope that you will use the authority of your office to see that there is no repetition of threats, intimidation or harassment by officers under your command against members and supporters of the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee."

Notice to Our Readers

In line with the growing summer custom of radical and liberal weeklies in this country, the Militant will be published in double-dated issues every other week during July and August.

Our next issue will be dated July 25 and Aug. 1. Subsequent double issues during the summer will appear thereafter on alternate weeks.

The regular schedule will be resumed after Labor Day.

All subscriptions will be extended to insure that one-year subscribers receive 52 issues and six-month subscribers receive 26 issues.

This readjustment of our publishing dates will enable the hard-working Militant staff to take vacations along with our readers and return refreshed for the most energetic and effective participation of the paper when the presidential campaign gets into full swing this fall.

Hallinans Speak For Socialism At Weiss Rally

SAN FRANCISCO — Mounting world opposition to U.S. cold-war moves was hailed by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president, at a rally at the Longshoremen's Hall here June 24.

The rally was chaired by Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive party banner-bearer and noted civil liberties and labor attorney, who is supporting the Socialist Workers ticket.

His son, "Kayo" Hallinan, a University of California student and independent socialist, introduced Mrs. Weiss.

Pointing to young people's awareness of social problems, he suggested they listen to the Socialist Workers campaigner, "sympathetically and critically."

Mrs. Weiss spoke on the role students have played in major political struggles in many countries during recent months, particularly in Japan where they spearheaded the fight against the reactionary U.S.-Japanese military treaty.

Although the school term had ended, the audience included many students.

Reply to a Redbaiter Who Attacked SWP

By Art Sharon

(The following is the text of a radio broadcast given in San Francisco on June 10. Art Sharon is Chairman, Bay Area Socialist Workers party.)

Good evening. We asked KPFA to make this time available to us in order that we might answer a serious misrepresentation in Professor Seymour Lipsett's broadcast commentary of Thursday evening, May 26. His talk that night, you may recall, dealt with student demonstrations at the San Francisco City Hall during the appearance of the House Un-American Activities Committee two weeks earlier. The substance of his remarks on the Socialist Workers party have been picked up, repeated and amplified, appearing even in the local press. Ordinarily we would ignore this for we have long been the object of attack from many directions. In time these usually turn against their makers. However, those of Lipsett carry some weight since they come from a professor of sociology at the University of California who stepped out of his classroom into the street to become an observer —presumably objective in his judgment and competent to separate fact from fiction — and a person one would not expect to be influenced by some petty factional pique.

In his talk, Professor Lipsett said, and here I quote from the transcript taken from the tape recording of his commentary, "I would like to talk about the [Un-American Activities] Committee itself, about the people who oppose the committee and about the people who make the committee possible. First, in terms of the people who oppose the committee. The House Un-American Activities Committee purports to be a committee that is fighting communism, which is seeking to expose the communist menace in the United States.

"Now I was down around the City Hall on Saturday, the day after the riots. I was down there, let's say at the invitation of a number of the students who were taking part in this picket line, who were helping to organize this picket line, who were picket captains. I might add that this was one of the most disciplined, well organized picket lines that I have ever seen, and these students asked me and some other members of the faculty to attend the picket line for a number of reasons.

"They wanted some faculty support around the picket line, but more important than that—they were afraid of two things. They were afraid there might be trouble with the police as there had been on Friday, and if such trouble occurred they wanted to have faculty witnesses who could testify as to what happened.

"Troublemakers"

"But they were also afraid that the communists would make trouble — two groups of communists. The Trotskyist communists, the Socialist Workers party, and the pro-Russian communists, who sometimes go under the name of the Communist party and sometimes go under other names in terms of front groups and organizations which they control.

"Now it's interesting to note and to repeat that one of the things that worried the people who organized the picket lines were that the communists were going to make trouble. They felt that the communists, both Trotskyist and pro-Russian communists alike, liked what happened Friday although they had nothing to do with the events that occurred. That they wouldn't mind seeing trouble on Saturday and they wanted to make sure that these people were kept in line.

"At the picket line on Saturday one of the major anxieties of the picket captains was that the communists, of the Trotskyist or pro-Russian variety, would create trouble, would use provocative slogans irrelevant to the fight for civil liberties, would

(Continued on Page 4)

1,500 N.Y. Bus Drivers Strike Over Street Plan

By Lillian Kiezel

Fifteen hundred New York bus drivers fought the New York Transit Authority, the Fifth Avenue Coach lines and their own Transport Workers Union officials for four days before being forced to return to work.

The walkout, labeled an "unauthorized, illegal, wildcat strike" by TWU president Michael J. Quill, was triggered by the Transit Authority's move to convert 3rd and Lexington Avenues into one-way streets next month. As a result, 77 drivers are scheduled to be transferred from the Omnibus Division line to the Surface Transportation line, both Fifth Avenue Coach subsidiaries.

Led by Peter G. J. Blumenauer, Section 401 chairman in TWU Local 100, and by other rank-and-file spokesmen, the drivers protested the threatened loss of seniority, which entitles the drivers to better runs, days off and holidays. In addition, because of separate union contracts with the three Fifth Avenue Coach companies, transferred drivers will take a cut in pay. Omnibus drivers receive $2.47½ cents an hour, while $2.40 is the top scale at Surface Transit. Furthermore, cutbacks in other benefits will result in a 25-cent hourly loss to transferred drivers.

Most of the 77 men have low seniority ratings, but if the "one-way" street plan is continued, there is a strong possibility that the Omnibus Division will be absorbed by Fifth Avenue Coach and Surface Transportation. This will revoke the sen-

(Continued on Page 3)

Oil Corporations Behind Racist Gasoline Boycott

By Arthur Jordan

America's oil corporations are standing passively by while Negro farmers are forbidden to buy a single drop of gasoline. With their national officers piously protesting that "we never discriminate," local Gulf, Esso, Amoco and Texaco distributors are refusing to sell to any Negro consumers in Fayette and Haywood counties, Tennessee.

The boycott is part of a cold-blooded conspiracy to squeeze the lifeblood from Negro citizens of the two counties and to drive at least the more militant ones from their homes by fall election time.

Outnumbered several times over by Negroes determined to exercise their voting rights, landlords, bankers and merchants, acting through a White Citizens Council, have fired workers, evicted tenants, foreclosed mortgages, stopped credit, seized farm machinery and refused to serve or sell anything — even the barest necessities — to Negro consumers.

When threats and reprisals failed to prevent several hundred Negroes from registering with election boards this spring, the Citizens Council posted a list of registrants at all white places of business. At first the registrants, then their relatives and friends, were put under an all-inclusive boycott; lately the ban has blanketed virtually the entire Negro population.

Fighting Back

But the Negroes are fighting back. Organized under militant leadership, they have pooled their resources, traveling up to a hundred miles for needed supplies.

They are opening an NAACP branch. They have posted a letter to the Fayette County Board of Education demanding desegregated schools. And in an election June 24 many of the new registrants voted "no" to a proposed Fayette bond issue to subsidize a bicycle factory which would employ white only.

A prime target for white retribution (reportedly including a $2,000 reward for killing him) is 35-year-old John McFerren of Somerville, president of the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League.

Last January, Mr. McFerren testified at the Volunteer Civil Rights Commission hearing in Washington, D.C. On March 2 he led League members over icy roads to the registration booths. When the boycott was launched shortly afterward, he had the League send a wire asking President Eisenhower to declare Fayette and Haywood a disaster area and send in relief. Eisenhower never replied.

When the Gulf Oil Co. distributor ripped out the gas tanks from the combined grocery-gas station his brother had operated for ten years, McFerren took over the business and laboriously dug in his own tanks. But when he sought to

(Continued on Page 4)

Canadian Officials Jittery About U.S. Spy Flights

The U-2 spy plane incident and the Soviet warning that it will strike at foreign bases used by the U.S. for such flights has prompted the Canadian government to order compilation of a "top secret" report on the extent of U.S. espionage being carried on from Canadian bases.

Canadian authorities have always taken it for granted that the U.S. bases are used for a variety of intelligence purposes concerning the Soviet Union, but up to now they have preferred to look the other way, an Ottawa dispatch by the North American Newspaper Alliance explains.

"We used to think that what we didn't know wouldn't hurt us," one member of parliament said. "Now we are afraid it could hurt us anyway, so we have to have a better idea of what is going on and more control over it."

A particular source of concern to the Canadian government is the DEW (Distant Early Warning) radar installations and airfields. Nominally the bases are under joint control. In practice Canada has no voice in their operation.

"Neither the Canadian government or its intelligence chiefs know what goes on at DEW-line airfields," the dispatch says. "DEW-line equipment includes many other things besides the components of a protective radar fence. It now includes devices for very long-range electronic peeking into the Soviet Union and for monitoring Russian missile and atomic experiments."

Ottawa is now also getting a bit nervous because Canadian pilots have taken U.S. military planes on secret flights and may have penetrated Soviet airspace.

The Truth About Cuba

A "Ripe Fruit" For the Kremlin?

By Joseph Hansen

Tenth in a series of articles.

