

THE MILITANT

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Mass Action Brings Victory Over 2 Jim-Crow Holdouts

By Alex Harte

The antisegregation movement has scored notable victories in Atlanta, Ga., and Oklahoma City, Okla.

The national office of the NAACP announced July 21 that the Negro community of 60,000 in Atlanta has resumed shopping in the downtown stores of that city after a 15-month boycott in protest against segregation. The "no-buying" drive was launched after several Negro students were arrested for staging sit-ins at Jim-Crow lunch counters. These count-

ers have now been integrated.

The NAACP reported that the antisegregation campaign had important by-products including an increase in Negro voter registration, the hiring for the first time of two Negro bus drivers, removal of Jim Crow signs from buses, and NAACP members seating themselves in the front of buses without incident.

The victory in Oklahoma City is particularly gratifying since it was the scene of the nation's first lunch-counter sit-ins and did much to help spark the south-wide drive that followed.

Began With 14

Organized by the NAACP Youth Council, the first sit-ins were held there in August 1958. The youth council, which had but 14 members at the time, now has a reported 3,000. As many as 1,500 — ranging in age from six to 17 — were involved at the peak of the lunch-counter actions and picket lines.

During the three-year drive by the NAACP youth, 117 stores were integrated throughout the city.

The major holdout was John A. Brown's, a huge department store which covers a block and a half.

Last September the Youth Council organized a boycott campaign against the store. While it was slow in getting off the ground, it grew steadily until an estimated 78 per cent of the city's Negro community was participating.

Capitulated

Feeling the pressure where it really hurts, the store's owner, Frank Wade capitulated last month. As a result Jim Crow has been eliminated in the lunch room, soda fountains and rest rooms of the store.

When this ground-breaking mass action was launched, a front-page editorial in *The Militant*, Sept. 1, 1958, declared: "We hail these Oklahoma youth and the NAACP Youth Council which has organized them. What an inspiration they are to us . . . What a portent their daring and determination is of the victories that lie ahead." The present victory in Oklahoma City shows that optimism was not unfounded.

Revealed by Deutscher

The existence of the letter was revealed by Isaac Deutscher, the well-known specialist in Soviet affairs, in an article in the July 2 London *Times*. This was reprinted in the July 5 *Washington Post*.

Deutscher's revelations created an international sensation. A number of columnists have speculated on the meaning of the document, including Joseph Barry, Paris correspondent of the *New York Post*, C. L. Sulzberger, European correspondent of the *New York Times*, and the well-known liberal journalist I. F. Stone.

Some of the commentators have expressed doubt about the authenticity of the letter, others are convinced that it is genuine. However, the *International Socialist Review* is the first English-language publication to make the complete text available to its readers. As the basis for its translation the *ISR* utilized the text published by *La Verité des Travailleurs*, a Paris Trotskyist newspaper.

"Since all the chancelleries of the world, and all the editorial writers of the big dailies have the text of the highly controversial document on their desks," declares the *ISR*, "we see no reason why socialists and all those interested in programmatic issues should not be able to read it too."

A copy of the issue containing the letter can be obtained by sending fifty cents to the *International Socialist Review*, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

Kennedy Uses Berlin Crisis To Step Up H-Bomb Race

By Paul Abbott

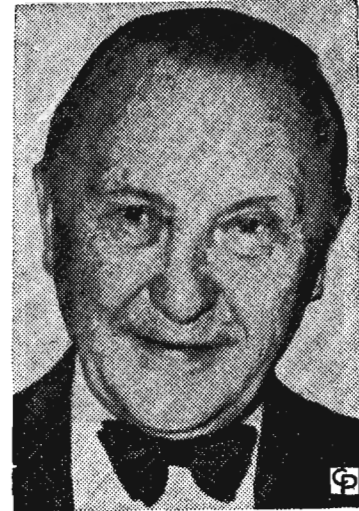
Kennedy's threat to plunge the United States into a nuclear war if the Pentagon's military occupation "rights" in the western sector of Berlin should be undermined by a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and East Germany is being hailed by the capitalist press as great statesmanship.

But the gist of Kennedy's July 25 reply to Khrushchev's peace-treaty moves was: "We will bury ourselves!"

The burial is to take place in fall-out shelters. "In the event of an attack, the lives of those families which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire can still be saved," said Kennedy; "— if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available."

"Tomorrow," the President said reassuringly, "I am requesting of the Congress new funds" to be used "to identify and mark space in existing structures — public and private — that could be used for fall-out shelters . . ."

