

"Wade-Ins" Follow "Sit-Ins"



The summer has seen no slackening in the Southern Negro's struggle for equal rights. In Savannah Beach, Georgia, Negro bathers sat on a hitherto lily-white public beach Aug. 17, as a new tactic in the fight against segregation. A group of eleven Negroes arrived at the beach wearing swim suits under their street clothing. They then removed their

outer garments and entered the water. Police did not arrest them for bathing but for violating a city ordinance that forbids disrobing in public. A special meeting of the town council was scheduled to be held later to deal with the wade-in problem. The Negro "wade-inners" were released on bond.

SWP Plans Suit to Stop Two-Party Grab of TV

By William F. Warde

The Socialist Workers party announced this week that it will test in court the constitutionality of the bill passed by Congress suspending Federal equal-time requirements on TV and radio for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. It will take this step to safeguard its

Both Parties Give Comfort To Racists

By Gladys Barker Grauer
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senate
in New Jersey

American Negroes have watched with rising indignation the spectacle of Democratic and Republican candidates courting the racists while studiously ignoring or glossing over the struggle for racial equality. Thus on Aug. 24, Senators Kennedy and Johnson moved together into the South with speeches at Alexandria, Va., in which they omitted all reference to the civil rights issue which they had just shunted aside in Congress.

Earlier last month, on his visit to Greensboro, N.C. Vice-President Nixon said he was "endorsing" the sit-in movement — as long as it does not "run counter to local laws." Who does Nixon think he's playing for a fool? It is the local laws that enforce Jim-Crow in defiance of the federal constitution. The sit-in movement is designed to get the local authorities to abide by the federal constitution. Is Nixon for this or not?

Cynical indifference and duplicity have marked the Democratic and Republican candidates' appearances even while a wave of racist violence has hit the embattled Negro sit-in movement.

In Jacksonville, Fla., during four days and nights of racist violence, one Negro has been killed by gunfire, several others suffered bullet wounds, some hundreds more were injured to one degree or another.

In Chattanooga, Tenn., on Aug. 21, a dynamite blast wrecked the home of a Negro chemical worker showering two of his sleeping children with splintered glass. It was the tenth racist bombing in Chattanooga in as many weeks. However, as Negro community leaders have observed bitterly, not a single arrest has been made.

It is my firm conviction that by their cynicism and double-dealing on the race question, the Democratic and Republican candidates are abetting and encouraging the new wave of Dixiecrat violence.

legal rights if the Federal Communications Commission does not compel the networks to fulfill its obligations to the minor parties.

The three major networks have turned down the SWP's application for opportunities to present its program to the public. This request was based upon the fact that the proceedings and platforms of the Democratic and Republican conventions had been fully broadcast.

Further, the Federal Communications Act provides that the networks, which presumably operate in the public interest, must afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of national importance.

The Federal Communications Commission refused to consider the first appeal by the SWP against the networks' refusal. Since then, the SWP attorneys have called upon the FCC to reconsider its decision and issue rules governing the equal-

SWP Nominee



GLADYS BARKER GRAUER, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey.

San Francisco Students Rally To Aid Indicted Demonstrator

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 29—More than 250 young people crowded into Richmond Hall last Friday to hear a folk music concert to raise funds for Robert Meisenbach's defense. He is the only one of the 68 students arrested in the "Black Friday" demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee who will have to stand trial.

He is charged with beating a policeman over the head with his own club. One of his friends commented that this would be quite a feat under any circumstances, and even more remarkable if he managed to do it while he was sitting down.

Bob was promised a suspended sentence if he pleaded guilty to assault and battery but

time question under the new law.

If the FCC neither upholds the SWP's contentions under the old law nor sets forth satisfactory procedures under the new statute, the SWP will go into U.S. District Court to challenge the constitutionality of its rulings.

Patrick Malin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has stated that his organization has serious doubts as to the constitutionality of any Congressional act that bestowed on some nominees, representing the two major parties, "a monopoly of the air waves."

The measure passed by the House in the first act of its reconvened session does hand the Republicans and Democrats exclusive command of national air time during the 1960 campaign. The Federal government is providing a free platform for the major parties while depriving the minor parties of any access to this great medium of communications.

No hearing was held by the House on this measure; it was simply railroaded through in disregard of all opposition voices.

The broadcasting companies and Congress have put over this flagrant violation of free speech on the pretext that it was needed to clear the way for a Kennedy-Nixon debate on the main issues.

However, James Reston asked in the Aug. 23 New York Times: whatever happened to the Great Debate? Instead of discussing the larger issues, he observed, the presidential campaign is "getting more petty and personal as it goes along."

The reason for this is that the Republicans and Democrats do not have any deep differences on the vital questions of America.

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Dobbs Hits AFL-CIO Leaders For Surrender to Democrats

Recalls How '58 "Victory" Yielded New Antilabor Act

By Farrell Dobbs
Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President

To nobody's surprise, the general board of the AFL-CIO, meeting in Washington Aug. 26, endorsed the Democratic presidential ticket and called upon its members to give "full and unstinting support" to Senators John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The AFL-CIO leaders claimed the election of the Democrats would be "in the best interests of the United States and of the labor movement." Immediately after the board action, the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) appealed to the federation's 135 affiliated unions to speed their drive for \$1 political contributions from members.

I doubt whether the official endorsement of Kennedy and Johnson will generate much enthusiasm in the union ranks, however much they dislike the Republican candidates. More and more workers rightly fail to see any essential differences in the programs or performance of the two parties. Nor have they forgotten what happened after the sweeping victory of the Democrats in the 1958 Congressional elections.

At that time the union leaders hailed the landslide, which gave the Democratic party two-to-one majorities in both Houses, as a mandate for new advances in progressive legislation and as assurance of labor's greater influence in Washington. These illusions were speedily exploded.

Instead of repealing the Taft-Hartley Act and other obnoxious legislation, the present Congress enacted the no less vicious Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill. The Democratic presidential nominee authored the main sections of that bill and voted for it. His running mate, Lyndon B. Johnson, piloted the measure through the Senate.

After this anti-labor measure was passed at the first session of the 86th Congress, the union leaders from Meany to Reuther vehemently denounced the Democratic-Republican coalition responsible for it and threatened to withdraw all further support from them. This has turned out to be pure bluster.

Starting with Reuther, the AFL-CIO heads have one by one come over into Kennedy's camp, swallowing Johnson in the bargain. Their official expression of support climaxes their surrender and subservience to the big bosses of the Democratic machine.

Randolph Dissents

The vote was not unanimous. One of the union leaders, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, refused to go along. He told reporters there was not enough difference between Senator Kennedy and Vice-President Nixon to justify an endorsement.