At a public meeting sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York April 24, Waldo Frank, the well-known liberal who heads the committee, warned that Cuba could meet with a tragic fate like that of the Spanish Republic. A counter-revolutionary movement such as the one headed by Franco might gain headway under foreign inspiration and succeed in toppling the new government. Analyzing the downfall of the elected Spanish government at the hands of the fascists, Frank recalled that the help received by the republican government from the Soviet Union was delayed and grudging. Arms were shipped only in return for gold, and onerous political strings were attached.

Waldo Frank's main point was to defend Cuba's right as a sovereign nation to deal with other powers as it sees fit despite any dangers, real or alleged. He scored the economic and political pressure placed on Cuba by the State Department and American monopoly interests and demonstrated how hypocritical it was of these forces to denounce the Cuban government for turning for help in the Soviet direction.

Every fair-minded person must certainly agree that the Castro government not only had the right but the duty to seek aid from other countries in face of Wall Street's evident aim of strangling the Cuban revolution. Everyone who really believes in democracy, in equality among nations and the efforts of oppressed colonial peoples to achieve independence will support the new government in the courageous way it has asserted Cuba's sovereignty.

Parallel with Spain

However, Waldo Frank is quite right in indicating that dangers are involved. The parallel with Spanish experience is pertinent. But if the causes of the tragedy in Spain are fully understood there is no reason whatever for Cuba to suffer a similar fate. The leaders of the Cuban revolution have already demonstrated their capacity to avoid the errors that proved fatal in Guatemala; we can expect that they will demonstrate similar capacity to learn from the costly experience of the Spanish revolution.

What assured defeat at the hands of Franco was acceptance of the political strings that Stalin put on aid sent from the Soviet Union. The Spanish revolutionaries were under no obligation whatever to agree to these. In the first place, they had to pay cash on the barrel head for the arms they received. In the second place, to submit to political guidance from the Kremlin meant to betray the political independence of their own movement. Independent political action was of decisive importance to the success of the Spanish revolution; arms from the USSR were not.

Stalin's policy in Spain was to retain capitalist property relations, including Spanish possession of the Moroccan colony. Thus the Spanish republican forces had no effective appeal that could have disintegrated Franco's forces; and they had no program of basic social change to inspire the Spanish workers and peasants. The final consequence was to assure Franco's victory. This in turn paved the way for World War II and Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. Stalin's policy proved disastrous to the interests of the USSR, not to speak of the interests of socialism on a world scale.

On the surface, the danger of repeating this bleak course appears considerable. Khrushchev's foreign policy is essentially the same as Stalin's; he seeks to maintain the status quo by pawning the interests of revolutionary movements and of small countries in big-power deals. All that Khrushchev has granted Cuba is a trade pact, one that is advantageous to the Soviet Union. He is not giving any handouts. Instead he is obviously seeking political profit in Cuba, Latin America and the rest of the colonial world. Can Khrushchev succeed in Cuba in the unfortunate way Stalin did in Spain?

Important Differences

On close consideration, the possibility of repeating in Cuba what happened in Spain appears remote. The Cuban leaders are different from the Spanish revolutionaries in their tendency to carry things through to the end. Although they began by seeking only an end to Batista's dictatorship, they have proved far bolder in upsetting property relations, under the demands of political necessity, than the Spaniards with all their lip service to socialist and communist ideology. This difference alone can turn out to be decisive.

In addition, they passed a stern test in which the Spaniards failed — they won a civil war. This has placed them in an extremely strong domestic position, for they came to power **after** the civil war with the Cuban Franco, not before. Their resulting strength and confidence are displayed by a dramatic fact — in the face of the threat from Wall Street to smash the revolution, they gave guns to the people, arming the entire population.

Finally, they appear to have realized the importance of widening the base of their defense to all of Latin America instead of confining it to the small island of Cuba. They honestly and frankly recognize their military weakness, their small size, the great difficulties that confront the Cuban revolution; but they seek to make up for this by utilizing the revolution as an **example** to inspire all of Central and South America.

The international situation is also much more favorable for the Cuban revolution than the Spanish. In 1936 Mussolini, Hitler and the Mikado were riding high, fascism was on the march and the prestige and power of the Soviet Union had reached the ebb marked by Stalin's infamous purges and frame-up trials.

Today the colonial independence movement is sweeping with enormous force, bringing even the most underdeveloped nations of Africa into the stream of world politics. Cuba stands in a fraternity of small powers whose voices resound out of all proportion to their economic and military strength.

World imperialism is far weaker; the British, French, Dutch and Belgian empires are disintegrating. Japan and Germany are occupied countries. In contrast, Eastern Europe and China now stand in the Soviet camp and the Soviet Union itself has outstripped the Western European powers and stands second only to the United States.

Besides this, the monolithism of Stalinism has been broken. Moscow can no longer speak without taking into account rejoinders or amendments from Belgrade and Peking which are no doubt carefully studied in Cuba for independent evaluation. And the revolutionary-socialist voice of Trotskyism begins to be heard more frequently as in the student demonstrations in Japan.

With such a relation of forces, the fear that Cuba may fall like a ripe fruit into the hands of Khrushchev does not seem well founded. It is more likely that the Cuban example will prove to be a fresh source of inspiration to the Russian workers in their own struggle to win back the democracy they knew under Lenin and Trotsky.

Advertisement Advertisement

China Versus India — Which Will Prevail?

A fateful race is proceeding between the two greatest countries of Asia who share half the world's population between them. They are pursuing totally different routes to economic and social progress.

India is trying to industrialize and modernize herself within the boundaries of capitalism. China has already passed beyond capitalism and is feverishly rebuilding its economic foundations by the socialist methods of planned economy.

The results of their competition are being closely followed because the outcome can shape the future of the whole colonial world. In "India and China — A Contrast" Daniel Roberts compares their performances to date and shows why revolutionary China is bounding ahead of India. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Socialist Workers Party Election Platform

Humanity today faces three key problems: (1) How can the world be freed from the threat of nuclear destruction? (2) How can hunger and poverty be wiped out? (3) How can equality and democracy be won and maintained?

These are also the three key issues in the 1960 elections. What can America contribute toward a world of enduring peace, abundance and freedom?

The Struggle for Peace

At one time America was regarded as the hope of the oppressed everywhere. This is no longer true. The majority of the human race have turned toward the Soviet Union and China as representing the road of progress. Whether we like it or not, this happens to be today's outstanding fact. It is high time to ask ourselves, why has America become so feared and hated?

One of the main reasons is that people in other countries have become convinced that America bears chief responsibility for the frightening drift toward a third world war. They note that our military experts have repeatedly admitted that the Soviet Union does not need war, does not want war, and is not planning an attack. Yet the Pentagon continues to spend approximately $40 billion a year for armaments; continues to stockpile nuclear weapons; continues to tighten a vast ring of military bases around the Soviet bloc countries; and continues such aggressive actions as spy-plane invasions deep into Soviet territory. The public abroad noted the State Department insistence on the "need" to renew nuclear tests and the Soviet initiative in giving them up. The contrast in attitudes is explainable only if America is actively preparing for nuclear war while the Soviet bloc seeks to avoid such a catastrophe.

It is common knowledge in other lands that the basic causes of war are economic. America's drive toward nuclear disaster is therefore seen as the end result of the need of its capitalist economy for cheap labor, cheap raw materials and lucrative markets, not to mention the profits in armaments and a war boom. The Soviet avoidance of war, on the other hand, is seen to follow from the antagonism of planned economy to private profits and its need for peace to run in a smooth, co-ordinated way.

This is the basic explanation for the fact that more and more people in the world today feel that they must oppose America's belligerent foreign aims and support the Soviet bloc. They see it as an elemental question of survival.

The Struggle for Economic Security

Out of every eleven persons on this earth, it has been estimated that seven go to bed hungry every night. Few of these unfortunates believe any longer that this fate is beyond remedy. The sputniks orbiting overhead are daily reminders of what a daring, energetic and forward-looking people can accomplish through revolution and a planned economy.

Two roads offer economic security — the American and the Soviet. During World War II and for a few years after, the American road appeared more attractive to the colonial peoples. But they ran into bitter experiences. They found in practice that America blocked them from achieving freedom and independence.

The U.S. poured some $2 billion in arms and economic aid into the effort to keep dictator Chiang Kai-shek in power. The U.S. plunged into full-scale war in Korea to prevent the country from uniting and ousting dictator Syngman Rhee. In Indochina, the U.S. backed emperor Bao Dai and the French invaders; in Indonesia, the Dutch imperialists; in Japan, the Mikado; in Cuba, the bloody Batista. The State Department still backs butcher Franco and the unspeakable Trujillo. When a civil war broke out in Iraq, the U.S. landed marines in Lebanon. This year the State Department shoved a war pact down the throats of the Japanese people despite protest demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of student youth and millions of organized workers. Ten years after the Chinese Revolution, both Democrats and Republicans still refuse to recognize the new government.

To the underprivileged of the earth, America appears as a frighteningly malevolent country. With $9 billion worth of grain in storage, prominent Americans answer pleas for bread with stony advice to cut down the colored birth rate; and to emphasize the advice, Democrats and Republicans have withdrawn millions of acres of the most fertile American soil from production. A spectacular instance of this inhuman foreign policy was the refusal to help Egypt build the Aswan dam. Today the bipartisan Republican and Democratic coalition is bringing increasing pressure against tiny Cuba's efforts to win a decent standard of living.