These "shelters" will not be newly dug caverns where a small percentage of the population might



ADENAUER: Approves Kennedy's "clear stand."

survive for a year or so before sending out suicide squads to test the radioactive level of the landscape, but simply basements in existing buildings equipped to serve as atomic barbecue pits.

As further preparation for doomsday, the "peace-loving"

FBI Cooks Up Hijack 'Plot' To Witch-Hunt U.S. Cubans

The Kennedy administration has seized a new pretext to whip up anti-Cuban hysteria and to intensify its persecution of pro-Castro Cubans in this country. Immediately after an Eastern Air Lines passenger diverted a Florida plane to Havana, the FBI "leaked" information to the press via the New York police department that members of the 26th of July Movement in this country were planning to grab U.S. planes and fly them to Havana. *Castro Hijack Plot Bared*, bellowed a *New York World Telegram* headline. Other papers followed suit.

According to the FBI's "inside dope" the hijack plot was mapped at a meeting of Cubans July 23 at *Casa Cuba*, a social club here.

The charge was denied categorically by José Sanchez, coordinator of the 26th of July Movement in the New York area.

Sanchez pointed out that while the supposed meeting was allegedly being held at *Casa Cuba* the hall was actually closed. His organization happened to be holding a large public meeting at another hall to celebrate July 26. Sanchez declared the charge was "ridiculous — the FBI's informants seem to be as inaccurate as the CIA's."

He added that the interests of improved U.S.-Cuban relations would be better served if "the

CIA and FBI, which have been organizing the systematic hijacking of Cuban government planes and the attachment of Cuban government property in the United State [would] cease their dangerous policy."

He pointed out that more than half a million dollars worth of Cuban property, not including planes, has been seized and sold at auction in the United States. An example of this was the attachment and sale at auction for \$121,000 of the *S.S. Mar Caribe*, seized last January when it put in at a Texas port for repairs.

In addition, the U.S. has refused to return to Cuba seven of its planes that were grabbed when passengers forced pilots to land here.

According to Sanchez, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of Cuban exports and imports have been attached in the United States, despite Washington's stated policy that foods and medicines are not included in its embargo list.

"The latest evidence of this deliberately provocative policy," Sanchez declared, "was the seizure last month in Florida of one consignment of an 18-month supply of lard bought by the Cuban government and already paid for in American dollars, which occasioned a loss to the Cuban people (Continued on Page 3)

'Tell Them About a Cuban Who Went Back'

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Gabriela Huesca has returned to Cuba. She wants to defend and help develop the Cuban revolution that overthrew the hated Batista tyranny. She became an exile from that tyranny shortly after the birth of her daughter, who is now eight.

Just before Gabriela left for Cuba, I interviewed her for *The Militant*. Gabriela, whose vibrant smile and personality make her warmly attractive, said: "The commercial papers here are full of lies and misleading stories about Cuba. They are full of stories about Cubans who are leaving Cuba because of the revolution. Please tell them about me. Tell them I am a Cuban who is going back to defend and build the revolution.

"And I am not the only one,"

she emphasized. "From Los Angeles alone in the past months, particularly since the invasion, there have been hundreds of Cubans who have returned to Cuba with their families. We know we will be happy there now."

What will she do when she gets back to Cuba? "First I'll join the militia," she said. Beyond that she isn't sure. But she will not be a dancer, which once was her career. Nor will she take a comfortable office job, as she had here.

"I want to make up for what I didn't do before," she explained. I asked if she didn't feel she could be of greater help right here, telling the American people the truth about Cuba.

"Perhaps," she replied. "But since the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is doing such a good job, I feel they are doing what I could

do." (Gabriela was secretary and a founding leader of the Los Angeles Fair Play chapter.)

What does she see as the greatest danger to the Cuban Revolution? The policies of the U.S. State Department, came the reply. And whom does she consider the strongest supporters of the revolution? The Soviet Union and conscious elements everywhere — in Mexico, Brazil, all over the world. "I hope we can win support from the American union movement," she said. "This is very important to us."

Gabriela remembers vividly the corruption, the killings, the gambling and the prostitution under Batista. "Women were given no respect and had no security. Narcotics were sold over the bar like (Continued on Page 2)

head of the Democratic party called for an immediate increase in the Marine Corps, souped-up reserves and more bombers. "We must have sea and airlift capable of moving our forces quickly and in large numbers to any part of the world." That's what the man said, "any part of the world."