It is easy to see why Randolph resisted support to the Democratic ticket. The Negro people have been watching the course of the Kennedy-Johnson team with increasing alarm and mistrust. They know that actions speak louder than words in the civil rights struggle. And, despite the high-sounding promises in the Democratic platform, they have seen Kennedy and Johnson block any favorable action when the chance came to do something for civil rights in this special Congressional session.

George Meany said that Randolph dissented because he wanted to form a labor party on the ground that the nation had no real choice now. Meany rejected this idea.

If Meany and Reuther were as responsive to the genuine interests of labor as Randolph is sensitive to the moods and demands of the Negro people, they would have taken up his proposal. They would proclaim the need for an end to the two-party runaround and for the establishment of labor's own political organization, as the Canadian unions are doing.

Instead, they are paving the way for the same disillusionment experienced after the 1958 elections by helping into office a set of capitalist politicians who will not hesitate to deliver new blows at labor's rights.

We urge all those union members who can no longer take this suicidal policy to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, the only advocates of a Labor party in the 1960 elections.

"We Will Win!" Say Cubans At Union Square Rally in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Aug. 29—The fresh breeze of the Cuban revolution was felt here last night at a large, militant Union Square rally sponsored by the July 26 Movement in the United States.

The turnout of several thousand Cuban-Americans and their spirited reaction to the speeches provided a striking demonstration that neither the U.S. propaganda machine nor counter-revolutionary emigres have succeeded in shaking Cuban residents here from their support of Cuba's revolution.

The program included speakers representing organizations in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Spanish Republican refugees and spokesmen for the July 26 Movement. Like the rallies in Cuba, the participants backed up the speakers with a spirited shouting of slogans. "The imperialists thought they would use the method of Guatemala," declared one speaker, "but they are confronted with a people with high revolutionary consciousness... They thought they could make the Cubans kneel." ("Never, Never!" shouted the audience) "They can try, but they will find on the beaches the graves of the Marines and anyone else low enough to fight against the Cuban revolution."

"Here in the land of imperialism, we will make it known how we live, how we learn and how we will win," declared another speaker. "We will win, we will win," roared the audience in unison.

"Do-Nothing" Session Gyps Working People

By Frank Lovell
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senate in Michigan

The post-convention session of the Eighty-sixth Congress has turned out to be a monumental fraud hatched by cunning and cynical politicians. The representatives of the



By M. L. Stafford

A three-way debate between representatives of the Young Republicans, Young Democrats and Young Socialist Alliance was one of the features of the thirteenth annual congress of the National Students Association last month.

The topic was the presidential election.

Five hundred delegates including a number of Southern sit-in participants heard presentations for Richard Nixon, John F. Kennedy and Farrell Dobbs. Afterwards the floor was thrown open to questions and discussions with the three speakers acting as a panel.

James Lambrecht, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke for the Dobbs-Weiss ticket. The event on Aug. 24 had originally been scheduled as a debate between Republican and Democrat. But that morning, the sixty-member national executive committee of the

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Reuther, Eastland — Kennedy's Got Both

Remember when United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther warned the leaders of the Democratic party: "You can't have us and Eastland, too?"

Early this month Reuther gave all-out support to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Later this month Eastland also gave his endorsement.

Kennedy now has both the UAW president and the Mississippi Senator rooting for him. What are the odds that the Dixiecrat gets more out of the deal than the union leader?

Automation, Threat of Recession Make 30-for-40 a Crucial Issue

By Alex Harte

With the growth of automation and the economic recession, more and more groups of workers are unable to look forward to steady year-round work. The spread of unemployment and under-employment makes a shorter work week with no loss in pay a must for American labor. This need has been formulated in the slogan: the thirty-hour week at forty hours pay.

The UAW had put 30-for-40 at the top of its demands upon the auto bosses. But when the time came for contract negotiations in 1958 UAW president Walter Reuther put the proposal on the shelf.

No section of labor would get more immediate benefits from a shorter work week than the steel workers. In mid-August the nation's mills were running at only 54.7 per cent of capacity.

USA president David J. MacDonald said in June: "If the present trend in the steel industry continues, we will see a degree of unemployment in our industry in the year 1960 which equals or even exceeds the depths of the 1957-58 recession. And this after the 116-day strike depleted inventories! Apparently the steel industry is becoming a nine-month industry," MacDonald, like Reuther,

two big business parties scuttled all the promises they made — and then each tried to blame the other for failure to enact any legislation benefitting the underpaid, the poorly clothed and poorly housed, the hungry and the sick in this rich land of ours.

The shell-game started as a transparent maneuver by Lyndon Johnson to capture the Democratic presidential nomination. By recessing instead of adjourning Congress the Senate majority leader and his House sidekick Sam Rayburn hoped to use their control over Congress to line up enough votes to put over Johnson.

Michigan Governor Williams charged that Johnson was threatening to block action on old-age health plans unless convention delegates climbed on his bandwagon. After Kennedy won the nomination and chose Johnson for his running mate, they were left holding the special session in their hands.

"Great Show"

When Congress reconvened, Walter Reuther and George Meany billed it like Barnum's "greatest show on earth." Here was "the opportunity of a lifetime" — if the Republicans were not permitted to "sabotage liberal legislation." In his open letter to Congress, Reuther held out the prospect of getting medical care for the aged, aid to education, minimum wage, housing and civil rights action.

What happened? First up was the civil rights bill put forward by a feint from the Republican side. This was swept away by the Democratic majority before you could bat an eye.

Next came the health scheme for old people. This time the Democrats feinted when Kennedy came up with a medical plan tied to social security and serving all pensioners. This was knocked down when 19 members of the Democratic Senate majority voted with the Republicans against it.

Then Javits-Nixon came along with a health plan based on voluntary contributions which was also rejected. The Senate finally passed a bill of

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FARRELL DOBBS, 52, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, is a former organizer for the Teamsters Union. He helped organize over-the-road drivers in eleven Midwest states.

Dobbs Assails OAS Resolution Against Cuba

NEW YORK, Aug. 20. — Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate, today made the following statement on the Cuban situation:

"The foreign ministers at the OAS conference in Costa Rica aimed at the wrong target. Instead of censuring Cuba, they should have condemned the U.S. for its attempts to embargo Cuba's economy and limit its sovereign powers as an independent nation.

"The Cuban government has the same right to reject the OAS dictates that it break relations with the Soviet Union and China as an embattled trade union has to ignore demands from an employers' association that it accept no outside aid."

"Those who profess to see virtues in Kennedy over Nixon should note his jingoistic speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars this week branding the Castro government as any enemy and a Soviet satellite plotting the downfall of the U.S. The Democratic candidate is extending the bi-partisan cold war policy to the Cuban people and its revolutionary achievements."