Hungry people, scorned by America, are inclined to turn in the Soviet direction. Sympathetic help from this source becomes quite dramatic, for the Soviet people are not yet well to do. More important, the Soviet Union appears as a living example of how to achieve industrialization without waiting for aid that may never arrive from the cruel North American power.

As a result, hundreds of millions of the poverty-stricken, from China to Africa, from the Middle East to the Caribbean, have felt forced, however reluctantly, to take the road of revolution in defiance to advice, threats and reprisals from Wall Street, Congress, the White House and the Pentagon. The starved and the ragged see planned economy as the shortest way from feudal stagnation to the benefits of modern civilization.

Two big lessons can be learned from this: (1) We cannot afford to leave our fate in the hands of self-seeking corporations and money-mad monopolists bent on blocking world progress for the sake of private profit. Instead, we should listen to the agonized cries to help make this globe a livable place. (2) The demonstrated successes of planned economy in underdeveloped countries show what tremendous benefits it could bring to America. In less than forty years planned economy brought Russia from one of the weakest of powers to one of the mightiest; and that despite gross bureaucracy, bad government, mismanagement, dire poverty, a heritage of backwardness and the most terrible war in history. There is not the least doubt that a planned economy in the United States, with our skilled labor, our rich resources, tremendous industrial plant and highly developed science, could quickly end poverty on this continent and assure everyone a life of abundance, opportunity and deeply satisfying achievement.

The Struggle for Democracy and Full Equality

Both Republicans and Democrats proclaim that America stands for a "free" world of democracy and equality whereas the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it stand for totalitarianism. It is obvious that these lands suffer from bureaucratic police regimes that stifle freedom of thought and expression not only in politics but in many other spheres. We have the right and the duty to express our opinions about such evils but we have neither the right nor the duty to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries. The Russian people, the Chinese, the East Europeans will most certainly rectify matters themselves in due time by installing democratic workers and farmers governments. Their tendency to do this has already been amply demonstrated in the uprisings in East Germany, Poland and Hungary.

Our first concern must be with the shape of things at home. Here we confront a sorry spectacle. Forty-three years after entering the first global conflict to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," America has yet to make its lunch counters safe for Negroes in the South. Negro children are still barred from equal educational facilities. Job opportunities are still restricted by skin color, sex, age and religious belief. In the fields of government, industry, education and even entertainment, political inquisitors decide according to secret blacklist who shall work and who shall not.

In the South a totalitarian one-party system prevails, while in the country as a whole a bipartisan coalition of agents of big business monopolize politics. Labor does not have a single spokesman of its own in Congress. Minority parties are systematically excluded from the ballot and denied equal access to TV, radio and the public press.

The ranks of the armed forces of the country have no democratic rights whatever and a monstrous military caste, built on the notorious Prussian model, is spreading like a cancer throughout all our institutions.

How far America has slipped toward dictatorial rule is demonstrated by a single outstanding fact — the people have lost the right to decide the most fateful of all questions, war or peace. Congress has abdicated its war powers, leaving these to whatever figure big business puts in the White House. And the White House, in turn, has placed an obscure general in charge of the row of nuclear push buttons.

The erosion of democracy in America is evident in every sector, including the unions where a reactionary bureaucracy, hostile to the least manifestations of militancy or assertion of democratic rights by the rank and file, guards its special privileges by any means.

This land of Jim Crow and antilabor laws, of political witch-hunting and lying commercials, of multitudinous mechanical gadgets and crushing conformity of spirit, is boasted as a model of freedom and morality. The fact is that falsehood, cynicism and worship of the dollar have become entrenched from the White House down to the TV quiz.

For a Socialist America

We urge every thinking American to consider the socialist alternative. We mean the socialist alternative first brought to nationwide attention by Albert Parsons, Daniel DeLeon, William D. Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. We mean the international economic order, based on scientific planning, advocated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. We mean a democracy, such as V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky fought for, that will give the working people control over their economy and government, free the arts and sciences, and eventually reduce government to scientific management of industry.

The Socialist Workers party urges an immediate end to the insane preparations for nuclear suicide. The Socialist Workers party urges that we turn our industrial plant away from war and toward an economy of abundance. The Socialist Workers party urges that we revive the democratic outlook and the democratic practices that were once the pride of America. Instead of resisting the course taken by the majority of mankind, the United States, we think, should help lead in winning the benefits of socialism for the entire world.

We realize that the road to a rational economy is not an easy one and that many partial steps must be taken before success is finally achieved. As a beginning, we propose the following planks for your consideration in 1960:

(1) For a peaceful foreign policy.

Let Congress and the White House pledge to the world that America will never resort to war under any circumstances. As proof of our desire for peace, let us withdraw all troops from foreign soil, give up all foreign military bases, put a permanent halt to nuclear-weapon tests, and dismantle the stockpile of A-bombs and H-bombs.

Support all colonial struggles against imperialism and the right of all peoples to a government of their own choice.

Recognize the government of the People's Republic of China. Support the Cuban revolution.

(2) Against capitalist militarism.

Turn the armaments budget into a peace budget for homes, schools, hospitals, medical research, nurseries, playgrounds, highways, transportation and public parks. End capitalist conscription and the Prussian-type military training practiced in the armed forces and ROTC which poison the minds of the youth against the labor movement at home, struggles for freedom and independence abroad and the movement for international socialism. Grant full democratic rights to the ranks of the armed forces, including free speech, free assembly, election of officers and collective bargaining.

(3) End economic insecurity.

For the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Extend unemployment insurance to every worker, and at the full union scale for the full period of waiting for a job. Let the government take over all facilities made idle by cutbacks, automation, mergers, decentralization, run-aways, or depression and operate them under charge of committees elected by the workers. Place control of production rates and speeds in the hands of the unions.

Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex or age. Full job and seniority rights and maternity care for women.

A government-guaranteed college education for all youth. Federally financed nurseries and summer camps for children.

For America's "Forgotten Generation," our thirteen million aged people, let's provide full disability benefits, free medical care and hospitalization, and adequate pensions. As an immediate measure, pass the Forand bill.

(4) Restore and expand democratic rights.

End restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket. No government interference in internal union affairs. Repeal the oppressive Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, Taft-Hartley, and Humphrey-Butler Acts, the misnamed "right to work" laws and other federal, state and city antilabor laws and ordinances.

Abolish the "subversive" list. Repeal the McCarran Internal Security and Immigration laws. Halt all deportations. Repeal the Smith Act and grant amnesty to all remaining victims of this thought-control law. Abolish "loyalty" oaths and "loyalty" purges. Repeal the law abridging the Fifth Amendment. Uphold the First Amendment. Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Halt all political prosecutions for "contempt" and "perjury" based on the testimony of stool pigeons.

Liberalize the election laws. Lower the voting age to 18. Give minority parties equal time on TV and radio and in the columns of the public press.

(5) Guarantee minority rights.

Full economic, social and political equality to the Negro people and to all other minority groups. Solidarity with mass actions aimed at securing these rights as exemplified in the sit-in movement of the Negro students and their allies.

For immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court decision to desegregate the schools.

Enact and enforce federal legislation against lynch murder and police brutality. Abolish the poll tax.

For a federal agency fully empowered to combat all forms of racist discrimination and segregation in employment, politics and public and private services.

End the barbaric death penalty. Reform our antiquated prison system.

(6) For adequate government aid to the farmers.

Under a federal program set up and administered by elected representatives of the working farmers, let the government underwrite the full cost of production on all farm commodities. No limitation on crops so long as people suffer from hunger anywhere in the world. Government food subsidies for families in America living on a substandard diet.

Moratoriums on repayment of distress loans as long as debtors need them.

Abolish sharecropping and landlordism — crops to those who grow them; land to those who work it.

(7) For an emergency government housing and public works program.

As a starter on ending the scandalous national housing crisis, let the government build twenty million low-rent housing units on an emergency schedule. Put rigid rent controls on all private housing; elect tenants committees to supervise enforcement.

For a full-scale federal program on flood control, water supply, irrigation, cheap electricity and conservation of natural resources.

(8) Repeal taxes on low incomes.

Abolish all payroll and sales taxes and hidden forms of taxes passed on to the consumer. No taxes on incomes under $7,500 a year. A 100% tax on incomes above $25,000 a year. Confiscate all profits on war goods. Open the tax returns of the rich to public scrutiny.

(9) For government ownership of industry.

Nationalize the banks, basic industries, food trusts, medical monopolies and all natural resources, including nuclear power. Elect committees of workers and technicians to manage these facilities in the interests of the producers and consumers. Institute a planned system of economy.

(10) For independent political action.

End the Democratic-Republican monopoly of politics. Break all ties with the capitalist political machines. Organize an independent labor party, basing it on the unions and including the Negro people and working farmers. Put a Workers and Farmers government in office to reorganize America on a socialist basis.

Why the U.S. Lies About Cuba

By William F. Warde

The spy-plane incident gave the American people an insight into the "lie-ability" of the Eisenhower administration. Now they can learn more about its habits of misrepresentation from the campaign mounted by the State Department and its echoing press against the Cuban revolution.

Washington officials knew they were committing economic aggression when they decided to stop sugar shipments from Cuba. They were confronted with the embarrassing clause in the charter of the Organization of the American States that no member state may use "coercive" economic measures against another. How was the State Department to get around this stumbling block?

