

By Joseph Hansen

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Independence Day



Congolese celebrating on the eve of Belgian King Baudouin's official proclamation, June 30, that the Congo had become an independent republic. Demonstrators such as those shown above filled the streets of Leopoldville, hopeful that Belgium's "shameful regime of oppression," as Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba designated it, had come to an end.

George Lavan, secretary of the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, returned a few days ago from Utah where intensive efforts are being made to assure a place on the ballot for socialist candidates.

Supporters of the Dobbs-Weiss ticket were informed by officials at the capitol that they must comply with a section of the electoral law apparently never used before by any minority party. Among other things, this section requires (1) 500 signatures to a petition asking recognition of the party; (2) a nominating convention to be held on or before July 2; (3) a second petition to be signed by 500 people asking that the presidential candidates and presidential electors be listed on the ballot.

The Dobbs-Weiss supporters in Utah formed the Socialist Workers and Farmers party, circulated petitions, got well above the required number of signers, and gathered in convention July 1 in the Public Utilities auditorium in Provo. E. A. Mitchell of Provo, dean of Utah socialists, was elected chairman and A. C. Gregersen of Fillmore, who also has a life-long record of socialist activity and writing, was elected secretary. Both are also serving as presidential electors.

Besides taking up all matters required to comply with the election law, the convention spent approximately half its time discussing the aims and perspectives of the socialist campaign this year.

Comrade Lavan reports that his visit in Utah was an educational and fruitful experience and that he met many new prospective socialists in the brief time he was there.

Montana supporters of the Dobbs-Weiss ticket held a nominating convention July 13 at the City Auditorium in Plentywood.

The gathering was chaired by John Boulds, one of the state's leading socialists. Ray Miller of Poplar served as recording secretary. Delegations from Sheridan, McCone and Roosevelt counties attended.

The Plentywood Herald sent down a reporter and cameraman. The Great Falls Tribune gave the convention good coverage.

Vincent R. Dunne, who attended the convention as a visitor from Minneapolis, reported that he was much impressed by the enthusiasm of the Montana socialists and their determination to make sure that socialist candidates appear on the ballot in their state.

New York backers of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss are tooling up for the big job of getting enough signatures on independent nominating petitions to put them on the ballot. Canvassing begins August 5.

Help will be welcomed. Anyone wishing to join in the effort to put socialists on the New York ballot should get in touch with the Campaign Committee at 116 University Place, New York 3.

Send a financial contribution to help get the work off to the best possible start. It's one of the best investments you can make for a socialist future.

We are so accustomed to hearing capitalist politicians lie that a word of truth from any of them sounds startling. For example, Harry S. Truman said in advance that the Democratic convention was "taking on the aspects of a prearranged affair." He added, "A convention which is controlled in advance (Continued on Page 4)

7 Charlotte, N.C., Stores Integrate Lunch Counters

Seven downtown lunch counters in Charlotte, N.C., were opened to Negroes last week after three months' negotiations between a mayor's committee and Negro demonstration leaders.

This is the seventh area to announce desegregation of lunch counters since demonstrations by Negro students began in Greensboro last February. Other places where food counters have been desegregated are Salisbury, Winston-Salem, Nashville, northern Virginia, Corpus Christi, San Antonio and Galveston, Texas.

The plan approved by the chain store managers involved is known as the Nashville plan. Only lunch counters have been desegregated; cafeterias and restaurants will not be.

Belgian Rulers Seek To Re-enslave Congo

By Lillian Kiezal

Independence Day celebrations in the Congo June 30 turned into general strikes and a struggle of the Congolese army against its white officers as Belgian imperialists launched a drive to reassert their domination of the country. Covering their operation by a poisonous smog of racist slander, the Belgians have flown a battalion after battalion of paratroopers into the country and are conspiring to detach the Congo's richest province, Katanga, from the new-born republic.

The Belgians began their campaign to deprive the Congolese of their independence when they forced the Congo Republic to sign a "mutual cooperation" pact which was designed, according to a UPI report to the Chicago Defender of July 9, "to preserve Belgium's economic and military interests in the Congo. The agreements will also allow Belgium to maintain army and

air bases in the Congo Republic. The Belgians next sought to use the Congolese army against the aspirations of the people to genuinely exercise the independence the Belgians had "granted" on paper. The Congo army, said Latouche LeClerc in a dispatch from Leopoldville to the July 16 Pittsburgh Courier, "seemingly was being used by its cadre of [about 1,000] Belgian officers as the vehicle to sneak a Belgian camel into the new Congo's tent."

Troops were ordered by these officers on July 4, says LeClerc, "to fire into a political demonstration in Coquilhatville, and did so — killing 10 persons, and wounding 20." Two days later the Congolese troops in many areas turned on their Belgian officers. Premier Patrice Lumumba granted the soldiers' demands for raises in pay and rank, dismissed the Belgian officers and appointed President Joseph Kasavubu commander-in-chief of the Congo army.

The Belgians then resorted to their paratroopers as well as white air and ground forces. Simultaneously, they filled the air with charges of "atrocities" allegedly committed by Congolese soldiers and civilians against whites. The U.S. big business press has spread these charges in an exhibition of anti-Negro hate propaganda of a virulence generally unknown in this country outside of the South. Headlines and stories screamed about the "massacre" of white men and the "rape" of white women by Congolese soldiers.

The truth about this slander is to be found in the Negro press. Thus George Sibera of the UPI writer in the July 16 Chicago Defender that thousands of white men, women and children fled Leopoldville "more in panic than in actual danger from murderous native African soldiers. . . I watched them driven on by rumors. I watched while terror exploded. . . Aboard the steamer on which I crossed, excited young men kept yelling to the women and children to lie down on the decks to escape bullets from Congolese troops. But I didn't hear a shot."

From the Thysville area, says the July 16 Afro-American, "the unverified report came that at least one white woman was raped by soldiers. . . This report was termed 'groundless' and based on rumor and panic."

Mass Slaughter The outrages of the Belgians against Congolese "atrocities" are designed to cover up their own eighty-year bestial rule, which Belgian imperialists do not want to bring to an end even now.

The downtown marches were coupled with a boycott of purchases from the seven stores. Student leaders said that the solution arrived at is "palatable to all concerned."

It remains to be seen whether they will all be permanently satisfied with the compromise.

Belgium's rape of the Congo dates back to 1885. From 1885 (Continued on Page 2)

Kennedy's Choice of Johnson Appeases Southern Racists

Hate-Cuba Campaign Flops in Many Lands

By Alex Harte

The press and the people of countries outside the U.S. have manifested a very different attitude toward the conflict between Havana and Washington from that displayed in the official hate-Cuba campaign inspired by the State Department. The colonial and Latin-American peoples in particular have expressed strong sympathy and support for the aims of the Cuban revolution and opposition to Eisenhower's policy.

Following are some typical opinions and actions reported by United Press and Revolution, newspaper of the July 26 Movement.

COLOMBIA — The daily El Espectador of Bogota pointed out that Esso corporation is currently refining Soviet oil in Iceland. "This evidently means," says its commentator, "it is bad to refine Soviet oil in Cuba but all right to refine it in Iceland."

ENGLAND — The Observer (London) editorially advises the U.S. "to stop trying to overthrow the present Cuban government because times have changed." It cites the example of the ill-fated aggression by Anglo-French imperialism in Egypt. The editorial lists the actions which "have earned the U.S. the notoriety of a colonial power" and adds that "the North Americans have always felt free from any restrictions in intervening in the affairs of Latin America."

The paper draws attention to the "friendly attitude of the U.S. towards the reactionary and dictatorial regimes of Jimenez in Venezuela, Pinilla in Colombia, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and Batista in Cuba, not to mention the support to Franco and to the regime in South Korea, Japan, Turkey and Formosa. It warns Washington that any attempt to "restore by force Cuba's colonial dependence on the U.S. . . would not be in the interest of the West or the U.S. since such behavior would result in increased hostility toward the U.S., not only in Latin America but throughout the world."

MEXICO — Moreno Sanchez, leader of the Mexican Senate, declared: "Mexicans cannot remain indifferent to the problem created by the oil companies operating in Cuba, and even though Mexico does not have on hand sufficient crude oil . . . we can send some fuel as an act of moral obligation."

On July 16, some 20,000 students staged an anti-United (Continued on Page 3)



FARRELL DOBBS

Dixiecrats, Big City Bosses Win at Los Angeles Convention

By Farrell Dobbs
Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party

By designating Lyndon Johnson as running mate in his first act after nomination, Senator Kennedy has tipped off the country on the kind of administration to expect if he is elected. Johnson was chosen with cold calculation as a pledge to the Southern wing of the party that the civil rights provisions in the platform which so disturbed them would be trimmed to their liking. The convention's almost unanimous acceptance of the ticket shows that the most unbending segregationists among the delegates were satisfied with this guarantee.

Kennedy's team-up with Johnson shocked and alarmed many liberal and labor leaders who had been busily sowing the illusion that the party would adopt a suitable platform and name candidates who could be relied upon to see it through.

"We have been double-crossed!" exclaimed Joseph Rauh, leader of the Americans for Democratic Action and second of Kennedy's nomination. They had looked to Kennedy, who didn't dare stand up against the witch-hunting Senator McCarthy, to lead a fight to the finish against the defenders of Jim Crow in the Democratic party.

But the rich man's son from Massachusetts is not guided by any such principles or aims; he is eager to gain the presidency. He practiced the same slick manipulations that every capitalist politician uses in running for office. Having already taken the labor leaders and the liberals into tow, he set about to solidify his ties with the most reactionary and conservative forces in his own party leadership.