Insecure

The Wall Street Journal reports that one U.S. bank telephones its Cuban branch each morning just to find out if it's still open.

dropped the demand for 30-for-40 in the recent negotiations with the steel companies. The three-year contract signed in steel makes it impossible to raise the demand during that period.

Deaf Ear

MacDonald complains in July Labor: "We have had no success because the industrial leaders with whom we deal have turned a deaf ear to our suggestions. It appears unlikely to say the least that any collective bargaining breakthrough is imminent to get us on the road to a shorter work week."

The steel workers' head is therefore turning all efforts on legislative action. He proposes that Congress enact a new Fair Labor Standards law reducing the work week to 32 hours or 30 hours. He appeared before the Democratic Platform Committee at Los Angeles urging that it

Notice to Our Readers

Beginning with the issue of Sept. 19th, the Militant will return to its weekly schedule of publication. The current issue, dated Sept. 5-12, is the last of the double-dated issues on our summer schedule.

Why America Needs A Change to Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential Candidate

We advocate a change to socialism first of all because we recognize what an inefficient, wasteful, insane system capitalism is. The proposals made by the Democratic and Republican candidates themselves go far to prove this.

Senator Kennedy foresees signs of a new recession and greater unemployment. Instead of a vast new public works program, he has recommended that another \$3 billion be added to the already staggering military budget. Nixon has set no such specific figure but his Republican platform states there can be no ceiling on necessary arms expenditures.

In recent years a colossal arms budget has become such a fixture in American government that many people forget its real meaning. Since 1940 arms spending has been propping up our economy. Even today, twenty years later, U.S. capitalism can ward off a developing slump only by increasing the war-making budget still further.

If it is left to the Democratic and Republican candidates, there will be no end to this mad arms race.

What a waste of the wealth our workers create! Arms production meets no needs of the American people. It criminally squanders human labor and natural resources. Arms production satisfies only big business which profits from the manufacture and sale to the government of the instruments of death.

Arms production imposes a back-breaking burden of high prices and taxes on the working people. It leads to imperialist ventures and to war.

Why must we be chained to a system in which workers can earn their livelihood only by fabricating engines of destruction which enrich the millionaires but make their country hated and feared throughout the world?

Grim Alternatives

Depression or war — these are the grim alternatives between which capitalism swings. They are the same whether Democrats or Republicans are in office, because both parties are committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

These alternatives warn us that the capitalist system is out-moded, and that we must get rid of it, if we are to enjoy economic and cultural progress — indeed if we are to survive. Unless the war-making powers are taken out of the hands of the profiteers, the danger of H-bomb incineration will continue to hang over us.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

What would socialism do? It would replace private ownership of the country's industries, transportation and banks — now owned and controlled by some sixty extremely wealthy families — with public ownership. Production would be planned to meet the needs of the population. A socialist government would first of all make sure that everyone can obtain nutritious food, decent housing, adequate medical care and education not as a charity but as a right.

It would at the outset cut the work week to 30 hours without reduction in pay. It would also eliminate the man-killing speed-up prevalent today in major industries.

Production for Peace

One of the first things to go under a socialist regime will be the arms budget. Industries now turning out missiles, nuclear weapons, fighter planes and the like will be converted to making useful goods. Production will be for peace, not for war; for use, not for profit.

How will socialism be established? Through democratic action of the working people of America who are the majority in this country, says the Socialist Workers party. This will require a political struggle. The government is not neutral. Today it represents big business through the Republican and Democratic parties.

To combat capitalist rule, the working people must organize their own party, as the Canadian unions, for example, are now doing. They must strive to win national supremacy and when successful use their political power to break once and for all the monopolist stranglehold by instituting public ownership of the basic industries.

A government of the working people — it might also be called a workers and farmers government — would have to overhaul the present structure of the government in order to make it thoroughly democratic. In addition, it would have to provide for control of factories and whole industries by elected workers councils.

Freedom of speech, press and assembly, trade union rights, including the right to strike — all of these democratic rights will be enlarged under socialism. A socialist America, of course, will not only enact but enforce legislation and educate public opinion to wipe out segregation and discrimination on account of race or nationality.

The goal of a socialist society — universal well being — can be attained only through unrestricted participation of the people in shaping economic and political decisions. The idea that people somehow can be made happy without their consent has nothing to do with socialism.

Will It Work?

Will a planned economy work? Yes, we say. Look at the spectacular achievements of the Soviet Union in space technology and other fields. The abolition of capitalism and the establishment of planning brought Russia in less than forty years from the one of the weakest to one of the mightiest powers on earth. And these accomplishments took place despite gross bureaucracy, bad government, mismanagement, dire poverty, a heritage of backwardness and the most terrible war in history.

It will be much easier to build toward socialism in the United States than in the USSR. We will not have to overcome the legacy of economic backwardness, the true source of Stalinist despotism. And once the Soviet people see that capitalist militarism has been abolished in the United States by a fraternal and peaceful workers' government, they can proceed without delay to their own disarmament and democratization.

With our skilled labor, rich resources, tremendous industrial plant and highly developed science, the change to socialism can quickly end poverty on this continent and give us far more material security and individual freedom than we have ever known.

Register your desire for such a society of peace, abundance and equality by voting for the Socialist Workers party candidates in November.

A Presidential Candidate Reports on Japan

By Harry Ring

During an election campaign, presidential candidates do a good bit of traveling, but Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers nominee, seems to be out to set a mileage record in the current contest.

Prior to his spring national speaking tour he made an extensive visit to Cuba for a first-hand view of the revolution there. Then, last month, he flew to Tokyo to represent the Socialist Workers party at the Sixth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen bombs.

In New York, before leaving on his current cross-country campaign tour, he gave the Militant an account of the conference and some of his impressions of the political scene in Japan.

As a result of the U.S. military occupation of Japan, many Japanese people speak English. This facilitated his securing an extensive sampling of political opinion through conversations with many of the delegates at the conference.

Antiwar Movement

He returned from Japan greatly inspired by the strong anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiment that is developing there. "I felt in the air," he said, "a renewed vigor in political life that is typical of young people throughout the world who are resisting the insane preparations for nuclear suicide."

At the anti-bomb conference there were delegates from 29 countries and a mass delegation of thousands from Japan itself. "The delegates had many differences of opinion on how they could best meet the problem of the bomb," Dobbs explained, "but they were united in their determination to prevent other and more deadly Hiroshimas."

He found that the militant anti-war sentiment of the Japanese workers and students, so dramatically expressed in the giant demonstrations against the U.S. military treaty, had a pronounced effect on the entire gathering.

"In the past," he explained, "these conferences were characterized more by abstract humanitarian appeals against the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons — appeals to the war-makers to quit making and testing these weapons that threaten the destruction of civilization."