In requesting the House to empower the president to cut foreign sugar quotas, Secretary Herter declared that Cuba's sugar production might fall by one million tons and therefore Cuba could not be considered a dependable source of supply. This pretext was groundless. Cuba can supply the entire world with sugar.

Premier Castro nailed this lie by offering the following wager. "If we produce 1,000,000 tons less of sugar we will renounce all the United States quota," he said. "However, if we produce 1,000,000 tons more, then the United States will increase our quota by 1,000,000 tons."

Herter did not accept. The administration is not concerned about getting enough sugar at reasonable prices from Cuba. Its aim is to starve out and strangle the Cuban revolution.

In order to smoke-screen its belligerent course, the State Department on June 29 filed a memorandum with the Inter-American Peace Committee, a unit of the 21-nation Organization of American States, charging Cuba with conducting an "intense campaign of distortions, half-truths and outright falsehoods" and disturbing Hemispheric peace by "slander and hostile propaganda" against the U.S.

The cynicism of these accusations is breath-taking since the State Department is guilty of the very crimes it imputes to Cuba. Can any intelligent unbiased person believe that this small country of less than seven million inhabitants is so threatening to the American Goliath as to imperil the peace of two continents?

Reprisals

The memorandum to the Inter-American Peace Committee was couched in violent terms to set the stage for a series of reprisals against Cuba. This switch from a policy of proclaimed "caution" to avowed toughness, signalized by the suspension of sugar imports, was decided upon right after the Cuban government was goaded into taking over the oil refineries. James Reston wrote from Washington on June 30 that "Cuba has now gone so far in the expropriation of American property, most recently in taking over the Texas Company's oil refinery at Santiago de Cuba, that this government is now definitely, though cautiously, moving toward a policy of counteraction."

As in the Lebanon situation two years ago, Eisenhower's administration serves as the protective agent of the oil monopolists whose profits and properties are endangered by a revolutionary movement.

The Cuban revolution is in full flood. The State Department fears that its example will spur other Latin American peoples, not only to throw off their tyrants, but go forward and take measures for the benefit of workers and peasants displeasing to the foreign and native capitalists.

Reston admits that there is such popular support in Latin America for Castro's land reform and other policies against the propertied classes that the United States has to intervene cautiously and proceed step by step in its efforts to halt their expansion and influence.

A New York Times editorial of June 25 put it bluntly: "The feeling is that a posture of weakness by the United States would lead to a belief throughout Latin America that this country will stand helplessly and watch revolutionary forces gain more and more ground."

It adds that "the present Cuban foreign policy could, if followed long enough and far enough, bring the danger of international communism too close to be bearable."

The New York News says the same thing in plainer lingo: "The Battle of Cuba . . . is an important battle in the cold war . . . Eisenhower's job, as we see it, is to do everything in his power to foil Khrushchev and wreck Castro."

This hue and cry of complicity with the Kremlin is raised, even though America's economic blockade leaves Cuba no choice but to turn for aid to the USSR and China which it is fully entitled to accept, especially in view of the intolerable pressures exerted by Washington.

"Too Delicate"

The New York Times reported that: "London and Washington are said to be in constant consultation on the Cuban crisis and each is believed to be fully informed of the other's attitudes and intentions." This has an ominous ring. Former Labor Party Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison has already inquired whether the Tory government contemplates using "force, even war," to halt the seizure of English oil interests in Cuba as it did in the case of Abadan. He was told this was too "delicate a matter" to discuss at this point.

The American people must not be taken in by the deceitful propaganda of the oily administration. They should remain on guard to prevent the campaign against Cuba from becoming converted into another Lebanon or Korea.

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

Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: CH 3-2140.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. XXIV — No. 28 Monday, July 11 & 18, 1960

Who Wrecked the Summit?

In a scathing speech to the Senate June 28 Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declared that the provocative acts of the Eisenhower administration around the U-2 spy-flights caused the breakdown of the May summit conference in Paris. He based this conclusion on the report of the closed-door testimony given by leading administration officials between May 27 and June 2.

The Militant, together with many governments and peoples the world over, has contended from the first that the warlike course of the Pentagon, driven by the needs of U.S. imperialism to police the globe for capitalism, torpedoed the relaxation of tensions between the U.S. and the USSR and is the major obstacle to peace today. Fulbright's strong condemnation of the White House and State Department's policies provides informed, authoritative confirmation of this position.

The Arkansas Senator said that administration spokesmen would not tell the Foreign Relations Committee "even under conditions of utmost secrecy" what extraordinarily important information the U-2 flight was supposed to obtain. He charged that this was nothing but "the Administration's cover story for its own costly mistake."

"The gravest mistake was made" when Eisenhower assumed responsibility for the flight. "Historically, the deliberate and intentional assertion by a head of state of the right to violate the territorial sovereignty of another nation has been considered an unfriendly act of the utmost seriousness."

"It is totally inacceptable for one chief of state . . . to impinge on the sovereignty of another, and much less so for him to assert the right to do so," observed the head of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Eisenhower's embracing of the U-2 flights gave the Soviet leaders ample reason for breaking off negotiations, Fulbright believed. "Although another man would have most likely been more temperate in his choice of language, it is difficult to see how anyone could have been expected to act substantially different from the way Chairman Khrushchev acted under the circumstances which confronted him in Paris."

It was bad enough for the President to take responsibility for the flights; still worse to leave the impression that they would be continued and, even more, that they were fully justified. But the crowning insult was to go beyond this and blame the Russians themselves for the flights. "This attitude of smug self-righteousness must have been unbearably provocative to the Soviet Government," Fulbright commented.

The Senator lambasted the argument that the flights had to be made because "we needed intelligence." "If a man is starving to death, and robs a grocery store, we can understand his action on the basis of his need; but his need does not give him a right to become a burglar."

Hitler argued, said Fulbright, that "Germany's need for Lebensraum gave him the moral right to commit aggression. The same kind of argument was heard from Mussolini and from the Japanese war lords of the Thirties." It sounded no better coming from U.S. mouths.

Who wrecked the summit conference? It adds little to our understanding, concludes Fulbright, to say Khrushchev did. "The essential point is that the U-2 was the reason he did. . . . One might even go further and say that we forced Khrushchev to wreck the conference by our own ineptness."

Fulbright is concerned over the loss of prestige suffered by the U.S. as a result of "Administration bumbling and fumbling" in the U-2 plane incident. American influence in world affairs, he said, is at a "new low." This is certainly so—though not for the reasons he cites. The nation's influence has sunk so low because the irresponsible and reckless attitude displayed by the Washington war lords has exposed to fuller view their hostility to improving relations with the Soviet countries and the danger they represent to world peace.

The Arkansas Senator hopes to catch votes for the Democratic candidates in 1960 by exploiting the embarrassments of the Republican administration and by depicting his own party as more capable of handling foreign problems. But, despite the telling criticisms he and some other Democrats have made of the State Department, their own party neither practices nor proposes any foreign policy different from that of Eisenhower, Dulles and Herter. For the past eight years and more Democrats have joined hands with Republicans in pursuing a belligerent bipartisan policy in world affairs designed to keep the world safe for capitalism.

All those who want to vote for candidates who advocate a radical change in this country's foreign policy should consult the first plank in the Socialist Workers party platform published on the opposite page.

"Let Congress and the White House pledge to the world that America will never resort to war under any circumstances. As proof of our desire for peace, let us withdraw all troops from foreign soil, give up all foreign military bases, put a permanent halt to nuclear-weapon tests, and dismantle the stockpile of A-bombs and H-bombs."

The 'Worker' and Free Speech

We believe the American Civil Liberties Union and the Emergency Liberties Committee helped defend democratic rights when they opposed recent moves to bar hate-mongering George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the "American Nazi party," from speaking in New York City. When Rockwell sought to hold a rally in Union Square on July 4, Mayor Wagner denied him a permit. The two civil liberties organizations protested the mayor's decision despite their abhorrence of Rockwell's views.

Both groups argued that to deny Rockwell the right to hold his own meeting created a precedent for further undermining the already badly crippled First Amendment.

Their stand should be particularly welcomed, we believe, by all sections of the radical movement, which is bearing the brunt of the government attacks on the right of free speech and which stands to suffer most from new infringements on that right.

We also believe that the Communist party, which has been a primary target of the witch-hunt, is dead wrong to have berated the ACLU and ECLC for their stands.

An editorial in the July 3 Worker, which voices the views of the CP, declares: "To advocate in the name of civil liberties, freedom for the defamers of the people is to undermine the defense of the rights of the defenders of the people."

Labeling the stand of the two civil-liberties groups an "idiotic affront to common sense," the editorial declares it expected no more from the ACLU, but "that Dr. Clark Foreman, of the newer and less mentally and morally muscle-bound Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, owes his supporters an apology for his public statement in behalf of the civil liberties of a professional fascist and racist."

Commenting on the Worker's editorial, Dr. Foreman has stated: "When the time comes when I must apologize for my defense of the First Amendment, I will abandon my activities in defense of civil liberties. The two go together."

Dr. Foreman points out that in virtually every one of his committee's legal defense activities, many of which involve the free-speech rights of Communist party members, the ECLC lawyers have had to invoke the Supreme Court's decision in the Terminiello Case.