In addition he "requested" that the standing professional army be increased from 875,000 troops to 1,000,000. To supply the needed conscripts, "I am ordering that our draft calls be doubled and tripled."

As for funds, Kennedy upped the military spending budget by \$3,454,000,000, bringing the total for the year to \$47,500,000,000, an increase of \$6,000,000,000 since last January.

Kennedy said he was not calling for an immediate boost in taxes to pay for this increase in what might well turn out to be America's funeral expenses, "But I am certain that every American wants to pay his fair share, and not leave the burden of defending freedom entirely on those who bear arms." No specifications were made as to what constitutes a "fair share" for workers and for millionaires like Kennedy.

Naturally the President blamed Khrushchev for this new spurt in the nuclear arms race. The truth is something else again.

Two days before Kennedy's ominous speech, James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote:

"Long before Khrushchev began tossing out his thunderbolt the majority of President Kennedy's advisers estimated that the ground forces of the United States should be increased to around 1,000,000 men and reorganized and equipped to deal quickly with everything from guerrilla to nuclear wars.

"They wanted a minimum of thirty divisions facing the Russians on the German front instead of the eighteen they have there now. They wanted more missiles, larger atomic weapons in Europe, more strategic Air Force bombers in the air twenty-four hours a day, faster development of the West German Army, more French divisions transferred from Algeria to Europe, more financial aid from Germany to bring other British divisions into Europe.

"Khrushchev's belligerent moves toward Berlin have now made all these things politically possible."

In other words, the efforts of the Soviet government to take the smoldering fuse out of the German powder keg were deliberately converted by the White House into an excuse for putting over a long-contemplated build up in war preparations.

Group in St. Louis Fights for Needy

ST. LOUIS — A group of workers and housewives here have built a fighting organization to press for jobs and general assistance for the unemployed and the needy.

Known as the Committee of the People of St. Louis of the Hills Chapel Church, the group won its first big victory last winter when it forced the city administration to speed distribution of federal surplus foods. This was won after the committee maintained a picket line in front of City Hall throughout the worst winter weather and succeeded in getting wide publicity in the daily press and in the Negro papers.

After the publicity around this successful fight, many people began coming to Mrs. Delores Richardson, leader of the committee, for help in fighting their particular battles. For instance, the committee become active in help- (Continued on Page 2)

New Challenge Faces NAACP Leadership

By Frances James

In a recent article in *Commentary* magazine, Julian Mayfield writes: "For some time now it has been apparent that the traditional leadership of the American Negro community . . . is in danger of losing its claim to speak for the masses of Negroes." In his opinion, the challenge to present middle-class Negro leaders "is inherent in the rapid growth of the militant white-hating Muslim movement and can be heard in the conversations of black intellectuals and students from the South who regard the efforts of the NAACP, the Urban League, etc., with either disdain or despair, in the belief that they are doing too little, too timidly and too late."

Mr. Mayfield poses the possibility that the increasingly dynamic civil-rights struggle will necessitate replacement of present leaders by other young men and women, like Robert Williams of Monroe, N.C., "who have concluded that the only way to win a revolution is to be a revolutionary."

Events during the recently concluded NAACP national convention in Philadelphia confirm Mr. Mayfield's point of view. Rank-and-file delegates at the convention demonstrated that there exists within the organization itself strong support for a program of action far more militant than the legalistic, passive proposals pushed through the convention by the officials. In the course of a lengthy and heated floor debate on support to the Freedom Riders campaign to end racial segregation in public transportation facilities, delegates expressed disagreement with the official resolution saying that it was "too wishy-washy" and equivocal in its support "in principle" of the Freedom Riders. By the end of the convention Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, found it necessary, under pressure from the delegates, to give sup-



Roy Wilkins

port to methods of direct action. In his closing speech he stated the NAACP will "use all types of weapons" in the civil-rights struggle.

Lengthy floor debate also occurred around a motion to amend

the proposed resolution attacking the Muslims and other separatist groups. A rejected amendment would have eliminated specific condemnation of the Muslims. Feelings of the delegates on this question most likely flow from the fact that the Muslims are at present outspokenly opposed to the timid policies of the middle-class Negro leadership.