"This year there was a new trend manifest in the congress. Not only was there absolute solidarity against all forms of preparation for nuclear warfare but the conference went on record in support of the Japanese fight against the military treaty that Washington is trying to impose on them. That was news."

Discussing the anti-war movement in Japan, he described some of the background to the explosive June student demonstrations and workers' political strikes that forced the cancellation of the Eisenhower visit and toppled the Kishi government.

Student Movement

After the war, he explained, the U.S. military occupation authorities fell victim to their own machinations when they permitted the re-institution of what they hoped would be a "controlled democracy." Trade unions were legalized and the students were permitted to form their own national organization. The occupation authorities hoped to keep these organizations subservient to them. By the same token, they gave their blessings to the reemergence of the Socialist party, whose leadership they assumed would be sufficiently conservative to keep the Japanese people in check.

But things didn't work out that way. The first organization to "get out of hand" was Zengakuren, the national council of student organizations whose membership includes a quarter of a million university students and many high school youth. This movement gained strength on the basis of its campaign around three issues. The first thing the students pressed for was the immediate repair and rebuilding of the schools that had been damaged by the American bombardments during the war.

Then they lit a fire under the occupation authorities about the failure to clean out of the university faculties professors planted there by the Japanese militarists to ride herd on the students.

Their third demand was for the democratization of the university administrations. They insisted that the students be given an equal voice and the means to defend their interests against arbitrary actions on the part of the administrations.

As Zengakuren flourished it also advanced in political consciousness. Today there are three principal political tendencies within the organization.

Massive Brainwashing

A hundred companies invested 2½ billion in advertising last year.



Part of the throng of 15,000 Japanese demonstrators at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo June 4 demanding that Eisenhower cancel his visit to the country. Their opposition forced the Kishi government to withdraw its invitation to the President.

The strongest section of the leadership, Dobbs found, is centered around an organization called the Communist League. This group had been bureaucratically expelled from the Communist party in 1958 and denounced as "Trotskyist" after its leader had protested the party's failure to take a resolute stand against the Japanese capitalist class.

This group continued to move left for a period after its expulsion. But, Dobbs explained, the CL finally crystallized as a centrist tendency. While it opposes the Japanese capitalist class and rejects the status-quo concept of "peaceful coexistence" advocated by Khrushchev and the Japanese CP, it rejects the Trotskyist stand that the Soviet Union is a workers' state that should be defended against imperialism despite the bureaucratic regime in power there.

Communist League leaders in Zengakuren have also been criticized by many of the politically conscious students on the ground that it has not demonstrated an adequate appreciation of the need to link up the student movement with the organized labor movement in the fight for peace and socialism.

In the course of his discussions in Japan, Dobbs found that numerous supporters of this group are giving serious consideration to the revolutionary Marxist views of Trotsky and a number have already associated themselves with the Trotskyist movement.

Students Socialist League

The second most influential group in Zengakuren, he said, is the Students Socialist League, which operates on a revolutionary Marxist program. A significant section of the membership of this group are members or supporters of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Trotskyist tendency, which has enjoyed encouraging growth in the past several years.

The third group contending for leadership in the student movement is the Communist party. While the CP has enjoyed a certain growth in the recent period, Dobbs said, it has been hampered by internal difficulties, expressed in a three-way inner-party factional struggle, and by the party's refusal to adopt a clear-cut socialist perspective.

"Like the CP here and in so many other countries," Dobbs explained, "the Japanese CP keeps insisting 'now is not the time' to project a socialist program. They keep looking and hoping for a deal with anyone in Kishi's Liberal Democratic party who has any kind

of minor criticism of his reactionary line." While the Socialist party exercises the least influence among the students of any of the radical tendencies, it does have the support of Sohyo, the Japanese counterpart of the AFL-CIO, and is the predominant workers' party in the country.

Describing the politics of the Socialist party leadership, Dobbs said that it remains in opposition to the American-Japanese military treaty and in general opposition to the imperialist preparations for a third world war.

However, he added, "The leaders of the party, place all their stress on parliamentary activity, saying that all the workers need do is elect more Socialists to the Diet — they won't need student demonstrations, they won't need strikes, they can rely on their 'Congressmen.'"

But while the Socialist party leaders may be conservative in their approach to the big social problems confronting Japan, the working class is becoming more and more militant.

In addition to the fear that the U.S. will drag their country into a new war, two main factors are contributing to this fighting spirit in the ranks of Japanese labor, Dobbs found.

Antilabor Drive

He came back with the definite impression that the economic situation in Japan is roughly similar to the one here. There is a generally high level of employment but "rationalization," the Japanese term for the process called "automation" here, is taking an increasing toll on jobs. At the same time, the Japanese bosses are pressing an anti-labor offensive to roll back job conditions, intensify speed-up and reduce the number of men on the payroll.

"There's a steady whittling away of jobs," Dobbs said "and a buildup of the backlog of chronic unemployment. Inventories are rising. Economists are debating, not whether Japan is heading for a slump, but if it will come this year or if it will be forestalled until 1961. These factors are impelling the Japanese workers to struggle in industrial terms through their unions."

Since the imposition of the hated military treaty and the installation of the Ikeda regime, which Dobbs described as virtually the same as Kishi's government, the focus of the workers' and students is shifting to the elections expected to be held around November.

"The big political development in this connection took place at the same time as the

anti-bomb congress," Dobbs said. "At the same time as the congress was meeting, Sohyo, the labor federation, was holding its national convention. The delegates to the convention voted that in the coming elections Sohyo will support the Socialist party against the Liberal Democrats. This is the same as if the AFL-CIO decided to run labor candidates against the Republicans and Democrats."

He was told that, while the Socialist party might not be strong enough to win a majority in the coming elections, the prospects are that it will significantly increase its representation in the Diet.

"There is a deepening politicalization of the Japanese workers and students taking place," Dobbs said. "As a result of their battle against the treaty and the union fight for economic security, there is growing recognition of the need to put labor into power in the government."

Meeting Marks Anniversary of Trotsky's Death

NEW YORK, Aug. 23 — "What greatly impressed me was the defiant spirit of the young worker and student leaders of the anti-war forces, who participated not only in this conference but in the demonstrations against the Japanese-American treaty," declared Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate. "The American people should understand that these Japanese youth and their elders do not want to become victims of another atomic war and that they believe the treaty imposed upon them by Washington is dragging them in that direction."

Dobbs, who just returned from Japan where he attended the World Conference Against A and H-Bombs, was the principal speaker at the meeting held at Hotel Albert here tonight to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

"The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are honoring the ideas of Trotsky in the way he would have urged and approved — by carrying them into action in the struggle for peace, for equality and for socialism against the political representatives of big business rule," said William F. Warde, who spoke on the significance of Trotsky's teachings today.