Johnson has loyally served the Southern Bourbons and oil and natural-gas millionaires in the House and Senate. Elevated to preside over the Senate, he can be an even better watchdog to insure that administration policies and Congressional legislation is processed to their advantage.

The Kennedy-Johnson ticket shatters the pretensions of union leaders like Walter Reuther that it is "practical politics" to seek a realignment of forces in national politics where all conservative elements would be grouped around the Republicans while the liberal-labor contingents would be ranged under the banner of a reformed Democratic party. This required, first of all, eliminating the stranglehold of the Southern bloc upon the direction of party affairs.

Consolidate Machine

Instead, the working people now confront a consolidated machine in which the Southern veto through Johnson and Rayburn has again been given veto power over the legislative program and policies of the party. The Texas oil and cattle barons remain in the saddle. They were given the vice-presidency and power; labor and the Negro people were given phrases and promises.

Despite the liberal rhetoric of the platform, the Democratic party did not become transformed into a party of social progress at Los Angeles. What happened is quite different. The "new generation" of aspiring politicians under Kennedy has reconstituted, reunited and resurfaced the old Democratic organization so much in need of repair and rejuvenation. They revealed the alliance between the big city bosses and the Southern conservatives upon which the national Democratic machine has traditionally rested.

Numerous radicals have been awaiting the outcome of the Democratic convention before deciding how to vote in 1960. They have hoped against experience that a new leadership might arise there which would throw off its commitments to the cold war and the witch-hunt, break with the segregationists, and give up its subservience to the rich and the reactionary. These illusions can no longer be maintained.

The only effective way of registering protest against what the Democrats did at Los Angeles — and against what the two capitalist parties have done in the past four years — is to support the campaign of the Socialist Workers party. (Editorials on the convention, see page 3.)

5,000 March For Civil Rights In Los Angeles

By William E. Hathaway

LOS ANGELES, July 10 — Close to 5,000 people marched today in the NAACP-sponsored plea to the Democratic convention for action on civil rights.

The march proceeded from the Shrine Auditorium to the Sports Arena, site of the Democratic convention, where Rev. Martin Luther King led a short rally and a 24-hour vigil of youth picketers was set up.

Many Students

Large groups of white and Negro students from local and West Coast colleges ranging from San Bernardino College in Southern California to Reed College in Oregon participated in the march. Many had previously demonstrated against the Chessman execution, supported the Southern sit-ins, and engaged in actions against the House Un-American Committee.

"The older people of the South have grown weary and a bit brain-washed," one young colored marcher told me. "It's up to the Negro youth to carry on the struggle for civil rights. We cannot wait for the older people to show us the way."

The way the older leaders from Rev. King to Roy Wilkins and Adam Clayton Powell pointed to them was through the Democratic party. All the presidential hopefuls were represented at the rally of 6,000 held tonight at the Shrine Auditorium.

Senator Kennedy was given a cool reception and boos mingled with cheers as he was introduced. He did not give the audience any of the specific pledges on civil rights they demanded. Loud boos and catcalls rang out when Lyndon Johnson's name was mentioned.

Teenage Unemployed Number 1.6 Million

Unemployed teenagers totaled nearly 1.6 million in June. This was double the number out of work in May and 250,000 more than a year ago.

Out of 16.1 million in the 14-19 age bracket, 7.8 million were in the labor market in June and 6.2 million had jobs. (This was 1.4 million more than in May and 440,000 more than the year before.)

Railroad Unions Get 2%, Lose Escalator Clause

By George Gustafson

After fourteen months of negotiations, the top officials of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers have accepted the deal that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers got out of arbitration. This resolved the wage question on the basis of a 2 per cent raise and elimination of the escalator clause. The 2 per cent is not retroactive but takes effect only July 1. Another 2 per cent will be added next March 1.

The majority of the rail workers, the non-operating workers, comprising roughly two-thirds of the approximately 800,000 workers left in the industry, are not involved in these settlements. As of now their organizations have turned down offers similar to those made to the operating crafts. At this writing, the Switchmen's Union of North America, which represents a small minority of the yardmen, has not settled either.

The rail unions were slow to get the escalator, or cost-of-living-plus bonus clause, but it did result in a total of 17 cents per hour in increases. This was incorporated into the "firm rate" to make it appear as if the 2 per cent raise amounted to something. But as the cost of living continues to climb, railroad workers can ill afford to lose the protection of the escalator clause, inadequate as it was.

The national campaign of the railroad corporations against "featherbedding" apparently had its effects on the union bureaucrats. They made no plans to fight the companies so as to force them to grant an adequate wage increase and to protect working conditions.

The demands of the carriers to tear apart working conditions and job protection have not yet been met. The carriers' demand to eliminate firemen from diesel, freight and switch engines, to eliminate a brakeman on most trains, etc., are still in negotiations.

The obvious strategy of the carriers — to get an agreement with the BLE first so as to set a pattern based on a token raise for the best paid workers, then apply it right down the line — didn't get a word of criticism from the BRT paper, Trainman News, but the settlement of the BLE and the ORC&B was reported without comment. The BRT then went ahead and settled on the same terms.

The negotiations were carried out without consultation with the membership and with practically no reports on "progress." The membership does not get to vote on the agreements.

Thousands Join Walk for Peace

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, July 9 — About 5,000 people participated here today in a Walk and Rally for Disarmament.

Starting at MacArthur Park, the placard-carrying, singing demonstrators walked four miles to Exposition Park where they gave a long ovation to Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize-winning chemist and outspoken foe of nuclear testing and nuclear stockpiling. The rally also heard Gen. Hugh B. Hester and Robert S. Vogel, coordinator of the peace walk.

The peace march was organized by the American Friends Service Committee. Numerous other organizations participated, carrying their own banners. These included the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Feder-

ation, Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Club, Women for Legislative Action, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, San Diego Peace Fellowship, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Independent Students Union, and others.

Young people made up perhaps half of the walkers. There were also some family groups with young children in strollers. Another large group of walkers consisted of people in their fifties and older. Persons in their thirties or forties were least in number.

Carloads of students came from the University of California at Berkeley to participate in the peace walk and in the NAACP rally scheduled for the following day in connection with the Democratic party convention.

Slogans carried by the marchers — over the signature of the various participating organizations — said: "Remove All U.S. Troops from Foreign Lands," "Ban the Bomb," "We Salute the Japanese Students' Drive for Peace," "End Colonialism, End War," "Arms Equals Fear," "Hands Off Cuba," "Peace in the World or the World in Pieces."

The march took place in two contingents. One column walked behind Dr. Linus Pauling, and the other behind the Quaker sponsors. About 1,000 people started in each column, but marchers who joined along the way brought the total of participants to about 5,000.

The high spirits of the marchers was evidenced especially whenever the two columns met. The youth of one contingent would chant, "Hey, hey, wadda ya say?" to be answered from across the street with "Take that bomb and throw it away!"

The Truth About Cuba The Great Heritage Of Other Revolutions

By Joseph Hansen

Eleventh in a series of articles.

In observance of France's national holiday commemorating the fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789, *Revolucion*, the newspaper of Cuba's July 26 Movement, paid high tribute to the great social upheaval that sounded the death knell of European feudalism. A columnist, "El Jacobino," recalled the role of the Jacobins in leading the French Revolution and praised the thorough way in which Desmoulins, Danton and "above all Robespierre, Saint-Just, Hebert and Marat" carried out the historic mission of their epoch.

El Jacobino describes the major stages of the revolution — the popular one in which the feudal rubbish was swept away; and then the stage of reaction:

"With the fall of Robespierre on the ninth of Thermidor (July 27, 1794), the glorious, Jacobin, popular stage of the great French Revolution closes. Power passed into the hands of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, who hastened to elevate to the level of eternal categories the new relations of economic production, forgetting that the feudal regime which had just been overthrown was also convinced of the eternalness of its supremacy and of its despotism over the people."

The Cuban Revolution, in El Jacobino's opinion, is not only analogous to the French Revolution; it is in its tradition:

"If the French Revolution did not resolve all the problems, other revolutions followed in the heritage, such as the victorious revolution of the Negro slaves of Haiti, the Revolution of 1848 in Europe, the Paris Commune. But it fell to the great revolutions of the twentieth century, those in which the proletariat, the peasants, and other national layers played a decisive role, to bring into the life of the peoples the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins of 1792. This is the case with the Cuban Revolution, brilliant inheritor of the first French movement of emancipation."

El Jacobino follows this observation with some thought-provoking remarks on the contrast between the problems of 1789 and those which the Cuban Revolution faces today:

"The mission of the Cuban Revolution is more profound than that of Jacobinism at the end of the eighteenth century. The conditions in which it is developing, in an epoch of general crisis for Yankee imperialism, lessens the possibility of a ninth of Thermidor, the possibility of a victory of the counter-revolution. The Cuban Revolution goes beyond the simple formal equality of citizens before the law, since with the support of the great majority of the people, it is carrying out in depth political and social transformations which will give an intense impulse to new relations of production serving the interests of the nation as a whole. The Cuban Revolution takes on the political and moral characteristics which were the glory of the French Revolution during the Jacobin period: revolutionary audacity, unbreakable firmness in defense of principles, creative energy, incorruptibility, shining faith in the creative forces of the popular masses. The Jacobins of Cuba, the Robespierres, the Marats, the Babeufs of our epoch, sharing with the people strong national roots, face vigorously the emigres of the new Coblenzes [places where counter-revolutionaries mobilize abroad], the threats and aggressions of American imperialism."

Three Interrelated Problems

Three great, closely interrelated problems of the Cuban Revolution are indicated in El Jacobino's article: (1) How to defend democracy and extend it. (2) How to avoid a "Thermidorian" overturn. (3) How to assure definitive victory to a revolution in a country as small as Cuba against a hostile power as colossal as the United States.