Terminiello was a supporter of the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith. In 1946 he was arrested by Chicago police after a Smith rally broke up in a fight. Terminiello was convicted on the grounds that his speech had allegedly "incited to riot." The high court reversed the conviction, declaring that the curtailment of free speech on the ground that it invited dispute is a dangerous form of censorship.

Isn't it obvious that this decision is far more meaningful for those with a genuine stake in civil liberties than it is for a Terminiello, a Smith or a Rockwell?

The whole history of free-speech struggles in this country underscores the fact that the First Amendment can be defended effectively only if it is defended without qualifications.

Rockwell would have suffered a far more significant setback, in our opinion, had he not been prevented by the mayor's edict from staging his rally and had thousands of New Yorkers exercised **their** right of free speech by holding a counter-rally in Union Square to affirm their opposition to racism and fascism.

The Worker would have contributed to stamping out incipient fascism if it had advocated such a counter-rally instead of urging Mayor Wagner to ban Rockwell's meeting and denouncing the ACLU and ECLC for their correct free-speech stands.

Excerpts from Speeches by Fidel Castro

The capitalist press, radio and TV have conspired to prevent the American people from hearing Cuba's side and from getting a true picture of what the Cuban people think about the State Department's declaration of economic war on the small island republic. Why they have imposed silence can be gathered from the following excerpts from speeches made in the past week by Fidel Castro. Because of their unusual scope and interest, we wish we had space to publish these speeches in their entirety. — Editor.

* * *

We can lose part of the quota? Then they can lose part of their investments. We can lose all the quota? Then they can lose all their investments. We will exchange quota for investment. We are waiting for them to pass a Sugar Law to make us pass the Cuban Law of Investments, granting the government the same powers as Congress gives the American president.

Good, aside from the $800,000,000 in investments, we can take into account that they have been selling such a quantity of products and commodities that during the past ten years the trade balance favored them by $1,000,000,000. Taking this into account, we can make reductions also in imports from them, since there are many countries that would like to sell here but they can't since the United States has monopolized the Cuban market since the beginning of the republic.

* * *

They have never suffered an interruption in the supply of sugar from Cuba. They have always received the shipments on time.

Now they are carrying on an unjust, aggressive and defamatory campaign against Cuba. But they act as if they had completely forgotten about the businesses they have here.

* * *

They should not seek justification in the eternal accusations of communism, since, for greater clarity, here we have, in view of everyone, the unusual sight of the Republican senators accusing the group of representatives of being communists because they opposed the reduction of the Cuban sugar quota.

* * *

What they say or plan there has relative value. All these plans have to take us into account. What will they put before the Inter-American Committee of Peace? We can prove all the aggressions against us, the economic as well as the planes and the air attacks. These are plans that have the characteristic of not taking us into account. They make them up in their heads; these gentlemen speak of them, but they forget something important, who we are. How are they going to speak of these things? In the first place it is fictitious, and in the second place, what does it lead to? To investigate us?

But we are not going to let anybody investigate us. To establish a police regime over us? What police are going to come here to establish this regime and for what reason? It would be best to establish an international police regime in the states of the South to prevent the killing of Negroes.

* * *

We know the lack of capacity of their politicians or leaders, their myopia; you can look for all the errors.

Recent facts demonstrate this. The case of Japan and of the U-2. They persisted in carrying through the trip according to plan without taking into account the discontent of the Japanese people, despite the protest demonstrations, which were not exactly of a minority. Only when the state of opinion is great against something can it produce general strikes like that in Japan. And it was not only the workers but also the students, the University professors; it was a state of great public opinion; it was a state of opposition toward a policy that bound Japan to the dangers of an atomic war — nothing less than Japan which is the only country that knows what an atomic bomb means. . . .

* * *

They propagandized against the Japanese people, presenting them as savage, as a criminal people, in short, in the worst colors. All the world received this with a spirit of hate against the Japanese, among other things because Japan was an aggressor country. But guilt could not be placed on the people; it was the military oligarchies that were ruling. Today the peoples understand this well. Formerly they judged nations in a block. They did not understand the political reality of nations. They said Germany, Italy, Japan. Historic experience teaches that peoples are not to blame. The native oligarchies and the ruling national castes are the guilty ones, like the warmaking oligarchy that governs the United States today.

We cannot blame the American people who are victims of the oligarchy. That oligarchy sought empire, as the United States seeks it today. It sought raw materials, oil, as the American oligarchy seeks it. It sought profits as the United States seeks them today.

* * *

It is the aggression of a powerful oligarchy against a small country that is struggling for its economic independence.

* * *

It cannot be said that politics is a simple and facile matter. Much less can it be said of a Revolution; it is possible that nothing is as complex and as difficult as a Revolution; the more complex, the more profound it is; and the more complex, the greater the difficulties to be overcome. A Revolution can be made complex by the profundity of the measures which it takes, and a Revolution can be made complex by the difficulties which it faces, since one as well as the other can raise doubts, can disconcert minds, can dismay a part of the people. A Revolution that takes radical measures logically arouses the most diverse opinions in all the social layers of the country; a Revolution that faces great difficulties logically arouses the most varied judgments concerning what tactics or strategy to follow or what the possibilities are of overcoming these obstacles.

* * *

Clearly it would be foolish to pretend that the Revolution has not made errors; it would be absurd to believe that the revolutionary work is perfect; all of us are trying to do the best we can; all of us desire to be as perfect as possible, and everyone knows the efforts we are making to carry forward with the most generous human spirit, with the most absolute respect for the dignity of man and the liberty of our compatriots. It would be an error to try to analyze the acts of a Revolution in the light of normal circumstances; it would be an error to forget that a Revolution is not a normal process, that a Revolution is an abnormal and exceptional process in the life of the peoples.

* * *

Everyone understands perfectly well that the Revolution would have had no problems if it had not injured the interests of the monopolies. But if the Revolution had not injured the interests of the monopolies it would not be a Revolution.

* * *

It is not possible to destroy a Revolution, and we should remember that no Revolution has been destroyed, no genuine Revolution has been destroyed. And all the attempts to destroy genuine revolutions have failed, because revolutions have their roots in the history of humanity, have roots in human realities, in the progress of humanity, and are inviolable laws of human events. To try to destroy a Revolution is like trying to destroy a natural law and history will demonstrate it.

And ours, as a genuine Revolution, as a Revolution that in its genuineness has great and full echo among all our brother peoples of this continent and among the underdeveloped peoples of the world, and an echo of admiration over the face of the earth, is an indestructible Revolution.

* * *

We initiated the revolutionary process with much less maturity than we have today. But it can be said that the political culture of the Cuban people has advanced more in these two years than in the fifty preceding years. The Revolution has been a school of revolutionary deeds.

And thus we come to the present stages: the attempt to weaken the Revolution through the economic problem. That is why they want to reduce the quota, why they want to paralyze the plans of development, why they want to leave us without petroleum. The coup d'etat, the military maneuver of the first days, failed. The plan of threats failed. The attempts to foment fifth columns failed. Now comes the plan to make the Revolution fail through aggressions of an economic type. They are putting into effect the plan of putting us in economic difficulties. They believe they can make a dent in the people, because they are counting on a lowering in the national income, savings shares, plans of development; they have turned to this weapon because the others failed.

In response I support this point of view: the defense of the Revolution is, above all, a problem of revolutionary consciousness. That is, without revolutionary consciousness there is no defense of the Revolution. What the Revolution is doing, what the Revolution must do, simply obeys the development of revolutionary consciousness. The defense of the Revolution is a question, above all, of consciousness, of revolutionary maturity.

Cuba Renews Offer On Cheap Sugar

The arbitrary State Department decision to prevent the U.S. public from buying Cuban sugar can hurt American consumers most of all. By creating an artificial scarcity, it can lead to skyrocketing prices for sugar and all products containing sugar.

In backing this reactionary policy, the capitalist press has remained silent about Cuba's proposal to do away with all quotas and tariffs or other restrictions on free trade. Cuba is prepared to sell American consumers all the sugar they can use at much lower prices than those currently set by the monopolists.

Here is Cuba's offer as repeated by Castro in a speech June 24:

"They are deceiving the people of the United States and making them pay the highest price for sugar.

"We can sell sugar at the lowest price and can in this way contribute to lowering the cost of living for the American people.

"The Americans consume an average of 100 pounds per capita each year. But we can sell them this sugar much cheaper.

"It is a lie that the American people have to pay us a high price for our product."

Cuba Offers Students Low-Cost Vacations

By Peter Allan

An educational low-cost summer vacation is in store for American students who take advantage of an unusual offer being made by Cuba's National Institute of the Tourist Industry. Rates are as low as $16.15 a week.

Special student summer colonies are being set up throughout the island near sugar plantations, agricultural co-operatives and industries operated by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform which is participating in the venture with student and professional groups.

Up to fifty guests will be lodged in estates and houses, many of them mansions taken over from the Batista dictatorship. Cuban music and dances, instruction in Spanish, special study facilities, horseback riding, water sports and free cultural events will be featured.

The total expense to students and young professionals is but $20 a week for a two-week minimum stay, or $70 a month. The colonies will be open through Sept. 25.