"In the last year of his life Trotsky predicted: 'The Socialist regime in the U.S. would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and the creative power of the human personality.'"

"Trotsky was determined to bring forth the conditions which would make possible a flowering and fulfillment of the human personality, not only for a favored few, but for the billions of toiling and aspiring mankind. The liberation of the economy from capitalist restrictions was indispensable for this higher goal," Warde concluded.

James Lambrecht, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, said that the youth he knew were sceptical about paying homage to any individual. But he saw in Trotsky a person who had so honestly and consistently lived his ideals that he could be taken as an example to admire and follow.

The audience of 180 contributed almost \$200 to help put the SWP candidates on the ballot in New York state.

On the Nose

A press release from Axe Science & Electronics Corp. discloses: "Business is both good and bad and the outlook for the rest of 1960 is for a continuation of different conditions in different areas."

Truman, Stalin and the A-Bomb

By Lillian Kiesel

Definitive proof of a sinister agreement between President Harry Truman and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam conference which stalled the Japanese peace "feelers" for three weeks until U.S.-made atomic bombs destroyed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Aug. 6 and 9, 1945 has finally been made public. Locked up in State Department top secret files for fifteen years, records of the conference, held from July 17 to Aug. 2, 1945, were recently "leaked" to Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey, Minneapolis Tribune staff correspondents, who publicized them in a series entitled The Potsdam Papers.

American career diplomats and politicians knew the Japanese government was ready to surrender. Incessant incendiary bombings of its major cities by the American air force had reduced Japan to chaos and devastation.

Here are some excerpts of a meeting between Truman and Stalin at Potsdam on July 17, 1945 recorded by Charles E. Bohlen, Truman's political adviser and personal interpreter:

"Stalin said that the Soviet Union had received a communication from the Japanese, and he handed to the President a copy of a note from Sato [Nao-take Sato, Japanese ambassador to Moscow]... with a message from the Emperor.

"Stalin inquired of the President whether it was worthwhile to answer this communication. The President replied that he had no respect for the good faith of the Japanese.

"Stalin pointed out that the Soviet Union was not at war with Japan and that it might be desirable to lull the Japanese to sleep, and possibly a general and unspecified answer might be returned, pointing out that the exact character of the proposed mission was not clear. Alternative would be that they

might ignore it completely and not answer, or send back a definite refusal.

"The President said that he thought the first course of action would be satisfactory."

Stalin was anxious to stall the Japanese long enough so that the Soviet Union could declare war on Japan early in August, as planned, thus giving the Soviet Union a say in the Japanese peace treaty.

Bohlen's account of the Stalin-Truman meeting disproves Truman's assertions in his book of memoirs, Year of Decision, that Stalin made the decision to stall the Japanese and merely informed him about it at Potsdam.

Moreover, Truman knew at the time that Japan had also asked Switzerland and Sweden to intercede. Knebel and Bailey said the Swedish government had informed the State Department on July 6, 1945 that "Japan had lost the war and wanted to enter surrender negotiations through the King of Sweden." In addition, the U.S. had broken through the Japanese code system and their appeals to Moscow "were known to top United States officials."

On July 24 "Truman informed Stalin of the existence of the atomic bomb," Knebel and Bailey said. On July 26 the U.S., Britain and China demanded Japan's surrender without conditions or face "prompt and utter destruction."

Tokyo kept up its appeals. Then on Aug. 6 Hiroshima was destroyed. Two days later Moscow's foreign office handed Sato a declaration of war against Japan. Knebel and Bailey said the Potsdam papers "give no clue as to why Stalin and Truman brushed off the emperor's peace overtures." The "sticking point," they said, seemed to be the "desire for unconditional surrender."

From July 6 on the State Department rejected all Japan's offers of surrender,

though the Japanese government asked only that the emperor be retained. However, Washington accepted these same terms on Aug. 11 after a second atom bomb exploded over Nagasaki.

Truman told the American people that the atom bombings of defenseless Japanese civilians spared U.S. forces the necessity of invading Japan, saved a million GI lives and ended World War II. The Potsdam Papers, however, explode this claim.

They show that neither Truman nor the State department were guided by humanitarian consideration. The Japanese civilians who died and are still dying from the atomic explosions have been human sacrifices to American imperialism's drive for world domination.

In his book, Fear, War, and the Bomb, P.M.S. Blackett, leading British atomic scientist and 1948 Nobel prize winner, stated his belief that the mass murders were not "so much the last military act of the Second World War, as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia."

... SWP Plans Suit ... Campaigning

(Continued from Page 1) can politics. Both are devoted to promoting the interests of the moneyed class at home and share a bipartisan foreign policy.

As Reston's colleague on the New York Times, C. L. Sulzberger, pointed out on July 25: "We give the impression of staging an election which is but a race with one horse, or, one might say, two parties and two candidates split from the same monolithic whole. Sameness is the standard..."

The Real Debate

The sole serious and fundamental debate in this campaign would be one between the Republicrat upholders of capitalism and the proponents of socialism. But the Congressional measure is intended to nullify just such a confrontation of opposing solutions to our national problems.

The propagandists for capitalism, despite all their bluster, evidently don't care or dare to

let the voters know what the socialists really stand for. Whatever they hear today about socialism comes from the enemies of socialism or through such ignorant, distorted documents as Nixon's campaign paper on "Communism."

At the Republican convention Eisenhower challenged Khrushchev to permit elections in the Soviet sphere on the issue of capitalism versus communism. Yet, here at home, he and his party won't even permit the American people to learn what socialism is from American socialists.

The suspension of equal time is a double blow at civil rights. It deprives legally qualified parties of the right to present their views on an equality with all other parties. And it robs the American public of the right to be fully and fairly informed on all sides of public issues before it casts its ballot.

Put Socialism On Washington Ballot

Instead of voting on Primary Day, Tuesday, Sept. 13, attend the Socialist Workers Party nominating convention in Seattle. Hall open from 8 a.m. till 10 p.m. for registration. Sign convention register (nominating petition for SWP Presidential ticket.) By law, Sept. 13 is the only day it can be signed. Signers must be registered voters who have not voted in the primary.

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Cuba Defies U.S. 'Discipline'

After a week's delay, under immense pressure from the U.S. delegation headed by Secretary of State Herter, nineteen of the twenty-one members of the Organization of American States adopted a resolution of censure directed against Cuba for its refusal to reject aid from the Soviet Union and China. The San Jose Declaration asserted that all member states were "under obligation to submit to the discipline of the Inter-American system."