That these problems occupy the minds of the revolutionary leaders can be deduced from many indications. But as men inclined more to action than to theory, whose instinctive reaction to a blow is a counterblow in kind, they have not clearly articulated the large-scale problems they face.

In this they are different from the leaders of the 1905 and 1917 upheavals in Russia, who deliberately brought theory to bear as a most powerful means of advancing and defending the revolution and mobilizing support for it. Through theory, the Bolsheviks sought to think problems through to the end, the better to mold action and direct it in the most fruitful way. As the first great leaders of the revolutions of the twentieth century, the Bolsheviks thereby demonstrated that they stood on the shoulders of the leaders of the French Revolution, the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune.

Because of this, it would seem that the theories and experiences of such men as Lenin and Trotsky would hold unusual attraction for the Cuban revolutionaries. Yet they did not turn in that direction in the beginning and it remains to be seen to what degree they will search the writings of these great leaders for deeper insight into their own revolution and its future course in this epoch of world upheaval.

On the problem of democracy, for instance, Castro has put up a sturdy defense against the attack of American imperialism and its spokesmen. The imperialists who backed dictator Batista have no right to talk about democracy in Cuba, Castro points out; nor have they any right to talk about defects of democracy in other countries while the Negroes in the South, among other minorities in America, are denied the most elementary civil rights. Moreover, the Cuban government has put into effect a most radical measure of democracy — it has armed the population. Right now, a firm base for democracy in Cuba is being prepared through sweeping economic and social reforms, including a nationwide effort to eliminate illiteracy. Excellent as Castro's stand is, it still remains a defense.

The Bolsheviks went much further. They established a new type of democracy — proletarian democracy. Against the charge of Western imperialism that they had ended parliamentary democracy, the Bolsheviks responded, "Quite true!" Then they analyzed parliamentary democracy, showed how narrow it was and how in fact it was based on the denial of democracy to the great mass of people. In contrast, the soviets — councils set up by the workers and peasants and soldiers — extended democracy on an unheard of scale; and this new democracy was far superior to the limited democracy practiced by the capitalist powers.

The living example of a proletarian form of democracy was a most powerful means of winning support for the Soviet Union in the difficult early days, not only throughout Europe but in the United States.

That the democratic councils of workers, peasants and

Khrushchev's Offer to Help Cuba

By William F. Ward

The exchange of warnings over Cuba between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev raises issues of the utmost gravity for every American and every socialist.

It is necessary to disentangle two different sets of international relations which crisscross in this complicated situation: one between Cuba and the United States; the other between the United States and the USSR.

Who Is Right?

The first point to be determined is, who is right and who is wrong in the conflict between Washington and Havana? In our opinion, the Cuban people and their government are defending their national independence, their right to exist as a free people, the progressive measures, program and aims of their political and social revolution against the American imperialists.

For sixty years the government, business and banking interests of the U.S. treated Cuba like a private preserve, keeping it illiterate, impoverished, undeveloped through dictators like Batista.

The Cubans have resolved to end all that. However, the Eisenhower administration, prodded by the oil and sugar barons who are unwilling to give up their profitable exploitation and domination in Cuba, has declared economic war on the country, refusing to refine its oil and buy its sugar.

In this contest justice is wholly on the side of Cuba, not the political executives of big business in Washington for whom the profits, markets and properties of the monopolies are far more important than observing the rights and sovereignty of a newly emancipated small nation.

Moscow's attitude and actions should be appraised within this framework. Khrushchev said in

soldiers were later smashed by Stalin in the "Thermidor" that befell the Bolsheviks does not invalidate their accomplishments in this field. It simply shows that the domestic and international forces of reaction were so strong that not even proletarian democracy, in the conditions of the time, could overcome them.

A rebirth of proletarian democracy on Cuban soil would add powerfully to the defense of the revolution. Few things would prove more convincing to the American workers that this revolution opens new, attractive perspectives. Elsewhere in the world it would give incomparable impulsion to the tendency to emulate the Cuban example.

The Bolsheviks, ardent students of the French as well as other revolutions, were well aware from the very beginning that "Thermidorian" reaction threatened their revolution. They did not foresee its exact form and imagined that if it occurred, it would be through a violent overturn in a brief time. In their opinion this would prove inevitable if imperialism succeeded in isolating the revolution. Their policy, consequently, was to do their utmost to break the imperialist encirclement by extending the revolution; that is, encouraging revolutionary movements like their own in other lands. As we know today, the political reaction in the Soviet Union was stretched out, taking the form of Stalinist degeneration.

The Danger of "Thermidor"

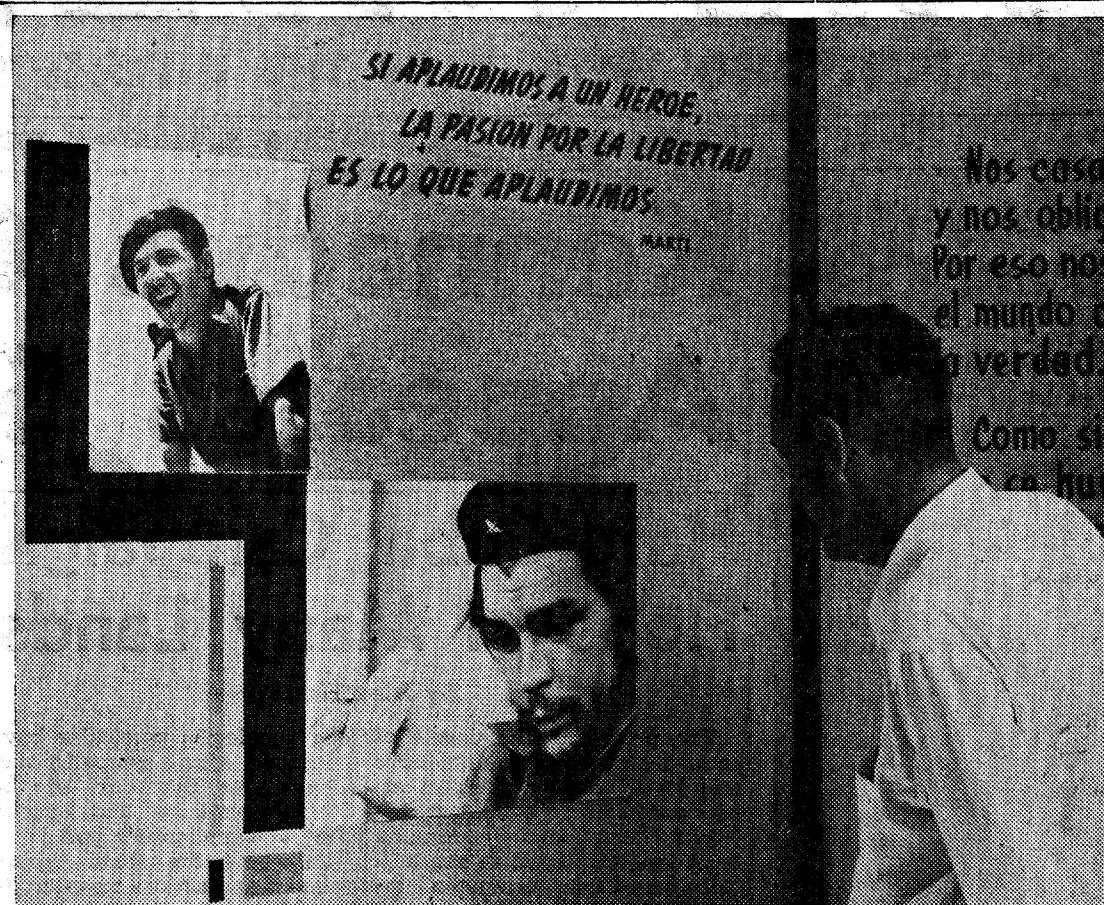
Is El Jacobino correct in judging that the chances of "Thermidor" in Cuba, whatever its form, are rather remote? A lot depends on the course followed by the Cuban revolutionary leadership. The causes of "Thermidor" in the Soviet Union were quite complex but included the exhaustion of the proletariat, the decline in revolutionary ardor among the peasantry and the isolation of the revolution through the "cordon sanitaire" set up by the imperialist powers.

It would seem apparent that Cuba, taken by itself, is not guaranteed against an analogous fate. The peasant, having won a plot of land, wants to enjoy it; workers can be worn out by too prolonged sacrifices, especially if privilege-seeking among official circles should develop to any significant extent; and Wall Street is obviously following the policy of seeking to isolate Cuba, suffocate it economically and put another puppet government in power.

But the Cubans of 1960 do enjoy a much more favorable world situation than that faced by the Bolsheviks in 1917-21. The Bolshevik Revolution made possible the establishment of planned economy and eventually the rise of the Soviet Union to world power. Assistance — as already demonstrated — is available today from the Soviet bloc, and the Cubans have done well to seek it. In addition, colonial uprisings during the past fifteen years have helped alter world relations enormously to the disadvantage of the old imperialist powers, including the United States. The possibility of Cuba obtaining economic and moral aid from the People's Republic of China is proof enough of that.

With new revolutions breaking out, such as those now seething in Africa, it will not be easy for the big corporations and their political agents in Washington to isolate and destroy the Cuban revolution at their leisure. One of the most favorable conditions for the Castro government is the inspiration provided by these fresh revolutions, which counteracts the tendency to relax or to become discouraged over the difficulties imposed by American imperialism.

Despite these pluses, the Cuban Revolution still remains in great danger. The Cuban revolutionary leaders realize this, as is clear from virtually everything they do and say. This realization, coupled with their repeated declarations that they intend to carry things through to the end, are highly encouraging auguries. But it remains to be seen how well they understand the ultimate logic of the Cuban Revolution and how well they will succeed in fitting their action and theory to that logic.