Registration can be made at a special "Summer Colonies" office of the INIT in Havana. Those planning the trip should get a Student Identification Card from the Cuban Tourist Commission in New York by presenting their student-body card or other proof of current student status so as to qualify for a 20 per cent discount on Cuban Airlines fare to Havana. With the discount, the round-trip fare from New York is $118.08. From Miami it's $29.80 round trip.

Spanish-language students and students of Latin-American culture will also be interested in a special summer course at the University of Havana from July 18 to August 26, with full university credits given for either elementary Spanish or advanced language and history courses, including a course on the Cuban revolution.

Full tuition is approximately $46 and special arrangements with a nearby hotel and cafeteria will keep living costs down to $5 a day.

For summer colony reservations or further information on the colonies or summer courses, write to: Jose Puente Blanco, INIT Student Travel, Calle Linea 4, Vedado, Habana, Cuba.

...Bus Drivers

(Continued from Page 1)

iority rights of all Omnibus drivers.

The walkout began on June 27. The next day, 250 drivers sought an audience with Mayor Wagner to protest the one-way street plan. He refused to meet with them.

Meanwhile, Matthew Guinan, president of TWU Local 100, whose executive board has done nothing to combat the threat against the drivers' conditions, suspended Blumenauer and Harold Newcamp, Section 104 vice-president, from their union posts for leading the walkout. This action angered more bus drivers and by midday, June 29, 21 Manhattan bus lines had stopped running.

Quill faced the rank-and-file revolt by avoiding the issues. He called the strikers "crackpots and birdbrains" and declared himself opposed to "blackmailing the city."

He refused the strikers' demand for the reinstatement of Blumenauer and Newcamp, who, he said, would have to face a three-man trial committee of the local executive board. Though he said the union had no way of forcing the men back to work, Quill called on off-duty subway workers on June 30 to scab on their union brothers. The drivers accused his "goons" of "riding shotgun" on buses that crossed the picket lines.

The next day, drivers went back to work empty-handed but still defiant.

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.

The American Way of Life

Fighting Polio Pays

Some people have been worrying about racketeers moving in on fund-raising charities to line their pockets. They needn't worry unduly, though. If the Sister Kenny polio foundation in Minneapolis is an example, the charities are already milked so heavily by the legitimate people running them that there is nothing left for the crooks to take.

According to a report made public June 27 by Minnesota Attorney General Walter Mondale, some of the best people in Minneapolis are on the receiving end of the Sister Kenny polio foundation's fund.

Directly involved in the attorney-general's revelations thus far are former Minneapolis mayor Marvin Klein, who recently resigned as the $48,000-a-year director of the foundation because of ill-health"; Fred Fadell, a local public relations agent; and the New Century Corporation, a Chicago mailing house.

Mondale's report states: "It appears, in summary, that Mr. Klein dominated and controlled the management of the affairs of the foundation to an extent that he was enabled to derive unconscionable personal profits from his position."

The report cites figures on the amount of money spent on mail appeals for contributions to carry on the foundation's work and on the amount the foundation netted from the appeal after those involved got their cut.

In 1956, for example, contributions to the fall fund appeal totaled $1,542,000. But the foundation got a net of $23,738 — 1½ per cent of the gross.

The 98½ per cent of the income that went for "expenses" didn't just include high postal rates. According to the attorney general, the Chicago mailing firm paid Fadell, the local public relations man, a total of $344,000 in fees over a five-year period.

That cash, in turn, didn't all stay with the public relations firm. Mondale says that from 1952 to 1956, Fadell paid out $113,000 to ex-mayor Klein. There were no written reports of these payments and they ceased after being noted by an internal revenue agent. The checks had been made payable to "Marvin Klein, consulting engineer."

Man Who Came to Dinner

But Fadell's contributions to Klein apparently weren't pure charity either. According to the report, while the public relations firm was being paid a handsome fee by the Chicago mailing house it was also occupying office space rent-free at the Sister Kenny foundation's headquarters. Fadell was so completely at home there that he and two of his staff became members of the foundation's employees' retirement plan.

Klein was also included in the retirement plan. But he didn't seem to be relying on a pension to provide for his old age. Figures in the state report show that from 1946 to 1959 he received financial benefits in various forms from the foundation totaling $778,013.18.

In 1955, "an executive director's contingent expense fund" of $7,500 per annum was established to be used at his discretion, with no itemization required.

In 1957, the tax men ruled that a substantial portion of this was used for his purely personal expenses and was therefore taxable income. Klein then cut the amount he drew.

The attorney general says that in addition to expenditures out of the contingent fund, some of Klein's obviously personal expenses were paid by the foundation. The list includes town and country club fees, a golf cart, cigarettes, liquor, haircuts and massages.

And, the report adds, "Large amounts of travel expenses for Klein, numerous members of the staff of the foundation and members of the board of directors and the executive committee were paid by the foundation, including trips to Australia, South America and Europe . . . and a trip to Russia for Klein."

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 .....

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIV — MONDAY, JULY 11 & 18, 1960 — NUMBER 28

Letters from Our Readers

Hospital Workers In Twin Cities Face Stiff Fight

Editor:

The hospital workers are probably the most expoited and lowest-paid in the country. More than 600,000 people work in hospitals but less than 10,000 hospital workers are organized in unions. A majority of these are in the Building Service Employees International Union. A big majority of the hospital workers are women (many of them with children), who are forced by necessity to work. Some are paid as low as 65 cents an hour for seven days a week.

The hospitals claim to be "charitable, non-profit" institutions. But the rates they charge make that claim a lot of nonsense.

The hospital workers of Minneapolis and Saint Paul are organized in the Building Service Union with a membership of 2,500. Because of a state law outlawing strikes in hospitals, we are forced into compulsory arbitration. The hospitals and the union are now in arbitration hearings on a new contract.

The bosses are fighting all the way against any improvement in wages, hours and conditions. But their big fight seems to be against the health and welfare fund which the union controls. The hospitals would like to get us back into the Blue Cross, which they control.

The bosses are using every trick in the book to discredit the union, break up negotiations and provoke an unlawful strike. They hate our business agent and would love to get rid of him. But he gets things for the workers, so the members support him.

Last week the North Memorial Hospital administrator walked out of the hearings, saying he wouldn't return until the business agent, Norman Carle, apologized for using "abusive" language. Carle said the only apology he has to make is to the hospital workers for having to work under such a man.

The fight started when the hospital tried to stop the workers from wearing their union pins on the job. They said "jewelry" isn't allowed. Carle said the union pins are not unhygenic. We're waiting for negotiations to resume.

A Hospital Worker
Minneapolis

The Editor Writes One

General Supt. of Mails
San Francisco, Calif.
Dear Sir:

I am enclosing your form, dated June 15, 1960, which you sent me, informing me that you are holding in your post office 52 issues of the Peking Review and that they will be "disposed of as nonmailable under the law" unless I return your form to you within 15 days "from the date stamped hereon."

The form, which I received today, has been properly filled out, I hope. I also hope that it reaches you in time to dissuade you from disposing of my mail as "nonmailable."

I wish to take this opportunity to emphatically protest the censorship which the post office exercises over this type of mail. Such censorship is in the tradition of the totalitarian regimes. It has no place in America. Your duty, I believe, is to deliver any mail addressed to me, not to read it and then decide whether it is fit for me to receive.

I trust that you will forward my protest to the proper authorities.

Joseph Hansen
Editor, the Militant
CC to Peking Review

"Thy Will Be Done"

By Muriel Symington

Invocation of a realistic sky pilot opening the Democratic or Republican convention in the summer of 1960:

"Oh Lord! Thou Who (I fear) knowest the innermost thoughts of our hearts before our tongues can give them utterance, Thou facest again the dual quadrennial test of Thy infinite patience.

"Give these sweating, conniving delegates, the majority of whom, with brassy insensitiveness, call themselves Thy servants, the grace to refrain from insulting Thy intelligence by rending the air and wasting radio and television time with their customary 'sound and fury, signifying nothing.'

"As Thou wilt be watching over the shabby maneuvers in their smoke-filled hotel suites, Thou must surely count it as the deepest blasphemy their claim to have been made in Thy image!

"In a triumph of hope over experience, I beg Thee to perform one more Miracle. Transform, we beseech Thee, the Spirit and Purpose which animates so many of these delegates. Open their eyes and sharpen their hearing to the wisdom of the enlightened minority among them. Inspire them to nominate a candidate who, if elected, is endowed with the intellectual and spiritual qualities to meet the supreme challenge now confronting our nation and the world.

"But if to effect this be not in harmony with Thy plan, I, Thy humble servant, can only say 'Thy Will Be Done' and declare these deliberations opened with the somber words of Dante, that connoisseur of Hell — 'Abandon hope all ye who enter here.' Or, perhaps, having regard to the intellectual level of so many here assembled (and saving Your Presence), it would be more appropriate to conclude this invocation and speed them on their way with the simple but vivid colloquialism — 'NUTS.' "

Who's Got the Rats?

By Marvel Scholl

"Rats, Rats, Who's Got the Rats?"

This could be the theme song for a current controversy between New York City's Department of Buildings and its Health Department.

It seems that some years ago, when the vast demolition of buildings in New York first began, somebody remembered that when buildings are torn down the rat population also faces a housing problem — a problem which they solve very easily by moving into adjacent buildings with their relatives. Needless to say, with the rapidity rats reproduce, this causes some overcrowding.