Cuba's Foreign Minister Dr. Raul Roa told the conference that Cuba would take aid from any nation that was willing to help her fight imperialistic aggression from the United States. The Cuban spokesman insisted that the only threat of intervention came from the United States and that the OAS should aim its indictment against Washington, not Havana or Moscow. In that way, Dr. Roa said, the OAS would show that it would act to protect a small state against a big one.

Cuba's representatives submitted a counter-resolution warning the United States against continuing its policies of "provocation, intervention and aggression." The Cubans left the conference after this was voted down, 18 to 1.

The OAS was organized in 1947 under U.S. supervision, and has been kept going with the help of many of the now overthrown dictators, including Batista, to serve as an instrument for reinforcing U.S. domination over Latin America. Washington has wielded its financial resources, military and diplomatic strength to keep the weak and divided Latin American countries under its thumb through this agency.

To promote the State Department's aim of isolating and strangling the Cuban revolution, Herter agreed to an earlier resolution by the foreign ministers' conference imposing diplomatic and gradual economic sanctions on the Dominican Republic. The Secretary of State was extremely reluctant to take so drastic a move against Trujillo's tyranny which it had patronized and protected for many years. But he had no alternative but to

trade the break with Trujillo for unity in the attack upon Cuba.

Even then the censure of Cuba was not easy to push through. The foreign ministers stalled for a week, seeking some compromise. But Washington insisted on its pound of flesh, while the Cubans stood firm in upholding their sovereign right to shape their own policy.

The foreign ministers of Venezuela and Peru had deputies sign the document on behalf of their governments because they were personally opposed to it. Mexico issued its own interpretation of the resolution, saying that "in no way does it constitute a condemnation or a threat against Cuba, whose aspirations for economic improvement and social justice have the strongest sympathy of the Government and the people of Mexico."

These official attitudes convey only a pale reflection of the real feelings of the Latin American masses toward the Cuban revolution and its conflict with the U.S. government. The Cuban Foreign Minister, Dr. Raul Roa, was not exaggerating when he said, as he walked out of the conference: "I am going back to my people and with me go all the peoples of Latin America."

The U.S. imperialists have been exploiting and holding down the Latin American nations through their corporate enterprises and financial holdings backed up, when necessary, by such diplomatic combinations as the OAS.

Cuba is the first Latin-American government to muster the courage to defy the North American colossus and cast off both these shackles. By nationalizing a billion dollars worth of foreign-owned properties, it has taken a long step toward economic sovereignty. But refusing to be bound by the dictates of Washington expressed through the OAS resolution, it has asserted its freedom of diplomatic action.

These bold steps have not only safeguarded the sovereignty of Cuba but represent the beginning of a new chapter in the efforts of all Latin America to find its way to freedom.

Assault on Puerto Rican Rights

While Secretary of State Herter was in Costa Rica, talking about the need to defend democracy, the House Un-American Committee was demonstrating its contempt for the democratic rights of Puerto Rican citizens.

The House of Representatives on Aug. 23 cited thirteen men and women in Puerto Rico for their refusal to answer questions about Communist party membership by the House Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities. The citations have been turned over to the United States Attorney for Puerto Rico for court action.

A citation against Consuelo Burgos de Saez Pagan was approved by a roll-call vote of 312 to 0. The citations against the other twelve were equally unanimously approved by voice vote. Not a single liberal Democrat in the House raised any objection.

These persecutions are especially outrageous because, as a presumably self-governing Commonwealth, Puerto Rico is supposed to have some independent rights

of its own. It has no vote in the U.S. House of Representatives. Yet a crew of witch-hunting snoopers can go to the island, subject its citizens to impermissible interrogations, and then put them in jail if they exercise their constitutional right not to answer.

The intervention of the House Un-American investigators in Puerto Rico aroused great indignation there which will undoubtedly be increased by its follow-up action. The citations for contempt offer a flagrant example of the harmful work of the Committee and prove the urgent need for its abolition.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee holds that the House Un-American Activities Committee has acted unconstitutionally. According to Clark Foreman, its Director, it will do everything in its power to defend the rights of the Puerto Ricans if they are prosecuted in the courts. The ECLC believes that if these cases get to the Supreme Court, the position of the witnesses will be upheld.

The Powers Trial

After pleading guilty, Francis Gary Powers, pilot of the U-2 spy plane shot down over Russia May 1, was given a ten-year sentence by a military court in Moscow. President Eisenhower and Senator Kennedy considered the sentence harsh, although Senator Fulbright, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and most of the European press thought it lenient, in view of the offense.

The American airman was, in fact, as much a victim of Pentagon policy as the entire American people. His sentence was certainly not excessive since he was liable to the death penalty. Caught in the act, he could not claim innocence after the head of the government which ordered his mission had not only acknowledged its purpose but continued to claim the "right" to make such intelligence flights over the Soviet Union.

His sentence was far more lenient than penalties meted out for comparable offenses by the U.S. government. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were put to death while Morton Sobell is still serving a thirty-year sentence on similar charges. And yet, unlike Powers, none of them were caught committing any crime or ever admitted their guilt. In fact, millions of people all over the world believe they were innocent.

Eisenhower's comment on the Powers case was more significant and ominous in another respect. He again defended the

U-2 spy flights which led to the American airman's capture on Soviet territory as a necessary effort to gain information about a society that is "constantly threatening us."

The President has apparently discarded the promise made to Khrushchev on the eve of the exploded Paris conference that the U.S. would discontinue these reconnaissance flights. He has reverted to the original stand expressed by Secretary of State Herter that the U-2 program was undertaken with the knowledge and consent of the White House, was fully justified, and would not be stopped.

World opinion outside the U.S. has largely tended to agree with the Soviet contention that these flights constitute an "aggressive provocation" without precedent in international law and that such a violation of national sovereignty runs the risk of detonating war.

Senator Fulbright has likened Eisenhower's argument that the flights must be made because "we needed intelligence" to the arguments of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese war lords who claimed the "right" during the thirties to commit aggression because they needed "living space."

The cold warriors in the administration have evidently not heeded in the slightest the widespread condemnation of their course. They persist in the brinkmanship which can create other and more dangerous U-2 incidents.

Young Socialists Attend Congress in Cuba

By Peter Allan

(Peter Allan headed the delegation of seven members of the Young Socialist Alliance which visited Cuba in July to attend the first Latin American Congress of Youth.)

When we arrived in Havana, the city was bustling with preparations for the coming concentration — the Cuban term for "huge mass meeting" — in the easternmost province of Oriente celebrating the seventh anniversary of the July 26 Movement. "A la Sierra con Fidel!" — "To the Sierra with Fidel!" — was the slogan displayed on every building, vehicle, lamp post and blazoned in every periodical and newspaper.