Militant photo by J. H.

Cuba's current revolution draws inspiration from the freedom fighters of the past century. "If we applaud a hero, the passion for liberty is what we applaud," reads the quotation from Jose Marti, outstanding leader of the independence struggle from 1878 to 1898. On an adjoining panel, Fidel Castro is quoted: "We were married to a lie and obliged to live with it. Because of this it appeared that the

world would sink if someone told us the truth. As if it were not preferable for the world to sink rather than to live with a lie."

The two portraits on this display in Havana's public library are of Raul Castro and Che Guevara. Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, in the foreground.

Moscow July 9 that the Soviet Union and the entire Communist alliance are ready to "help their brothers, the Cuban people, to uphold their independence so that the economic blockade announced by the United States against Cuba will be a failure."

Fully Justified

This proclamation of support to a beleaguered island suffering from economic aggression is

fully justified. By every standard of decency and fair play, Cuba deserves such solidarity, not only from all movements and governments that claim to be guided by socialist principles, but from all genuine democrats who support the equality and freedom of a small nation pitted against the oppression of an imperialist giant.

The Soviet premier also issued a warning to those congressmen who are openly urging armed intervention in Cuba and the Pentagon brass hats who are preparing for it. He emphasized that it is not so easy and simple nowadays to use gunboat diplomacy as it was when McKinley and Wilson were in the White House.

He reminded the plotters of intervention that "Figuratively speaking, in case of necessity, Soviet artillerymen can support the Cuban people with their rocket fire if aggressive forces dare to start an intervention against Cuba."

The next day he offered to buy the 700,000 tons of sugar the U.S. has cut from this year's Cuban quota if the government finds difficulty in selling it. On July 12, in connection with

the latest spy-flight incident, the Soviet premier told reporters that the Monroe Doctrine had died a natural death and "now it will be buried..."

Eisenhower has replied that these declarations and deeds constitute impermissible and intolerable interference in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. His administration is obviously trying to divert attention from its own intervention against Cuba by a hue and cry over the Kremlin's offer of aid to the Castro government.

But the main point at issue should not be lost sight of in the tough exchanges between Washington and Moscow. The Cuban people are entitled to seek and accept help from any source to defend themselves against economic reprisals or armed intervention from abroad. This is the mark of the independence they have made such sacrifices to win.

By the same tests the Soviet Union has the right to offer and send whatever aid is acceptable to Cuba.

Washington can easily eliminate Cuba's need for military aid from anywhere by sub-

stituting for its current hostility a policy of friendship toward the Cuban people.

Focal Point

Cuba and Latin America are today the focal point in the struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to win world public opinion. This rivalry has taken a much sharper form since the summit blowup last May. The exchange of warnings over Cuba and the new spy-plane incident two months to the day after the U-2 was downed has brought this to a new peak.

Moscow's harsh rejoinders have been provoked by Washington's belligerent course of action which torpedoed Khrushchev's efforts to relax tensions between the two major powers through summit negotiations.

Since Wall Street's long-range preparations for war against the Soviet Union came to dramatic public attention in the U-2 incident, Khrushchev had little choice but to give Eisenhower the brush-off. The report that further reconnaissance flights were made over Soviet territory despite the President's assurance at Paris that they would be stopped has not helped any inclination Khrushchev might have to alter this course.

Seek Deal

Khrushchev has nevertheless continued to indicate that he has not dropped his policy of "peaceful coexistence." In the double talk of secret diplomacy this is a way of indicating that he and his associates have not given up their basic aim of seeking a deal with U.S. imperialism.

Meanwhile they are taking advantage of every possible opening to influence opinion and win new bargaining points. Moscow is thus preparing to place itself in a stronger posture either for still worse relations or for another round of negotiations.

Khrushchev's offers to aid Cuba and his strong stand in its defense must be viewed in this context. At present the Kremlin's policy facilitates anti-imperialist struggle. But it is not primarily or predominantly motivated either by socialist principles of solidarity with the struggles of small nations against great-power oppression or by considerations of the rights of Cuba and the needs of its revolution. The Kremlin's actions and attitudes are directed by the opportunistic requirements of the maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Khrushchev will subordinate the welfare of Cuba and the interests of its revolution to these diplomatic aims. When he wanted to curry favor with the French capitalists and De

Gaulle, he did not hesitate to turn his back upon the Algerian independence fighters, and unlike Peking, has refused to recognize their government. His public challenge of the role of U.S. imperialism in Cuba and Latin America should be weighed accordingly.

However, the fact that the Soviet leader could dare challenge the "Monroe Doctrine" through which the U.S. has claimed undisputed hegemony over the Western hemisphere, and back up a country so long regarded as the private domain of the U.S. and so near its borders, shows two things.

It indicates how much the ascending revolution in Latin America has tilted the balance of forces in the world to the detriment of the U.S. And it proves how vulnerable Washington has become, and how much its reckless course of opposition to the demands of the Cuban people has alienated and isolated the United States.

Canadian Union Writes Castro About Oil Jobs

The Vancouver, British Columbia, local of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union, has written Cuba's Premier Castro asking about job opportunities in the three refineries taken over by his government.

The local said it has lost 150 members in the past eighteen months. Many of them had been laid off from local refineries and others left because of job insecurity.

The letter accused the oil companies of making increasing profits while laying off employees. The secretary of the local said that "as trade unionists it is our duty to explore every means of helping our members who have lost their jobs."

His letter promised that if Castro sent enough literature on wages, living conditions, etc., the union "will distribute every bit of it."

Canada's jobless for May set a postwar high of 399,000, some 65,000 above the 1959 figure. One in every 14 men and women in the labor force is unemployed.

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The Radical Parties And the 1960 Election

This year there is imperative need for socialists to conduct a campaign for their own ideas and in their own name against the bipartisan policies of the political organizations of big business.

The last few months have been rough on the illusion that the Democratic and Republican parties can somehow be used as instruments of struggle for civil rights, for civil liberties, for the advancement of labor and against nuclear war.

Murry Weiss examines the positions of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Communist party to explain why they have abandoned independent political action and why they imitate the union officials who strive to keep labor shackled to the two-party run-around. He sets forth the significance of the Dobbs-Weiss ticket for the new generation of radical youth. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

... Belgians Try to Re-enslave

(Continued from Page 1)

to 1908, as the Afro-American commented editorially July 16, Belgium's King Leopold "gave the Congo its bloodiest record."

"The Jews recall with anger and sorrow that Hitler killed six millions Jews. But King Leopold murdered eight million Africans in the Congo. His greed for ivory and rubber was so insatiable that every African boy or girl who could not furnish his daily quota, had a foot or hand cut off. The right hand was preferable."

Belgium's bloody methods have been continued down to the present. In the Leopoldville demonstrations for independence in January 1959 and again in the Congo's current struggle for independence, it is estimated that Belgian paratroopers and cops as well as armed European civilians have murdered many thousand Congolese.

The Belgians' principal move to retain their clutches on the wealth of the Congo has been an attempt to separate Katanga province from the Congo Republic. In this nefarious operation, they are using Moïse Tshombe, wealthy African plantation owner, businessman and premier of Katanga province, as their front man.

U.S. Holdings

The province is dominated by the Union Miniere de Katanga (UMK), a mining company with stockholders in the U.S., Belgium and Britain. In addition, 25 per cent of outstanding shares are held by a Special Committee of Katanga, in which the national Congolese government owns a two-third interest.

UMK reports sales of about \$200 million a year. Its mines produce 10 per cent of the world's copper supply, 60 per cent of its cobalt, most of its radium, and important quantities of zinc, industrial diamonds, germanium, uranium, etc.

In a message to the United Nations, Premier Lumumba and

President Kasavubu have accused the Belgians of having "carefully prepared the secession of Katanga." The Congo Republic, they said, refuses "to accept a fait accompli resulting from a conspiracy between Belgian imperialists and a small group of Katanga leaders. The overwhelming majority of the Katanga population is opposed to secession, which means the disguised perpetuation of the colonialist regime."

Charging imperialist aggression against the new republic, the Lumumba government demanded that Belgium withdraw all troops from Congo soil at once and that the Congo's right to determine its internal affairs not be interfered with.

UN forces, flown into the Congo in line with a Security Council resolution July 14, have refused to compel the Belgians to depart from the country. Instead, Major General Harry Templer Alexander, temporarily in command of UN troops, announced that "friendly relations would... be established" with the Belgians.

State of War

In reply, Lumumba told parliament on July 16 that the Congo "is in a state of war" with Belgium and that if UN troops cooperated with the Belgians, they, too, would be asked to leave.

Fearful of double-dealing by the UN, whose resolution urging Belgian troops to leave the Congo set no date for compliance, Lumumba and Kasavubu turned to the Soviet government. The Soviet representative to the UN voted for the resolution but advocated immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops.

In a July 15 note, Lumumba and Kasavubu told the Soviets that their intervention might be requested "should the Western camp not stop its aggression against the sovereignty" of the Congo.

Acknowledging the Congo's

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Monday, July 25 & August 1, 1960

Republicans and Civil Rights

Many Negroes, disquieted and disgusted by Kennedy's embrace of the Southern old guard at Los Angeles and his vagueness on civil rights action, are turning their gaze toward the Republican convention in Chicago this week. Perhaps, they hope, the Republicans may do more for our people than the party of the Dixiecrats.

Prominent among these is Jackie Robinson. In the July 18 New York Post he expressed bitter disillusionment over the Kennedy-Johnson lineup. He condemned Kennedy for wiring Arkansas Governor Faubus to be his guest on the platform during his acceptance speech. "For sake of a 'winning team,' Kennedy is willing to embrace not only a Johnson but a Faubus as well," he remarked.