So a motion was passed somewhere that before a permit could be issued for the destruction of a building, the permittee had to present a statement that the rats "had been taken care of." The motion also provided that these certificates (yellow) be sent to the Health Department.

Time went on and 8,000 buildings were torn down. Then apparently someone in the Department of Buildings got curious about what the Health Department was doing with the yellow slips — if anything. The intention of the original motion was apparently to alert the Health Department about the menace of moving rats.

Inquiry at the Health Department brought blank stares of dismay. They had never seen **any** yellow slips. They knew nothing about the millions of rats which had been rehoused — "taken care of" much better than the humans who had been evicted, in fact.

Investigation revealed all 8,000 yellow slips in the office of the Sanitation Engineers — stacked up gathering dust.

A spokesman for the Sanitation Engineers was quite adamant about the whole thing.

"Rats are not our jurisdiction. They belong to the Health Department."

We will keep careful watch over this jurisdictional dispute and report from time to time. Meanwhile we sincerely hope that the certificates indicating that the rats have been "taken care of" means they have been destroyed — but being residents of this Summer Paradise we are a bit cynical. It is more likely that it just means the rats found new homes — as the humans could not.

Notes in the News

"SPIRITUAL" INTEGRATION — In February 1956, the press reported that New Orleans Catholic schools were about to be integrated. The assumption was based on a statement by Archbishop Joseph Rummel who said: "Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful . . . a step removed from slavery." In July 1956, Rummel said that: "certain difficulties" made it necessary to postpone Catholic school integration "at least until September 1957." And in July 1960, he declared: ". . . integration in education must come . . . Just when it will come is very difficult to forecast . . . but certainly as far as the parochial schools are concerned . . . that time will not be later than when the public schools are integrated. In the meantime the church will continue to declare and maintain the correctness from the spiritual and moral standpoint of integration . . ."

* * *

THOSE CHICAGO COPS — U.S. Customs Agents report they trapped a Chicago cop with 80 pounds of marijuana smuggled in from Mexico.

* * *

HITLER'S METHOD — The noted psychiatrist, Dr. Karl Menninger, has urged an end to the "irrational ritual" of capital punishment. "We do a lot of finger-pointing at Adolph Hitler for disposing of unwanted people by putting them into gas chambers," he said, "but we put unwanted people into them one by one."

* * *

REBELLION FROM ABOVE — Most New Yorkers who own cars knock themselves out trying to find street parking space. But City Councilman Joseph Sharkey is waging a battle on a different front. As County Democratic leader, he is provided with the use of a king-sized Cadillac. It's so big that two parking lots recently refused to accept his business. Whereupon Mr. Sharkey introduced an amendment to the city code requiring garages and parking lots to accept cars regardless of size.

* * *

RADIATION VICTIMS — Eight former workers at the Atomic Energy Commission plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn., have filed damage suits against the federal government for severe injuries incurred when they were exposed to radiation in a production accident two years ago. Five of the men report they are now sterile. Other injuries include progressively failing eyesight, a general weakening of the bodies, stiffening of the joints, falling hair, insomnia and loss of equilibrium.

* * *

BULLS DON'T LIKE THAT COLOR — A group of Saint Paul high-school seniors took a trip to Washington to celebrate their graduation. Each bus load was given a color to help reassemble the group. When after touring the White House the students were returning to their buses, one girl stood in front of hers with a large placard saying, "Red." A White House guard advised her: "You'll have to move on, Miss. No political demonstrations are allowed on the White House grounds."

* * *

MADISON AVENUE DREAM — "Think of the stir that would develop if Picasso or Chagall or Dali created a painting for a poster suggestive of the Grand Canyon or Yellowstone as a vacation spot for motorists. Let's say one of the great automobile companies or petroleum marketers would be the sponsor. It would become the most widely discussed outdoor advertising of the century." — Felix W. Coste, president of Outdoor Advertising, Inc.

* * *

SOCIALIST CANDIDATES DO — "You can't run for the U.S. Senate today in most states without being a wealthy man or finding 'fat cats' or pressure groups to finance the campaign." —, George Romney, president, American Motors Corp.

* * *

WHO'D OF THUNK IT! — A scientific survey of children in an "underprivileged" neighborhood in New York has revealed that the children there have the same aspirations as those in more privileged communities. According to the Bureau of Educational Research of the Board of Education, poor children seek a life as average, respected citizens with steady incomes.

...Reply to an Attack on SWP

(Continued from Page 1)

issue or seek to influence or seek to inflame the student pickets. This did not occur although there were some periods when some people were quite worried."

False and Ridiculous

That was Professor Lipsett's commentary of May 26. Now the image given here of the behavior or policy of the Socialist Workers party is false and ridiculous. It hasn't got the slightest resemblance to the truth, and if Professor Lipsett really wanted to know the policy of the Socialist Workers party relative to student demonstrations or anything else for that matter, he had merely to go to a public phone booth, find the number of the party in the San Francisco phone directory, call and receive the information. Or, he could have picked up a copy of the Militant, a weekly newspaper on sale at the principal newsstands and news racks around the Bay Area.

A word on the background to all this. Last summer when the House Un-American Activities Committee announced its intention to come to the Bay Area, a committee was formed for the purpose of defense and protest. Members of the Socialist Workers party were invited to participate and did participate in that committee's formation, and at public meetings of that body made perfectly clear the position of the party on what was to be done about the appearance of the House committee.

The SWP proposed that the statement of purposes should include the basic idea that the House Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished and that a general call be made to the interested public to come down in numbers to the hearing location and show its dislike for the House committee.

Some of our liberal friends disagreed with the proposal calling for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. They argued long and wearily on the constitutional matter that was involved, and they opposed a large picket line because in their opinion this would alienate possible public support.

These disagreements plus the uncertainty of the House committee's appearance served to dissolve this ad hoc formation.

Students Did the Job

When a month ago, the House committee set a new date for its visit to San Francisco, a number of groups immediately began the organization of some kind of protest. But it remained for the students to do the job and by common assent they did a magnificent job and as so often happens they were ahead of their own organizations, their leaders and their elders generally.

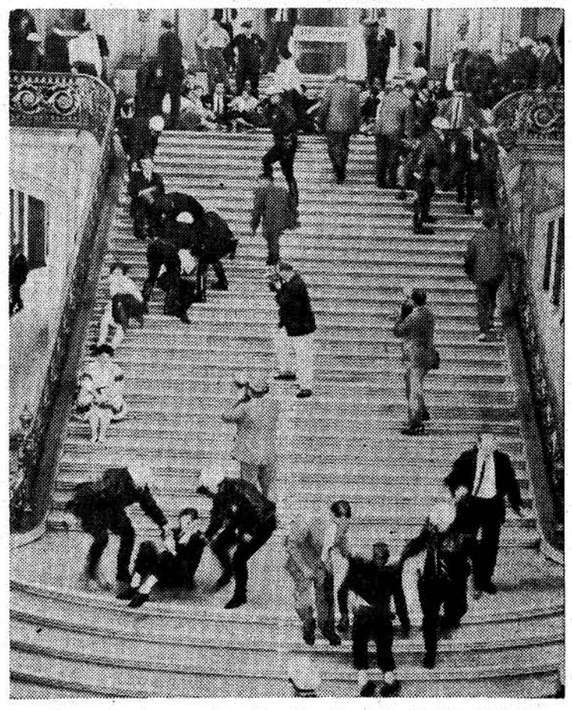
One only had to read the letter columns of the Daily Californian, the Stanford Daily and other college papers before the demonstration to realize the intensity of feeling that was being generated over this issue. It was obvious that student opinion was shifting and crystallizing in opposition to the obscene spectacle of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

And the most important thing of all, the students did not fall for that deception of merely protesting the House committee's method, while assenting to its existence, and further, they realized that a serious protest is effective in direct ratio to its size. They wanted a large turnout and they resisted all suggestions of a token appearance. They were right, dead right. They didn't need any self-appointed political experts or professional organizers to advise them.

It is now being said by some that if the students had made more clear that they were anti-communist, the police would not have attacked them as they did. This reminds me of the Wall Street strike some years ago. The clerks of Wall Street were on strike and were not getting very far when they called upon the Seafarers' International Union, which had its headquarters nearby, to lend a hand. The union sent down a number of squads of seamen who were on the beach at the time to give these young people some help. This gave the clerks' fight powerful reinforcement and a dramatic twist which in turn brought about a great deal of nervous muttering and stuttering in the brokerage offices down there about an invasion of "communists."

All Alike

Now, the Seafarers proudly proclaims its "militant anti-communism" and in fact will not permit a "communist" to join its organization. So you can imagine the indignation of these seamen when the police armed with clubs descended upon the picket line and went to work on these seamen calling them "commies" at the same time. One devout Irish-Catholic sailor who was on the receiving end of a cop's club beating a tattoo on his skull cried out, "I'm not a commie, I'm an anti-commie." The cop didn't even pause, brought the club down even harder, answering, "I don't care what kind of a communist you are."



When students gathered at San Francisco's City Hall May 13 to peacefully protest witch-hunting by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, they were met by a fierce police attack. Here students are being washed down a marble staircase by firehoses. A number of people were badly injured by policemen's clubs.