Teen-age and student militias were touring Havana with trucks, collecting provisions donated by citizens to help feed the hundreds of thousands who were going to concentrate for several days in the near wilderness of the Sierra. The collection center was the Capitolio, capitol building of Cuba and once a sinister edifice occupied by Batista gangsters. Now hundreds of youngsters were streaming through the great halls with big boxes of victuals, piling them high in the spacious rooms, counting and planning their final distribution for the journey.

Excitedly, they took us around by the arm and told us what Fidel Castro had explained to them, that one of the purposes of the mass rally so far from the city was to bring the urban workers and students closer to the peasants to find out how they lived and what their problems were. The peasants, who had formed the backbone of the revolutionary forces in Oriente, would in turn impart some of their spirit to the city dwellers.

Along the route of the Youth Congress train, at all the larger towns, huge crowds and brass bands were gathered to hail the delegates from their brother Latin American countries. Until past 2 a.m., they pressed forward at the train stations to wave their banners, chant revolutionary slogans, and grasp our hands during the short time the train stopped.

At one station, two of us leaned out of the doors and, proclaiming that we were from the United States, cried "Long live the Cuban Revolution!" A deafening cheer emerged from the crowd and a hundred hands stretched out in a vain effort to shake ours.

One young Cuban managed to get hold of my hand and held on long enough to tell me, as we were to be told all over Cuba unfailingly, that the Cubans cherished the American people but resented the American government. They recognized, even if many Americans do not as yet, that Eisenhower's government does not represent the true interests of the American people. We met no nationalistic hatred, like that periodically fostered in our own country against other nations, but political understanding.

On the last leg of our trip, we were bundled aboard a truck with seats and no cover and driven along an unpaved dusty road, choked with thousands of motor vehicles and foot-travelers. Already there was no more room at the rally grounds and masses of sorely disappointed people were streaming back after being turned away.

School-City

Nevertheless, our and a few other trucks forged on. Near Las Mercedes, we converged upon a gathering of more than a million Cubans, settled on the rough terrain where a "school city" was in the process of construction. The site of the celebration was the school-city of Camilo Cienfuegos, named, like all new schools in Cuba, after a rebel martyr. Here 20,000 peasant children would eventually live, study, and work. Five hundred children were already settled in the completed sections enjoying the first opportunity the mountain folk have had in Cuban history to learn to read and write.

For hours before the speeches began, thousands of militia men and women, peasants waving their newly-gained land titles, agricultural workers driving their new farm equipment, workers, students, and teachers marched exultingly past the stand where Fidel Castro and other heroes of the Revolution hailed them in turn.

When Fidel mounted the speakers' rostrum, the whole stage seemed to shake from the ovation. Castro began to talk about the gains and the permanence of the Revolution. Soon the masses responded with cheers and chants: "Vencere-mos!" ("We Shall Win!") and "Sin Cuota, Pero Sin Amo!" ("Without the Quota, but Without Masters!"). Every few minutes, after a particularly stirring statement by Castro, the



Photo courtesy INRA
A Cuban worker at an agricultural cooperative in Pinar del Rio province tends to henequen, a fibrous plant used in the manufacture of rope.

crowd would roar back approval, applaud in long rhythmic claps, make up new chants, and return to the old ones — "Viva Fidel!" and "Cuba Si, Yanquis No!"

When Castro mentioned land reform, the masses, led by the peasants, cheered, tossed their hats, and waved anything at hand, stopping the speech for half an hour. When a few drops of rain began falling as Castro started to speak again, the people would not let him continue until he had put on a raincoat, for they were concerned about his recent bout of pneumonia.

After the speeches, the July 26 celebration extended late into the evening with a program of fireworks, drama, native and modern ballet dancing, and processions. Hundreds of thousands who could not return that night settled down with us on the hard ground of the open fields in improvised tents or sleeping bags. The canteen of the Rebel Army provided cold drinks and food at lower than city prices and soldiers directed the crushing traffic.

Before we left for the Sierra, the delegation of the Young Socialist Alliance had been interviewed by Prensa Latina, the Cuban worldwide news agency, and by El Combate, a popular daily newspaper. El Combate printed a three-column photograph of us and the interview on the front page.

"We have come to find out the truth about Cuba to bring it back to the American people," we declared in the name of our organization. "We want to meet and speak with the workers, peasants, and particularly the student youth of Cuba . . . and [we] hope to establish regular contact between the Cuban Youth and the many thousands of young Americans who sympathize with the Cuban Revolution."

"We consider the Cuban Revolution and its struggle against imperialism as a giant advance on the road to world peace . . . In our opinion, world peace will be attained only through the revolutionary struggle against imperialism . . . thus helping to weaken the power of American capitalism in our own country which deceives and rigiments our people and constitutes the major threat to world peace."

Youth Congress

The Youth Congress, which resumed in Havana after July 26, was the first of its kind, largely made possible by the Cuban Revolution. Several hundred delegates represented youth from labor, student, teachers, political, and fraternal organizations from every Latin American country plus Puerto Rico. The YSA was the only national youth organization from the U.S. to send an official delegation to the Congress. Our delegation attended as observers.

Three commissions worked on a variety of problems facing youth, both in Latin America and the rest of the world. Resolutions calling for self-determination of the smaller nations, ending the cold war and H-bomb tests, for industrialization and agrarian reform in the underdeveloped parts of the world, and recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United Nations — to cite a few — were accepted overwhelmingly.

One action by a section of the youth conference, however, marred the proceedings. A document was circulated among the delegates and to the Cuban press on Aug. 5 purporting to "unmask" the Latin American Trotskyists, one of the many tendencies participating in the conference, as "agents of Yankee-imperialism."

Although these charges were issued in the name of the Cuban delegation, this was done without the knowledge of many of the organizations represented within that delegation.

The accusations consisted of stock Stalinist slanders against Trotskyism, of the kind that were exploded long ago by the International Committee of Investigation into the Moscow Trials, headed by Professor John Dewey, and by Khrushchev's denunciations, at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in 1956, of Stalin's witch-hunts and frame-ups.

Conforming to tested witch-hunt techniques, the accusations were not presented to the Congress for open discussion and vote, though several Trotskyist delegates from Latin America did take the floor to protest against the outrage.

Trotskyists Offer Views

The representatives of various Latin American Trotskyist parties had, at an earlier session, distributed a folder to all delegates setting forth their views on a number of questions. For instance, they advocated the extension of the Castro government's program of nationalizations. They also called for the expulsion of American military forces from the Guantanamo naval base and for a struggle against native capitalism. These programmatic proposals, according to the Stalinist charges, were "left-wing phrases" designed to "provoke aggression by Yankee imperialism," "divide the unity of Latin American youth" and "confuse and destroy the Congress."