"Power, not principle, is his motivating drive, and obviously he doesn't care whose rights he must trample on in order to get it. If the politics of the moment call for a declaration in behalf of equal opportunity for all, Kennedy does it. And if at the very next moment the 'smart' thing to do is to reassure the white South that he doesn't really mean it, by teaming up with those who have openly indicated their intention of keeping the Negro 'in his place,' Kennedy doesn't hesitate one second. He does it."

Even their own Negro supporters among the delegates showed they don't trust Kennedy and Johnson, declares Robinson, so "you can figure out for your-

self how difficult it will be to convince the rank and file that the Democratic ticket is out to protect their interests."

Robinson announced that he was meeting with other Negro leaders to consider what to do in the 1960 elections and stated that what the Republicans come up with in Chicago this week will greatly influence their decision.

For the past eight years that the Republicans have ruled in Washington they have shown as little concern for the civil rights struggles of the Southern Negroes as they have for the independence movements and rights of the colored peoples in the rest of the world. The administration has been all "deliberation" and no "speed" in implementing the Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation. No matter what Nixon says, they can't be depended upon to do much better in the next eight years.

Instead of getting burned all over again by the Republicans or Democrats, Jackie Robinson and other spokesmen for the Negro people would do better to urge the union leaders to join them in preparations for a new independent party based on the unions and including the minorities and small farmers.

Meanwhile, in 1960, they and all opponents of Jim Crow can effectively cast a vote against Democratic double-dealing and Republican do-nothingism by supporting the Socialist Workers party ticket of Dobbs and Weiss.

'New Frontier' in Arms Spending

Senator Kennedy says that he foresees the possibility of a new recession soon. There are already four-and-a-half million jobless.

However, he is against cutting the average work-week on the ground that this would reduce productivity and slow down the annual rate of growth of the national economy.

How, then, does the Democratic candidate figure on dealing with the threat of another slump and more unemployment?

A few days before his nomination Kennedy proposed to hike military spending by as much as \$3 billion. He said the increase should be voted when Congress reconvenes next month. The administration contends that the \$40 billion appropriated to date for military purposes this year is enough.

The unemployed steel workers of Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Gary

will doubtless be glad to hear that the only way they can return to the mills is by making steel for tanks and war planes. Their families will likewise be reassured because the Democratic candidate aims to increase their "security" by providing deadlier missiles instead of building more schools and low-cost housing.

Much has been said about the bold new measures that the new generation coming to the fore in the capitalist parties can be expected to take. Yet, when it comes to the test, Kennedy has no better plans for handling the problems of unemployment generated by the anarchy of private enterprise than the present Republican office-holders.

Indeed, he wants to waste more of the people's money on armaments for the cold war — and tax us more heavily — than Eisenhower. This is the "New Frontier" he envisages.

Grateful for Crumbs

The union leaders are reported to be highly pleased with both the Democratic platform and the party's presidential candidate. Said President Meany of the AFL-CIO: "This is a sound, liberal platform—the most progressive and most constructive in my memory."

The platform calls for "the repeal of the anti-labor excesses which have been written into our labor laws." Specifically, this includes an end to the state "right-to-work" laws and a criticism of the way the Taft-Hartley Law has been administered and of certain clauses in the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill.

Meany's memory conveniently forgets that this 1960 platform represents a retreat from the Democratic platform of 1948 which demanded repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. The labor leaders have not only dropped this demand but did not even urge the elimination of the latest addition to anti-labor legislation tied up with the name of the Democratic presidential nominee.

They likewise disregard the significance of the fact that thirteen of the states with "right-to-work" laws are Democrat-dominated and that both the Taft-Hartley and Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin laws were put over with the votes of Democratic congressmen.

Never have the heads of a movement representing such immense actual and potential power been satisfied with so little. Just before the convention Arthur Krook, the pundit of the New York Times, pointed out that "organized labor . . . is

That Liberal Platform

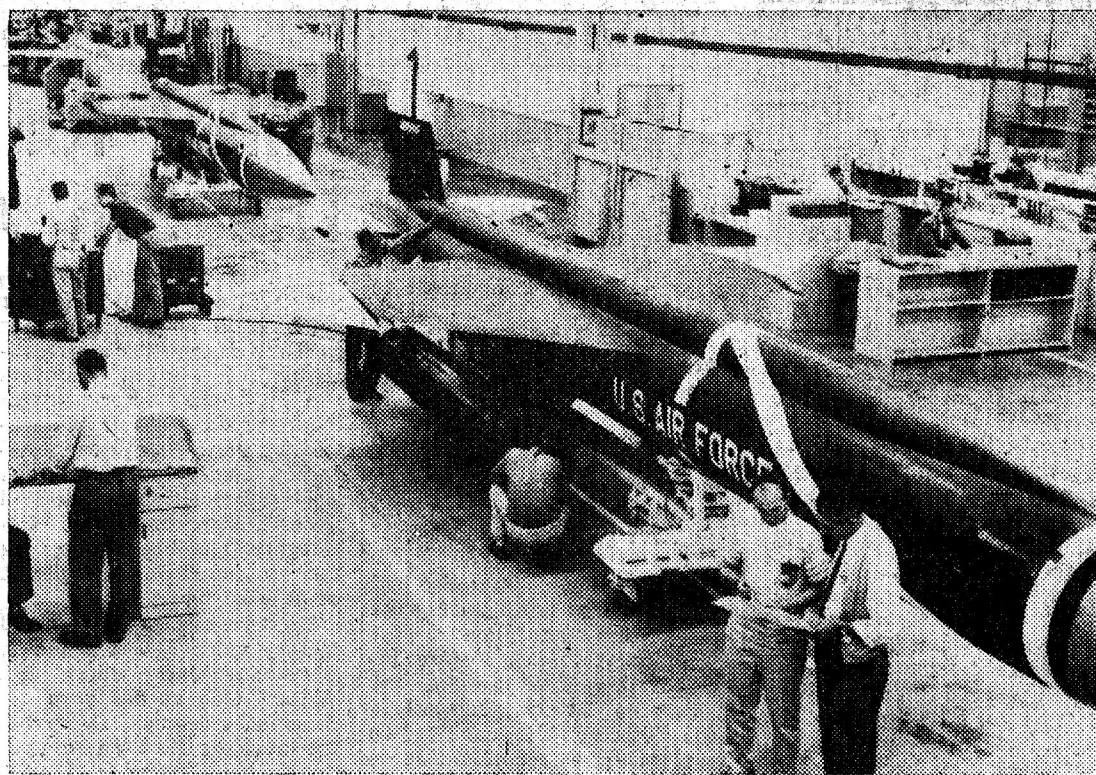
Both the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union called upon the Democratic Platform Committee in Los Angeles to include planks for the abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In addition, the ECLC urged the platform committee to adopt "a plank calling

for the repeal of the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Smith Act and other statutes . . . undermining our civil liberties." The group also asked the Democrats to declare themselves for freedom for those who have invoked the First Amendment.

The Democratic platform is silent on all these questions.

Kennedy's Remedy for Recession



Bomarc I M-99 A-missiles rolling off the assembly line at the Boeing Pilotless Aircraft Division Plant in Seattle. The Bomarc program cost over \$7½ billion. It has been scored in Congress as a "billion dollar boondoggle" put over by high pressure salesmanship.

Senator Kennedy says that the U.S. should spend up to \$3 billion more on such instruments of destruction which are obsolete before manufacture. His deadly antidote for recession will please the merchants and manufacturers

of death but bring no benefits to the American people.

The Socialist Workers Party program urges an immediate end to the insane preparations for nuclear suicide. It advocates transforming "the armaments budget into a peace budget for homes, schools, hospitals, medical research, nurseries, playgrounds, highways, transportation and public parks." In that way our industrial plant can provide plenty of work by turning from war production toward an economy of abundance.

100,000 Japanese Confront Government Strikebreakers

A showdown struggle between Japanese labor and the employers and between the new pro-capitalist Ikeda government and the Socialist-Communist opposition is imminent over a three-month miners' strike in Kyushu province. According to latest dispatches from Japan, the leading union federation, Sohyo, and the Socialist and Communist parties have sent in massive reinforcements to aid the embattled 6,000 miners who began the strike.

Up to 100,000 strikers, students and sympathizers have dug a six-foot trench and thrown up barbed wire around the coal mine. They face helmeted police, drilled in riot tactics, who have been moving in for two days on orders from the government to enforce a court order to clear the mines. A clash between the two forces is expected momentarily.

A Militant correspondent in Japan has sent the following account of the events leading up to this crucial conflict.

TOKYO, July 11 — Economic conditions in the coal industry have caused the owners to discharge thousands of miners who have been unable to find other employment. Over 50,000 families of former coal miners now depend upon charity for their bare existence.

The principal struggle is taking place at the Miike Coal Mines in the southern island of Japan. The workers there belong to the Mitsui Coal Mine Workers Union which represents collieries owned and operated by the Mitsui Mining Company. This union and five others form

the Coal Mine Workers Union of Japan (Tanro).

At this writing the Miike workers have been on strike for over 100 days in protest against the company's plan to fire 1,200 workers. This would open the door to the eventual dismissal of 110,000 miners.

Some right-wing opportunists in the union who were opposed to the strike organized a splinter union known as Union No. 2 to start a back-to-work movement as soon as possible. It was backed by the management, government officials and police. Union No. 1 has the support of Tanro, Sohyo and the Socialist party.

Bosses Hire Gangsters

Police attempts to lead the splinter members into the colliery caused bloody clashes in which hundreds of unionists were injured and hospitalized. When the employers hired an organization of gangsters and hoodlums to attack and terrorize members of Union No. 1 many more unionists were seriously hurt and one was killed.