The convention registered the desire of the NAACP leadership to whitewash the Democratic administration. More than a thousand delegates participated in the "Freedom Train" lobbying trek to visit government officials in Washington, D.C. The New York State Conference delegates proposed to picket the White House while in Washington, demanding civil-rights legislation. Wilkins threatened expulsion from the NAACP of anyone participating in such a picket line. No picketing occurred.

In the civil-rights struggle in general it is the youth who are the most dynamic force challenging the present leaders. Likewise, it is the NAACP youth who are demanding a change in policy of the organization. A July 22 New York *Amsterdam News* editorial on the convention states: "... some of the people who have been opposing the advances of young people in the NAACP narrowly averted getting run over by them at the

convention. We would simply warn them that if they do not get up and get moving or get out of the way of these young folks they may not be so lucky next time . . ."

The question of self-defense against racist violence was not openly raised at this convention as it was in 1959 by Robert Williams and his supporters. But that does not end the challenge to Negro leadership on this question.

At the time of the NAACP convention, Williams and his support-

ers, including Mayfield and civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, were launching a drive in Harlem for aid to the Monroe, N.C. Negro community which has been the target of racist violence. The July 22 *Afro-American* reported: "Cash contributions and pledges totalling \$260 were raised here Monday at an unprecedented public meeting in Harlem called to buy rifles for Robert F. Williams, the embattled freedom fighter of Union County, N.C."

Sherry Mangan

By George Lavan

News has come from Italy of the death of Sherry Mangan at the age of 57. He suffered a heart attack in Rome on June 24.

Since most of Sherry's life from the late 1930's on was spent abroad he was not generally known to newer members of the Socialist Workers Party. But those seamen and GI's who met him in England or France during World War II, and those who were fortunate enough to meet him on his few trips back to the states, will be saddened along with the old-timers at the news of his death.

Sherry was one of a group of Harvard intellectuals and poets who came into the revolutionary socialist movement in the depression days of the 1930's. Their literary and social consciences had led them to a basic examination of the causes of the misery and ugliness of capitalist society. The cause of the disease of modern society having been determined by them, they then embraced the curative social movement embodied in the SWP. Never in the remainder of his life did Sherry waver in his conviction of the correctness of that decision or in the devotion of his considerable talents to the world movement for socialism.

Poets in America do not earn their living by writing poetry. Sherry was a highly skilled book designer for a large publishing company in Norwood, Mass. As an authority on typography he gave lectures on that subject to professional bodies and technical institutes.

But above these specialties he was a person of true erudition, imagination and wit. As a companion he was unequalled—a master of story-telling and argument on the one hand, an interested listener and penetrating questioner on the other. His natural high spirits and love of good food and drink made good fellowship almost synonymous with his presence.

It was, I believe, in late 1937 or early 1938 that Sherry left the Boston branch of the SWP to go to France. He earned his living there working as Paris correspondent for the Luce publications (*Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*). Events soon made him a war correspondent. He reported the Nazi occupation of Paris, and, since the U.S. was still neutral, remained as the Luce correspondent there.

Not only his dispatches, but his known sympathies and connections with the persecuted anti-Nazi and socialist movements, made him persona non grata to the Nazis and Vichy and—since this was the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact—to the French Communist Party and the GPU. Nonetheless Sherry was the last American reporter to leave Paris, finally getting out by way of Spain.

But Sherry's finest reports and analyses of war-torn and betrayed France were not for *Life* or *Time*. They appeared in the magazine *Fourth International* (now *International Socialist Review*) under his pen name, Terence Phelan.

Sherry's job as correspondent then took him to Latin America where he became thoroughly familiar with the problems of these countries and with their socialist

movements. Subsequently he went to London during the Blitz and then, upon the Allied take-over of Paris, returned again to that city as head of the *Time-Life-Fortune* bureau.

In the postwar period he parted ways with the Luce publications. The growing atmosphere of reaction in the U.S. made his reporting even more annoying than usual to his employers. Moreover, he found himself devoting more and more time to what he considered the really important work of his life—the work of the international socialist movement.

After another tour of Latin America, he went to Bolivia for a year to write a novel about the tin miners. It was there that one of the great tragedies of Sherry's life occurred—the death of his wife Margaret, a remarkable woman who had shared his life and devotion to socialist ideals ever since they had entered the movement together in Boston.

Plagued with ill health, Sherry nonetheless continued his socialist activity, principally in Europe, until his death.

In the course of the past decade Sherry and the SWP found themselves in disagreement on questions of perspective and program for the revolutionary socialist movement. Such disagreements, however, never altered the respect or affection in which his American comrades held him.