The baseness of these charges was dramatically demonstrated only two days later when Castro addressed a mass rally sponsored by the Youth Congress, in which he announced the nationalization of \$800 million holdings. In the same speech Castro again voiced the demand of the Cuban people that the U.S. government abandon its military base at Guantanamo.

On the closing days of the Youth Congress, Gerardo Figueras, chairman of the Cuban delegation and president of the Congress called for unity among all tendencies represented at the parley — including the Trotskyists —

to pursue the common struggle against imperialism.

The enemies of Cuba, however, are still seeking to exploit the Stalinist attack on the Trotskyists. Thus La Prensa, a Spanish-language newspaper hostile to Cuba and published in New York, printed on Aug. 8 an account of the Stalinist denunciation with the obvious intent of linking the Cuban government to the witch-hunting move. Actually, the Stalinist attack was at total variance with the democratic and revolutionary spirit manifested by the Cuban people and the Cuban government.

Our last impressions of Cuba were of the unrestrained joy with which the population

greeted the nationalizations. Buildings and vehicles were covered with banners declaring the support of every union, student, peasant, academic, and professional organization for nationalization.

We witnessed giant parades and outdoor celebrations, together with a mock funeral procession in which the "bodies" of "Mr. and Mrs. Monopoly" were carried solemnly in caskets with wreaths and flickering candles to the harbor and there dumped into the sea for permanent burial. The Trade-Union Confederation sponsored an entire National Jubilee Week during which every worker took a public oath to defend the Revolution to the last drop of his blood.

The American Way of Life

Grafting and Union-Busting

The former president of Chrysler Corp., William C. Newberg, resigned suddenly and mysteriously June 20. It has since turned out that he carried the spirit of private enterprise too far. He used his position at Chrysler to channel orders to supplier companies in which he had financial interests.

In 1952 Ben Stone, a manufacturer's agent who lived near Newberg in the Detroit suburbs, launched a company, Press Products, Inc., to manufacture small parts for Chrysler cars. Newberg got fifty per cent of the profits. He also took half the profits of another corporation organized in 1955 for similar purposes.

On July 21 Newberg promised to return "in excess of \$450,000" which he had raked in through those illicit deals.

Chrysler officials are also investigating the outside interests of its director of marketing. It is reported that engineering and purchasing department executives are eyeing one another to see who will be next in line for exposure.

There's another side to this corporate corruption in Chrysler which has been little noticed in the press. This is its connection with the union-busting policies of the company.

This was pointed out in a letter to the present Chrysler chairman by Norman Matthews, head of the national Chrysler Dept. of the UAW. "Chrysler Corporation employment of hourly-rated employees has decreased in the last four and a half years from more than 50 per cent — from 135,159 on Jan. 1, 1956 to 67,415 on June 15, 1960.

"We recognize that some of the decrease is due to automation, but the inescapable fact remains that a substantial proportion of it is due to contracting work out to other companies, prompted in many instances not by the best interests of the Corporation and the workers but by the opportunity of some company officials to benefit personally and substantially at the expense of both the Corporation and the workers."

The UAW representative lists a number of job categories from trucking to tool-and-die work which were farmed out to supplier companies and cost Chrysler workers thousands of jobs. He demanded that the company investigate purchasing policies, return jobs to Chrysler plants, inform the union about malpractices of company officials and undertake "reimbursement of lost wages and other contractual benefits to all Chrysler workers who became unemployed because of these unethical practices on the part of any Chrysler executive."

Farming out orders to midget companies in unorganized small towns undermines the giant auto locals whose strength has rested in their concentrated numbers in union cities like Detroit and Flint, and in the militant traditions of their original organization drives. The company policy of slicing away at the union by cutting out jobs in these key places not only weakens unionism but brings "fringe benefits" to light-fingered insiders like Newberg.

The commercial press and crusading Congressmen like Kennedy who got in a lather about racketeering in the unions haven't displayed the least excitement about this big business corruption linked with anti-union practices.

In fact, the Michigan Attorney General's office said "from the meager facts we have, we don't think a crime has been committed, nor was there a violation of a state statute."

All Newberg and the others did, it seems to them, was to engage in excessive "individual initiative."

—Evelyn Seil

In Other Lands

Pravda Discusses Asia, Africa

Denies Socialism Is the Issue There

The debate between the Soviet and Chinese Communists which has been going on for months has up to now revolved around the nature of imperialism and the possibility of a peaceful and even parliamentary transition to socialism. The controversy may now be extended to a third major issue: the attitude of Communists toward bourgeois forces and formations in the former colonial nations.

Prof. Y. M. Zhukov, Soviet specialist in Far Eastern affairs and an authoritative spokesman for official opinion, published a long article in the Aug. 26 Pravda stating that Communists can and should subordinate the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism to the achievement of national independence and collaborate with "progressive sections" of the national bourgeoisie to that end.

"For many lagging countries, where the main body of the population is peasant, for them the main task for a relatively long period will be that of struggle, not against capitalism, but against middle-century inheritance," Zhukov wrote.

"For such countries, long cooperation is possible between workers, peasantry, intelligentsia and certain bourgeois circles — that part of the national bourgeoisie that is interested in the political and economic development of their country

and that is ready to defend its independence from any attempts on the part of the imperialist powers," he continued.

The Professor assailed as "dogmatists and sectarians" those who expect any purely socialist revolution in Asian and African countries "that have not achieved economic independence." Such people "forget that there doesn't exist a pure revolutionary process, that in a national liberation movement the range of those taking part is broader than in Socialist revolutions."

Zhukov sought to shield this policy against critics on his left by asserting this "does not at all mean that transition to a noncapitalist way of development is everywhere being postponed in the long view. It will come as soon as vital national programs are achieved."

The position set forth in Pravda accords with CP policy in Asia and Africa. It is time-honored Stalinist dogma. But it stands in sharp contrast with views expressed by Khrushchev on this very question in Peking on the tenth anniversary of the Chinese revolution last October. In a speech on that occasion he declared: "The heroic and industrious people of China, led by their glorious Communist Party, have shown what can be achieved by the people when they take power into their own hands. . . . This example can cause the other nations to emulate it in order to achieve the same great progress, while the enemies of socialism watch it with fear and

apprehension for the fate of capitalism."

Khrushchev's assertion at that time that the Asian and African peoples will find their true liberation from economic backwardness by imitating China's example and adopting socialist-type property forms directly controverts Pravda's position that it is necessary for Communists to cooperate for a long time with bourgeois elements.

It is reported that the Soviet Communist Party has circulated a statement among its own members and foreign Communist parties attacking the views of the Chinese Communists as "sectarian" and "dogmatic." The Chinese in turn have correctly characterized Khrushchev's line as "anti-Leninist."

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