The government did nothing to prevent this strike-breaking despite Socialist party warnings that the gangsters were arming and preparing to intervene.

The Socialists also vainly protested the use of government vehicles to transport the spabbing Union No. 2 members to the mines. The police arrested the leaders of the striking workers while taking only token action against the leaders of the other union.

The government's Central

... Hate-Cuba Campaign

(Continued from Page 1) States, pro-Cuba demonstration in front of the National Palace in Mexico City. It was the second such demonstration that week. The crowds punctuated the speeches with chants of "Cuba yes, Yankees no."

CHILE — Over 7,000 supporters of the Frente de Accion Popular constituted by the Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties, demonstrated July 18 in support of the Cuban revolution. The principal speaker, Senator Salvador Allende, said: "If imperialism lays hands on Cuba, we shall call on the dockworkers, copper metal workers, iron workers, salt-peter workers, teachers, white-collar workers and all wage earners of the country to defend the Cuban revolution. Cuba is showing the way toward a new future for all of Latin America."

The formation of a brigade of Chilean guerrilla fighters was announced, ready to go "to fight for Cuba and its Revolution whenever Fidel Castro asks for help."

EGYPT — Al Ahram of Cairo, leading organ of the United Arab Republic, warned United States congressmen not to forget the lessons of Suez. "If what these congressmen desire is to expose their country to disaster such as that experienced by their two big allies, Britain and France, then they need only egg on their country to plunge into a repetition of the experiment against Cuba."

GUATEMALA — Many signs

hailing Castro and demanding that the U.S. keep hands off Cuba have been painted on walls in the crowded "La Palmita" slums of the capital city. The signs state in large letters: "Viva Fidel Castro," "Gringos get out of Cuba," and "Cuba will win."

PUERTO RICO — Senorita Nilda Nunez, who had been chosen Queen of the newspaper La Prensa of New York, declined the title and was elected Queen of the 26 of July Movement. Her declination was motivated by "the attacks of the newspaper directed against the Revolutionary Cuban Government" and by criticisms leveled at her for having "visited the Puerto Rican nationalist leader Pedro Albizu Campos in the Presbyterian Hospital where Internal Security agents prevented her from seeing him."

BOLIVIA — The newly elected president of Bolivia told newspapermen at Buenos Aires July 18 that the "Cuban Revolution is the revolution of economic, social and political liberation of a people engaged in struggle."

Welcome, Neighbor

Authorities in York County, Pa., arrested Aurelio Ramos, a Puerto Rican migratory worker, on a morals charge. He was held for seventy-one days without a hearing and then released for lack of evidence.

The American Way of Life

Too Many Restrictions on the Rich

On June 5 President Eisenhower, speaking at the commencement exercises at Notre Dame, decried the lack of "qualified Americans" willing to sacrifice their own personal

financial ambitions to go into government service. He blamed the "conflict of interest restrictions" which make it necessary for wealthy men to dispose of their stocks and bonds in any corporation with which they might do business as government servants, and he deplored the "unendurable financial difficulties."

They do give up a lot, these poor rich men. Take the case of Secretary of Commerce Mueller. When he took office one of the things he had to give up was a very lucrative steel office furniture plant. He "gave" it to his son, Frederick.

Now, among his other tasks, Secretary Mueller is a member of the Foreign Service Buildings Commission. This commission is charged with the responsibility of buying and furnishing government buildings abroad. It is true that the commission has not met for ten years and that its function (but not its authority) was recently transferred to the State Department. But Secretary Mueller is still a member of it.

Last summer the State Department contracted to rent—with an option to buy—a very grand new embassy office building in Caracas, Venezuela. State agreed to pay \$11,000 a month rental for the new building. They had been paying \$3,796 for the old ramshackle quarters they had been occupying.

New Furniture, Too

A new office building means new office furniture. So State bought new furniture — from Frederick Mueller. They bought \$60,000 worth for Caracas and, while they were at it, about \$30,000 for other places.

It is the normal procedure to open competitive bidding for such contracts. But State didn't bother with this formality. They just "checked" a few items on the Mueller price list and found them "cheaper."

There was a complication to

the deal, however — a longshore strike. So the mathematical wizards in State started up their electronic brains and figured thus: The new building would be ready for occupancy by November 1. Nobody knew how long the strike would last. So the thing to do was fly the furniture to Caracas, along with Mr. Mueller (Frederick, that is) to supervise its installation. If they didn't do this, the beautiful new building would stand idle. (It turned out they had to pay rent on the old building anyway because the lease didn't run out until November 30.)

So thirty-five tons of steel furniture, along with Mr. Frederick Mueller, flew to Caracas from Grand Rapids, Mich., via Flying Tiger Airfreight — for \$30,000.

The longshore strike was settled on October 8. The furniture was shipped, via air, on October 15.

The story of the Mueller Furniture deal did not make the newspapers — except for a tiny item in which Secretary Mueller said he "didn't see anything wrong in it."

It did make the Congressional Record for several days in mid-June, however. Senator Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Senator Humphrey (D-Minn.) debated Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) over the "morality" of the case but to date no one has heard any rumors of Secretary of Commerce Mueller resigning. Nor has the White House expressed any "shock."

Could it be that Eisenhower and his advisers are quietly ignoring "conflict of interest restrictions" so more "good" Americans can find their place in government?

—Marvel Scholl

Blood-Soaked Profits

About half of the 87,837 mine deaths from cave-ins in the past fifty years could have been prevented by installing adequate supports, says a Federal Bureau of Mines spokesman.

In Other Lands

Gaitskell Defeated on Clause 4

Socialist Plank Stays in Program

The right wing of the British Labor party suffered its greatest defeat in many years when its national executive voted July 13 against proceeding with any amendment or addition to Clause Four. This is the section in the party constitution committing it to public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The action is a crushing rebuke to Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labor party who headed the forces which, since the last elections, have campaigned to cut the socialist heart from the party program. They proposed to replace Clause Four with another reserving a large place for private enterprise and restricting the scope of nationalized industry.

This compromise motion submitted by the national executive was rightly regarded by the anti-Gaitskell coalition as the entering wedge for abandoning the socialist objectives of the Labor party and maintaining a "mixed economy" dominated by capitalist profiteers.

The effort to remove Clause Four ran up against a stone wall of opposition, not only from the constituency parties, but from the trade unions both in the nationalized and unnationalized industries. Last month at the Scottish conference of the powerful Workers Union, its Secretary Frank Cousins denounced the compromise on Clause Four as "watered down Tory policy."

By mid-June an overwhelming majority of the national unions that registered their opposition to leaving the constitution in its original form. Unions with 2,352,000 votes were for keeping Clause 4 while the Gaitskellites could count on only 1,355,000 union votes for the amendments.

In addition to the TGWU, the defenders of nationalization included such influential bodies as the engineers, the electrical workers, boilermakers, woodworkers, plumbers and public employees. The majority of the miners and railwaymen were

getting ready to line up against Gaitskell on this issue.

Faced with this solid reaffirmation of support for the principle of public ownership and with the prospect of certain defeat at the Trade Union Congress and Labor party conference this fall, Gaitskell and his lieutenants have been forced to back down. This rejection of his anti-socialist course is bound to further undermine his already seriously weakened position as party leader.

The victorious resistance to the right wing assault upon Clause Four in Great Britain stands in sharp contrast with the major trends at work in the Social Democratic parties of Western Europe. Last year the right wing leadership of the Social Democratic party of West Germany was able to erase from its program all references to the class struggle and Marxism as well as any allegiance to nationalization as the economic basis for socialism.

Gaitskell's failure to duplicate this trick indicates that the disposition of forces is quite different in the British Labor party. The salvation of Clause Four is a signal political victory for the union militants and the left wing in the Labor party, notably for the Tribune, Victory for Socialism and the Socialist Labor League. The latter, despite its victimization by the official leadership, carried on the most vigorous and persistent fight to retain Clause Four as the key issue in preserving the socialist character of the Labor party.

Trotskyist Leaders Arrested in Holland

According to a report in the July 1960 La Verite des Travailleurs, two leading European Trotskyists, S. Santen and M. Raptis, have been arrested in Holland allegedly in connection with a matter of assistance to the Algerian revolution.

"The prosecution is taking place under conditions which have not up to the present made it possible to learn what charges have been brought against them," declares a statement by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. "In any case the press reports contain all

sorts of lying and provocative allegations."

The International Secretariat's declaration protests vigorously against the arrests and provocations and calls upon all members and friends of its movement to resist the provocation."

All U-2 Aircraft To Leave Japan

All American U-2 aircraft will be removed from Japan, its Foreign Office announced July 11.

The Japanese Foreign Minister diplomatically said the action was taken by the U.S. on its own initiative. But it was clearly a by-product of the immense pressures exerted upon the government by the mass anti-treaty struggles which blocked Eisenhower's visit to Japan in June.

Men Should Help Wives in Kitchen, Admonishes Pravda

"Children bind a woman to the home and replace all her beloved occupations as well as her free time. She receives all her 'esthetic pleasure' in the kitchen, at the laundry tub, etc. . . . An absolute majority of men consider that to cook dinner, to wash laundry, to bathe children, to iron, to mend, to clean pots is work for women's hands."

This complaint, common to working mothers the world over, is also being raised in the Soviet Union, judging from the above quoted article by Mme. E. Grintskevich, a librarian in the city of Zhitomir, which was recently printed in Pravda.

"If after the workday they [the men] stood at the laundry tub or in the hot kitchen, then . . . their wives would be freed somewhat for hobbies . . . and would become more even tempered, good and compliant."