St. Louis

(Continued from Page 1)

ing people get necessary medical care at city hospitals.

Right now the committee is putting up a fight against plans to shut down Homer G. Phillips Hospital, a city hospital located in the Negro community and staffed largely by colored personnel.

The committee has thrown another picket line around City Hall to publicize its fight and has already gathered more than 9,000 signatures on a petition demanding the hospital be kept open.

Mrs. Richardson has been asked to help organize maids in private homes into a union. When asked how it's possible to fight on so many fronts at one time she replied: "When people want something done we try to get them to act for themselves. Two women are now working actively to help organize the maids."

Asked if the maids didn't face the risk of losing their jobs when their employers learn about the organizing drive, she said: "They can do what I did when I had trouble with my boss when I was a maid. I told her that if she didn't treat me right I would pass the word around and none of the maids would work for her."

The committee is becoming the center for action in defense of their rights by some of the most poorly paid and exploited people of St. Louis. Many of them have recently left the Deep South in search of better conditions.

The committee has made continuing efforts, without too much success so far, to get the unions to lead, or at least help, in these fights which affect the welfare of all the working people in the city.

... 'A Cuban Who Went Back'

(Continued from Page 1)

a cocktail. Gambling was everywhere.

"My father was the Chief Engineer and Architect of Havana. When he died my mother had to go to work and got a job as a secretary. Then after Batista took power she got fired as a result of the political corruption.

"So we went to Mexico to settle there. I intended never to go back to Cuba. Never! But that was the wrong thing. I should have stayed and opposed Batista. But there was no sign of opposition to him that I could see.

"Then in Mexico I met some Cubans who had been with Fidel in the little ship, *Granma*, and I heard Fidel speak from the Sierra Maestra over short wave.

"But then my husband, who was a musician, died here in Los Angeles after a lung operation. I stayed here because I could support my child better here than in Mexico.

"I felt dead for about a year and a half. Then the revolution won and I began reading *Bohemia*, from Cuba. I read the newspapers here, with the filthy lies, and I knew they were lies because I read the Cuban press and had letters from home."

Gabriela plunged into the work of building the Fair Play Committee.

"I like the way the committee works," she said. "We want to bring the truth to the American people, and we don't care what political opinions the members have as long as they want to fight for a policy of friendship with Cuba and are at least objective about what is going on in Cuba."

Then came the April invasion. "I felt that as a Cuban I had to

be there," Gabriela said. "My place is there, with my people. And I feel confident the Fair Play can do good work here."

I asked how she felt about Castro's May Declaration that the Cuban revolution was "democratic and socialist." "I loved it," was her immediate response.

"I have a middle-class background," she commented, "but I recognize the needs of the people as a whole and I think Cuba will be a stronger nation under a socialist government based on the workers and *campesinos*."

"I feel like so many Cubans," she added. "I have a guilt about not having done anything about Cuba as it used to be. There was a 'barrio de las yeguas'—a neighborhood of dirt-floor, palm-thatched shacks—right in Havana, but we never went there, we ignored it.

"Fidel has not only changed the system, he has changed the people. The Cuban revolution has made us into a different people. Now we are concerned about each other.

"Cuba is my country," she continued, "and it's in danger but I've come to understand I can't really do something about making Cuba really safe unless I do something about the whole world. That's why I'm going to study Marxism and socialism when I get back to Cuba."

Gabriela bitterly criticized the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba. "It shows what a lack of real freedom we have here," she said. "We should be permitted to go anywhere on our own responsibility. I feel like I'm in prison here."

Gabriela is out of prison now. She's in Havana, helping to build the "democratic and socialist revolution."

The New Left and the Views of C. Wright Mills

In an article entitled, *Who Will Change the World?*, William F. Warde discusses from a Marxist viewpoint the thesis of C. Wright Mills and the New Left that it is the young intellectuals and not the working class who will bring about revolutionary social transformations in the world. Featured in the summer issue of *International Socialist Review* which is just off the press. Send 50 cents for a copy to:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Black Nationalism — What It Offers. A symposium with Dawud Ahmad and George Breitman. Fri., Aug. 4, 8 p.m. Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward. (Forum every Friday night at 8 p.m. throughout August.)