Now, it is to be expected that everyone is talking about and analyzing the student demonstrations and that they tend to see in them confirmation of their own political prejudice and much of this is frankly ludicrous. But as in every action that puts ideas and people to test a great deal can be learned from the events of last month. A discussion on this can be very fruitful and I hope the occasion presents itself when such a discussion can take place.

Refutes Himself

For the time being I want to make clear that there isn't an ounce of truth in the distortion presented by Professor Lipsett as far as it relates to the policies or behavior of the Socialist Workers party. Even a careful reading of the remarks made by Professor Lipsett will show that they contain their own rebuttal.

For example, he says after describing the foolish action expected of the Socialist Workers party on Saturday, "This did not occur." Presumably it did not occur because of the strict organizational control imposed by the so-called sophisticated anti-communists. Did it then occur on Friday when such organization and control didn't exist? He says, they, the Trotskyists and Communists, that is, "liked what happened on Friday, although they had nothing to do with the events that occurred."

How he divined that "they liked what happened on Friday" is a problem for psychiatry, not politics. If Professor Lipsett's position makes sense at all it is that the students are basically not to be trusted. On their own they become very militant and in that state they may behave like Trotskyists although to all intents and purposes there are no Trotskyists around.

There is an element of truth in this insofar as any significant mass actions whether they be student demonstrations or strike actions by their very nature become militant. Their erstwhile leaders, the traditional radical parties, the leadership of the trade unions and other bureaucratized institutions are accustomed to arranging things in top private negotiations and they see these movements as dangerously unpredictable. They are firm believers in the conspiratorial theory of history and immediately start looking for the "subversive" who is misleading the ranks, and if they can't find one they'll manufacture one.

Confidence in the Youth

The Socialist Workers party rejects this nonsense. It has great confidence in this young generation. It is not this generation who is responsible for the frightful state of the world we live in; rather the blame must fall on the shoulders of the traditional leadership of various stripes, the social - democratic, Communist, trade unionist. The Socialist Workers party has been built on the major premise that our epoch is characterized more than anything else by a crisis of leadership.

Professor Lipsett speaks further of a danger that the Socialist Workers party would inflame the students in action. To suggest that our political party from the outside could inflame these youth is rather foolish. We of the Socialist Workers party are very grateful for the spirit shown by the youth both in the South and in the North. And if the word "inflamed" is correct, we are grateful for that too. Somebody has to show a little spirit and indignation or we all face a dismal and sorry future.

Slanderous Impression

And finally, as to the attempt of Professor Lipsett to bracket the Socialist Workers party with the Communist party — every person informed in this field knows that the Socialist Workers party is sharply differentiated from the Communist party, that the latter has tried with every means in its power to destroy the Socialist Workers party. It is slanderous to give the impression that the SWP has any affinity for the opportunistic and discredited Communist party.

On all important political questions of the day, with the exception of the nature of the Soviet Union, the Communist party is more likely to be in harmony with the professor than with the SWP. This would be an interesting field to explore. In my limited time I cannot deal with all that separates the SWP from all the other political groups and parties. But we have a large body of literature that is available to anybody. The Socialist Workers party is at present engaged in a national election campaign. It is appearing on the ballot in a number of states where the ballot rules are more democratic. Here in California it is asking voters to write in the names of Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president.

Should Professor Lipsett care to argue the point we would be most happy to meet him publicly at any place or time he wishes. He can then back up his statements with facts or back down and this is all that need be said about Professor Lipsett. Should he care to reach us he will find our phone number in the San Francisco phone directory or he can drop us a note to our office at 1145 Polk Street, San Francisco. I trust that we will hear from him. Thank you and good night.

Students Picket Legion Parley in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO — Students and other young people in this area reacted vigorously when California Legionnaires roughed up four students picketing the American Legion's state convention held June 25-26.

The four students had demonstrated their solidarity with Stephen Bayne, New York high-school student who, on graduating last month, refused an American Legion award because he said it was from "an organization I cannot respect."

When the four appeared with placards echoing Bayne's sentiment, Legionnaires rushed them, destroying their signs and driving them away.

Spontaneously, students from the University of California and San Francisco State College mobilized to answer the Legion's goon-squad tactics. Overnight they mustered 150 people to demonstrate before the Legion convention Sunday morning.

The pickets faced a real danger of a mass attack by the Legionnaires. But they were willing to take the risk to show the Legion that "This is San Francisco where our democratic right to picket is taken seriously."

Many of the young pickets had participated in the San Quentin vigils for Caryl Chessman and in the huge protest action against the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The picketing went on all day long without incident. The police department, still smarting under widespread criticism for its hosing of City Hall demonstrators at the House Committee hearing in May, was evidently anxious to avoid another fracas so soon. And Legion leaders apparently recognized that a repetition of the scandalous Saturday attack would make it all too clear what brand of "democracy" the outfit is upholding.

So the delegates were compelled to limit themselves to verbal abuse as they passed the pickets. And when their sessions ended, they were ordered to leave by rear and side exits to avoid the pickets who were out in front. The sneak departure was reminiscent of the way the House Un-American Committee members slipped out of the rear of City Hall to avoid the mass picket line.

At their convention, the 4,000 delegates denounced the NAACP for exposing police brutality in Los Angeles, praised the San Francisco cops for their attack on the students at City Hall and blasted the National Broadcasting Company for televising the story of the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Said the Legionnaires: The Sacco-Vanzetti "trial and subsequent proceedings constitute one of the bright spots in American judicial history."

...Racist Boycott

(Continued from Page 1)

buy gas as an independent operator, the "Big Four" (Gulf, Esso, Amoco, Texaco) quickly turned him down.

After a search for distributors over a four-state area, McFerren's tanks are still empty. When the small Southern Petroleum Co. in Memphis sold him a tanker truck full of gas, a deputy sheriff, who is also a filling station operator turned it back at the Somerville city limits.

Two weeks ago the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the NAACP wired protests to the "Big Four" national offices. In replies to SCEF the oil presidents uniformly insisted that it was against their policies to discriminate against any dealer on the basis of color. But the June 30 New York Post quoted a company spokesman who told the paper that the results of an "investigation" ordered by Gulf's president showed "there's nothing we can do . . . and that's that."

Besides gas vital for farm tractors, the list of deprivations Negroes in the two counties are undergoing is endless. When a new baby was added to the McFarren twins three months ago, Mrs. McFerren had to be driven fifty miles to Memphis for delivery.

"They just tell you to pay up your bills and get another doctor," says a man. "I went to get some medicine for my baby, and the druggist told me he couldn't sell me anything," a woman adds.

Speaking for all, John McFerren says he is not leaving: "They may carry me out feet first, but that's the only way I'll go." Many, he adds, cannot buy necessities even when they can be brought in from outside; and he pleads for help.

Contributions (checks or money orders only, payable to the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League or the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League) should be sent to: John McFerren, Rt. 4, Box 135, Somerville, Tenn. (for Fayette County) and O'Dell Sanders, 307 W. Margin, Brownsville, Tenn. (for Haywood County). Clothing and food are also needed.

It's Still Legal For Communists to Drive in New York

NEW YORK, July 6 — Apparently there are some limits to the witch hunt. A state supreme court justice ruled here today that Communist party members cannot be refused a driver's license because of their political beliefs.

The ruling was made in the case of Communist party leader Benjamin J. Davis who filed suit to compel the Motor Vehicle Department to renew his license. Renewal had been denied on the ground that Davis had been convicted under the Smith Act.

Scholastic Standards

An estimated 90,000 teachers in the nation — one of every fourteen in service — hold emergency or substandard certificates because of the shortage of qualified instructors. Teaching salaries have lagged far behind rising living costs.

Calendar Of Events

PHILADELPHIA

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers presidential nominee will be interviewed by **Frank Ford** on WPEN, 950 on your dial, midnight, **Friday, July 15.**

Saturday, July 16, 8 p.m. Dobbs speaks on **"The Cuban Revolution As I Saw It."** Militant Labor Forum, **1303 W. Girard Ave.,** second floor.

Eastern Pennsylvania Picnic, Sunday **July 17.** Farrell Dobbs, guest of honor. For information write to address above or phone **BA 9-2426.**

●

CHICAGO

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president speaks on **"Peace and the Summit Collapse"** on **Saturday, July 23, 8:15 p.m.** Fine Arts Building **410 S. Michigan Avenue,** Room 812. Contrib., 90 cents; students 25 cents. Ausp., Militant Labor Forum.

* * *

"The Message of the South"— A panel discussion on the Southern sit-ins. Participants: **Myra Tanner Weiss,** SWP vice-presidential candidate; **Rev. Joseph P. King,** President, Washington Park Forum; **Rev. William T. Baird,** 1952 Illinois Progressive party committeeman; **Eugene Feldman,** editor, Southern Newsletter; **Perry Cartwright,** business manager, Southern Newsletter. **Tuesday, July 26, 7:30 p.m.** Hyde Park Co-op. **54th and Harper.** Contrib., 75 cents; students, 25 cents. Ausp., **Hyde Park Labor Forum.**

●

LOS ANGELES

A Marxist Study of Today's Capitalist Economy, based on Paul Baran's, The Political Economy of Growth. **Tuesday, July 19, 8 p.m.:** "Underconsumption and Overproduction." Lecturer **Theodore Edwards.** Forum Hall, **1702 East 4th St.** Ausp. School of International Socialism.

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.