While Soviet women have achieved a greater range of job opportunities than women in the West, the government under Stalin and Khrushchev has done little to relieve the burden of household drudgery, which falls on women's shoulders.

Worker Likes

Series on Cuba

Editor: I work with many Spanish-speaking people. One of them started receiving the Militant a few weeks ago and came up to tell me how impressed he was by the articles about Cuba. He asked me to secure for him the first part of the series on "The Truth About Cuba" by Joseph Hansen.

He'd missed that one and said the other parts he'd read were excellent. When I mentioned that the series might possibly come out in pamphlet form, he said he'd want a number of copies to pass out.

Paul Williams New York City

Out of a Job

For Ten Months

Editor: The marriage with capitalism and myself is irreconcilably broken. This has been caused by conditions that have opened my eyes until my last heart beat.

I have been out of work for almost ten and a half months. I have been waiting for my grievance with the steel mill to be settled and you can be sure they are not trying to rush to meet my need.

This grievance has only served to strengthen and fortify me and to give me a new insight into how rotten capital-

ism is with all the funkies running it. Your paper is food that gives me courage to understand the future and to try and do something about it.

A Beginner Chicago

Workers' Control Of Industry Should Be Stressed More

Editor: In this year's election campaign closer attention should be paid to the Socialist Workers party's rivalry with the Socialist Labor party for the socialist protest vote, now that the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has bowed out and is openly supporting the Democratic candidate.

In spite of the SLP's rejection of "immediate demands," to any socialist at all familiar with the two socialist groups, the SWP has by far the more revolutionary reputation. The SLP is too anxious to appear respectable and does too much red-baiting.

Nevertheless, to the protest voter choosing between the two parties in a state where both are on the ballot the SLP's Socialist industrial Unionism plan may seem more radical than the SWP's call for a Labor party. Therefore, in order to offset this, the SWP should be more emphatic in its stand for workers' control of industry through workers' councils, through fac-

tory committees elected by the rank and file. This will take away the edge the SLP appears to have with its programs while enabling the SWP to be less dogmatic and formalistic than the SLP is.

G. L. New York

People Unhappy In the World's Richest Nation

Editor: Here in the richest nation in the world the people are not happy. Why? I don't know the answer and I suppose that you do not either, or at least not the full answer.

I live near the city of San Diego, California, where both papers are owned by conservative Republicans and very much slanted toward that line. Although I am a liberal Democrat, I can find no interest in this year's campaign because of the mediocrity of the candidates.

Although I do not agree with everything your paper says, I am quite happy that many of the things we do not get to see in our papers I get to see in yours.

Some attention should be brought to the rotten legal system in California which permits the jailing of a man for ten years for stealing food. That was done here a short time ago.

If you have money, you're on top of the world. If you don't, the world is on top of you.

T. M. D.

...Campaigning

(Continued from Page 1)

by one group and its candidate leaves the delegates no opportunity for a democratic choice and reduces the convention to a mockery."

As former head of the Democratic party, Truman should know all about rigging. However, we note that his urge to speak the truth coincided with the flattening of his man, Symington, by the Kennedy steamroller. We note, too, that Truman isn't running for office.

The New York Times also had its moments of truth during the Los Angeles stage play.

Columnist James Reston included this item among his statements of his "electronic truth-detector, Uniquack": "To begin with, this convention is obviously an opulent bore. It is without dignity; it is vulgar, theatrical, ill-mannered, wasteful, ostentatious; a setting for a prize fight, or a convention of the Elks, but unworthy of a great nation nominating a President."

Columnist Arthur Krock said the Democratic convention "now rather resembles a group of bank directors coldly examining the bank's statement of assets and liabilities."

Reporter Russell Baker wrote that "all the battles were sham and all the hullabaloo synthetic." The demonstrations were "false displays of enthusiasm for the benefit of the television audience."

"In many of the demonstrations," he noted, "the same faces appeared again and again, mechanically contorted in masks of joy first for one contender, then for another."

A Times biographer observed: "The Kennedy wealth was an advantage. He had his own airplane with a crew of three. He could buy air and newspaper time and space, finance research staffs, pay for meeting halls, hire staffs to address invitations by the thousands to his rallies, to push doorbell buttons and ring his telephone bells."

Editorialized the Times: "In the old days these decisions were traditionally made in the smoked-filled room. In this electronic age we tend to think of those stuffy hotel rooms as somewhat demode; but the smoke remains as thick as ever."

FAMOUS LAST HISTORIC — On his way to the Democratic convention to seek the presidential nomination, Johnson was asked whether it was true that Kennedy had cut and dried everything in advance. "There are countries in the world where such pure arrogance is customary in politics," orated Kennedy's opponent. "This is not that kind of country."

... Railroad

(Continued from Page 1)

spurred the carriers and the union bureaucrats into ending some very long drawn out negotiations with a substantial raise.

The high point of the "wildcat" strikes was the "sick" strike of switchmen that tied up the railroads nationally for a week after the agreement was signed. This was in February 1951, in the midst of the Korean War.

But the effects of that militant action have worn off. Resentment against the union leadership takes the form of cynicism now, though it will undoubtedly develop a militant expression in the future. The age level of the men and the fact that so many of the younger men are working a second job contribute to the conservatism of the rail workers.

Present wage scales on the roads are as follows: under the new scale the pay for switchmen (yard brakemen and conductors) will run from around 2.70 to \$3.00 an hour; road brakemen and conductors will get from around \$2.25 to \$2.50; and engineers' scales will fall generally within these limits.

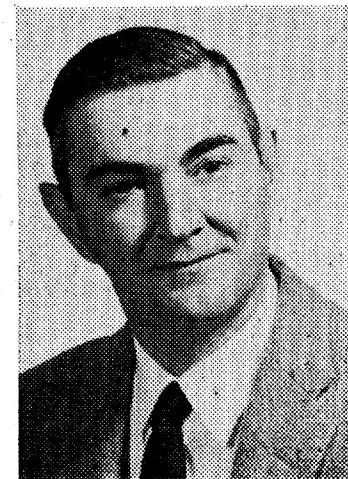
Yard crews are on a five-day work week. Road crews don't have any set work week, and in most cases yard engineers are on a seven-day week. In some places road and engine crews have mileage limitations, in other places they don't. Road crews get paid on the basis of mileage or hours, whichever produces the higher scale.

Wherever engineers and conductors make over 4,000 miles a month (forty days' pay), their checks look pretty good, and the 2 per cent raise doesn't look so outrageous. Basing themselves on the earnings of these workers, the carriers seemed to have pretty convincing arguments to present to the mediators and arbitrators.

But when the same pattern is applied to workers who are on a 40-hour week, it's a different story.

Jailed for Upholding The 5th Amendment

On June 28, Hugo De Gregory was put behind bars for refusing to answer questions in New Hampshire's investigation of alleged "subversives." His imprisonment climaxes six years of persecution by New Hampshire's Attorney General Wyman who holds the position of one-man investigating committee. De Gregory has been sentenced for an indeterminate period of at least one year.



HUGO DE GREGORY

De Gregory, a 46-year-old factory worker, was taken to Boscawen Jail where Dr. Willard Uphaus has been imprisoned since last December for invoking the First Amendment. The Attorney General has already stated that he hopes to start contempt proceedings against them all over again at the end of their terms.

Wyman has relentlessly hounded De Gregory. When the U.S. Supreme Court rulings in the Uphaus and De Gregory cases last year bolstered his inquisition, he crowed that "this decision [refusal of the high court to review De Gregory's case] breaks the back of the Fifth Amendment as far as we are concerned."

In 1959, Wyman railroaded a special immunity law through the legislature especially designed to force De Gregory to bear false witness against others.

In a statement issued just before he went to jail, De Gregory said, "The state has

shown once more that it is stronger than the individual. But it has also demonstrated that it is powerless to compel an individual to commit an indecent act. I still refuse to become an informer for Mr. Wyman — to help him slander people I know to be completely innocent of any wrongdoing. I go to jail with a clear conscience.

The De Gregory Defense Committee has been working to let people know about New Hampshire's contempt for civil liberty that has put these men in jail. It needs funds to appeal the little publicized De Gregory case to the higher courts. Send contributions to: Priscilla Di Giovanni, Treasurer, De Gregory Defense Committee, Box 103, Hanover Station, Boston 13, Mass.

Militant Drive Enrolls 1232 New Subscribers

By Karolyn Kerry Business Manager, The Militant

Since the beginning of our special election subscription drive on April 15 we have added a total of 1232 new subscribers to our list of regular Militant readers. This result marks our campaign as the most successful in recent years. Militant campaigners and supporters are to be congratulated on a job well done.

In addition to new readers, we have received 237 renewals in the three-month period ending July 15. This makes a grand total of 1469 for the campaign period.

Because of the wonderful response to this special acquainted offer of a six-month sub for fifty cents, we have decided to continue the introductory offer to new readers for the period of the election campaign.

The reaction to the candidates selected by the convention of the Democratic party indicates a more receptive audience for the Militant than ever before. Some comments received from Militant readers reinforce our conviction that more and more workers are being disillusioned by the antics of the politicians

in both major parties.

A steel worker subscriber writes: "With the Democrats' decision to run Senator Kennedy for president it doesn't matter who the Republicans run. The American worker has been left out. He will have the choice of two opportunistic advocates of a sick system that can't and won't do anything for him. The Militant is pointing the way and doing a fine job. My copies are being passed on to steel workers who are at a loss to know who to vote for now."

Another worker sends in a year sub with the comment: "I am getting fed up on the lies I see in the capitalist press and want to read something worth while. The capitalist press is only meant to make mental slaves of the working class."

These are a small sample of the views expressed by many of our new readers. Some are so grateful for having been introduced to a paper that expresses their hopes and aspirations that they have become volunteer campaigners in the task of broadening the circulation of the Militant. It is heartening to see many new readers join the ranks of our sub getters.

Standings

At the conclusion of the three month campaign the standing of our five leading groups is as follows: New York turned in 265 new subscriptions and 31 renewals; Los Angeles, 111 new and 34 renewals; Detroit, 116 new and 15 renewals; Chicago, 93 new and 18 renewals; Philadelphia, 83 new and 11 renewals.

Although the formal campaign period is concluded, a number of SWP branches have advised us that they intend to continue intensive sub work as a means of getting the paper into the hands of the largest number of readers possible.

There is no better way of transmitting the views of genuine socialism to people seeking answers to the problems of the day.

Notice to Our Readers

In line with the growing summer custom of radical and liberal weeklies in this country, the Militant is being published in double-dated issues every other week from July 11 to Sept. 5.

Our next issue will be dated Aug. 8 and Aug. 15. 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.

Local Directory

- BOSTON: Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
NEWARK: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.
CHICAGO: Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.
CLEVELAND: Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203.
DETROIT: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TE 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. FE 2-7781.
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 3-3820.
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.

Two Aircraft Unions Fight off Strikebreaking

NEW HAVEN, July 17 — Some fifteen thousand aircraft workers belonging to the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists are fighting

off new strikebreaking moves by United Aircraft Corporation at six of seven plants in Connecticut in the seventh week of their strike. The dispute at the company's North Haven plant of the Pratt-Whitney Division was settled last week, and members of UAW Local 1234 have returned to work.

Negotiations at two Sikorsky plants have been broken off by the company, pending a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board on a petition to decertify the UAW as bargaining agent. This is the latest company trick to hamstring the unions. In a mass meeting today, the strikers showed their confidence in the union by voting to demand that the NLRB call an immediate election.

United Aircraft has also begun hiring scabs and has announced that as new hire-ins fill vacancies, strikers will be laid off.

When laid off, a striker becomes eligible for unemployment compensation, but no striker can find out if he has been laid off without crossing the picket lines to inquire of company representatives in the plants. None of the strikers has been willing to do this.

In the first five days of the strike, which started June 7, mass picket lines were 100 per cent effective in keeping the plants shut down. Then an injunction in the North Haven plant set the pattern for agreements by union officials at all the other plants to drastically limit the number of pickets. Not only did scabs gain free access thereby, but the cops were encouraged to arrest pickets for shouting at persons entering the gates.

This set the stage for the company first to organize a "back-to-work" movement among non-union employees, then to import scabs into the shops. In spite of this the strike has remained effective. Morale of the strikers is high and hundreds of formerly non-union employees have gone to the union halls voluntarily to join the union.

Wages were never a major issue in the strike. The workers demanded a union shop, improved grievance and arbitration procedure, automatic rather than "merit" pay increases, and a full seniority clause. Under the old contract, the company

A Correction

In the obituary of Dr. Rita Newton White which appeared in our July 4 issue, the Militant stated that Dr. White was a member of the Socialist Workers party.

Our San Francisco friends have written us that the editor was mistaken in this impression. Although Dr. White subscribed to the Trotskyist ideas and program of the SWP, and helped the party in every way she could, she did not hold membership.

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

I Never Had It So Good

By Joyce Cowley

Almost every day I read an advertisement, a magazine article or a newspaper that tells me how well I am doing and what a remarkable standard of living I enjoy. Some writers even feel that I am so surfeited with material goods that I have grown soft. Does it really make us happy, they ask, to own all these homes, cars, TV sets, automatic washer-dryers, floor polishers and dishwashing machines? For me, as for many of us, this is a theoretical question.

But generally the approach is optimistic. The current issue of Goodall News starts off with a typical article, "Longing For the Good Old Days?" Goodall is a manufacturer of natural and synthetic rubber products. ("If It's Goodall, It's Got To Be Good.")

At the start, the article asks if I get upset about Russia, atomic bombs, missiles, etc., and proceeds to reassure me that we have a "GOOD THING GOING IN the Dynamic Sixties." Then I learn about an "average" worker who makes \$100 a week. Nothing is said as to how they got their average nor is there any mention of ugly realities like deductions. This lucky worker, I am told, makes all his money in only 40 hours, while the work week in 1900 was 60 hours.

"The average man had to work 42 hours to earn enough to buy a suit of clothes which he now labors 27 hours to acquire. To purchase 2 lbs. of pork chops a wage earner literally sweated one full hour, while today... he only has to work 40 minutes to pay the butcher."

From this, by some mathematical computation that I can't follow, they conclude:

"The cold fact is that by doing 1/3 as much work the average American enjoys a standard of living more than twice as high as his grandpappy."

Not only does the worker himself have more leisure, so does his wife, as she has evidently purchased all the labor saving devices I listed above, on \$100 a week gross pay. They can put this leisure to good use, too, as science has made a whole new world of entertainment available — radio, movies, TV — and in their "moderately priced car" they can take long trips over the weekend "with little fatigue." (!)

But that's not all. They are healthier, too, because "from the spiritual and psychological side, our lives are better balanced." This is a happy picture which I am sure would be as much of a surprise to traffic engineers and psychiatrists as to the "average" worker. I remember a full-page ad which an insurance company ran in the recent issue of a popular magazine. "I never had it so good," the ad begins. "WHY AM I SO BROKE?"

If a worker makes \$100 — or about \$80 take-home — and he is supporting a family on that amount, can he buy a home, car, TV set, dishwashing machine and similar gadgets? He may have these things (although the chances are that the real title is in the hands of a bank), but if he does, he is not paying for them on \$80 take-home, nor is he working 40 hours a week. A second job may stretch the work week to 70 hours, more than grandfather put in. His wife's salary goes in the kitty, too, and his teenage children probably have summer jobs.

What really puzzles me is the connection between his wages, the number of hours he works, the number of pork chops he can buy, and the questions raised at the beginning of the article — are you upset about Russia, atomic bombs, missiles? True, it's better to be comfortable while you worry, but even those who most fervently admire the American standard of living have never claimed that it would protect us from missiles and bombs. Apparently there is no answer. All we can do is count our blessings, our dishwashing machines and our TV sets, as we wait for annihilation.

But there are millions of voices giving us an answer. Instead of just waiting and mumbling pep talks, we can join the people who are changing our world and making a real peace possible. Negro youth who sit in at lunch-counters in the South, the students in San Francisco who linked arms as the police hosed them down the steps of City Hall, the Koreans who overthrew Syngman Rhee, the Japanese workers and students who victoriously demonstrated against a policy of war — they certainly have got a good thing going in 1960!

Notes in the News

BESIDES, THE MEAT DIDN'T JUMP — A Pennsylvania meat distributor has taken court action to win reversal of a recent state order barring him from distributing "beef" products made from imported kangaroo meat. The state insisted the meat had a high bacteria count. The distributor replied that this was not his responsibility since the meat was two years old and in the hands of dealers for several months at the time of inspection.

CONSISTENT — New Hampshire Attorney General Louis Wyman, the man who jailed Dr. Willard Uphaus for refusing to be a stool pigeon, declared July 6 that economic warfare against Cuba is not enough. He said he assumed "that force would be involved" if "lives and property" are to be "protected" there.

COEXISTENCE, U.S. STYLE — "RAND," the Air Force's "think factory" has submitted a report to Congress suggesting that armaments spending be stepped up as a means of preventing the USSR from developing its production of consumer goods. If the U.S. increased its arms budget by about \$10 billion a year, a RAND specialist said, "it would be difficult for the Soviet Union to match, and the upward pressure on the Soviet defense budget would disrupt its rapid growth." This might throw the present Soviet seven-year plan out of kilter, he added, and perhaps cause social unrest and disorder.

DOG'S LIFE — A San Jose, Calif., rancher allocated \$110,000 in his will for the care of his two pet dogs.

SIGNAL FROM THE GRAVE — One hundred population centers across the country are being wired for an Automatic Bomb Alarm System. The system is being installed for the Air Force by Western Electric. It will give instantaneous notification of the nuclear bombing of any city so that a retaliatory attack can be launched immediately. When a bomb explodes,

signals will flash simultaneously at the Strategic Air Command Headquarters near Omaha, and the North American Air Defense Command at Colorado Springs. Western Electric experts say they have licked the problem of the system sending out a false alarm.

EDUCATION IN PITTSBURGH — The Pittsburgh Board of Education plans to eliminate a number of text books from the public schools for being too "liberal." One book was singled out for attack because it contains photographs of U.S. slums. Said one board member: "I can just imagine a guy like Khrushchev showing this thing to Russian students and telling them: 'This is what it's like in America.'"

"ERROR" — A nineteen-year-old Negro youth with a severe skull fracture was examined in an all-white hospital at Charlotte, N.C., then ordered removed without treatment to an all-Negro hospital where he died shortly afterward. Officials of the white hospital said later that the "employee" who ordered the youth's removal was "in error."

JUST LIKE INDUSTRY — The Army should now be more fussy about the quality of its recruits, says Lt.-Colonel George Hutchinson, retired recruiting officer. In the good old days a recruit got \$21 a month. Now it's \$75. "That's a lot of money — and not bad for a kid just out of high school," the colonel points out. For this kind of pay, he adds, a recruit should not only be big and healthy, but should also "have it upstairs." The Army's requirements, the colonel said, "are like industry's in that regard."

HOLLOW HAPPINESS? — "Happy Hollow Homes," a housing development in Grand Prairie, Texas, offers split level homes and fallout shelters. The builder says: "The fallout shelters offer Happy Hollow families protection from harsh weather and radiation fallout, in the event of nuclear war."