LOS ANGELES

Earl Browder, former Communist Party general secretary, debates Theodore Edwards, Southern Calif. chairman, Socialist Workers Party, on *America's Road to Socialism — Reform or Revolution*. Sat., Aug. 19, 8 p.m. at Park Manor Auditorium, 607 South Western. Contrib. \$1.25. Students and unemployed, 50 cents. Tickets available at Los Angeles School of Social Science, 1702 West Fourth St. AN 94953 or WE 5-9236.

MINNEAPOLIS

The Cuban Revolution in Its World Setting. Four Friday evening sessions at 8 p.m. beginning Aug. 4 Twin Cities Labor School, 704 Hennepin, Hall 240.

NEW YORK

Cuba Si Lakeside Picnic. Sat., Aug. 5, near Peekskill, N.Y. Swimming, boating, entertainment. Contrib. \$1. (children under 10, 25 cents.) Round-trip transportation \$1.50 (children, 75 cents.) Make your reservations with Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3. Phone OR 4-8295.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary, Theodore Edwards, Chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., Aug. 11, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.

WEST COAST

Socialist Educational Encampment at Big Bear Lake, Calif. Aug. 25 to Sept. 4. Educational theme: Cuba and Latin America. Lectures and seminars on Marxism. Swimming, recreation and good food at low rates with special discounts for students. For reservations or brochure address West Coast Vacation School, 1702 East 4th St., Los Angeles 33. Phone AN 94953 or WE 5-9236.

Why I'm Running for Mayor of New York

By Richard Garza
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Mayor

There will be no lack of candidates running for office this year in the New York mayoralty election. On the contrary, if for no other reason, the campaign will be distinguished by a multiplicity of candidates and parties such as New York has seldom seen.

Does this mean that, at long last, the people of New York will be given a genuine choice between the major contenders for public office? **IT DOES NOT!**

People ask: Why, in view of the number of major candidates in

the race, are you running as candidate for mayor on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party? To which I can honestly reply:

None of the major candidates—I repeat, not a single one—can truthfully lay claim to the right to represent the working people of this city. And the workers are in the majority.

Is there really a choice, aside from political labels, between a Wagner, a Levitt, or a Lefkowitz? All are backed by big money and big machines. All are beholden to their backers.

Siren Song

As the proverb puts it: "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing." And

the siren song of the machine politician is intended to beguile the people into accepting the sham battle of capitalist party politics as a genuine conflict over issues vital to the welfare of working people.

All are creatures of the propertied interests who dominate and control the major capitalist political parties. Yet all profess to be "impartial" in their devotion to the interests of the rich and poor alike. How could it be otherwise? If they told the truth they could never be elected!

As candidate of the Socialist Workers Party I do not and will not resort to the hypocritical pretense of claiming to represent the interests of ALL the people. The cloak of impartiality is a disguise to mask the inequality and injustice that is a hallmark of the social system under which we live. **I AM NOT IMPARTIAL!**

I am partial to the fight of the workers for job security and a decent standard of living. To the eternal shame of our community is the fact that New York City is one of the lowest wage-scale areas among the cities of this country.

As candidate of the Socialist Workers Party I support the demand of union members for a shorter work week at no reduction in take-home pay—advanced under the slogan of 30 for 40. Thirty hours work at forty hours pay.

Jobless Compensation

I am partial to the demand of the unemployed for full and adequate compensation for the entire duration of their unemployment and the removal of all punitive restrictions on unemployment compensation claims.

I am partial to the demand that severe criminal penalties be imposed on any and all, no matter how highly placed, who practice discrimination against their fellow men because of race, color or national origin. Jim Crow must go—in all its forms, guises and disguises, in New York as well as Jackson, Mississippi.

As against the gouging slumlords and real estate sharks, I am partial to the middle and low-income tenants, fleeced under a rent control law full of built-in loopholes, evicted by money-grabbing speculators to make room for high-priced, exclusive, luxury apartments.

Title 1 Fraud

The sum and substance of the Title 1 public housing code is to line the landlords pockets and to create slums faster than they can be demolished. I am decidedly partial to the demand for unsegregated public housing for low-income families based upon the need of the people and not on the interests of the real estate lobby.



Richard Garza

I think I have made my point although I have far from exhausted the list of those things and people to which I am frankly and openly partial. There can be no such thing as impartiality in anything that concerns the welfare of the working people.

You cannot have it both ways. Either the interests and welfare of the people takes precedence over that of private property—that is, of the bankers, industrial tycoons, stockjobbers, utility monopolies, real estate speculators—or the other way around.

The question is posed in all areas of social life. In the matter of housing, transportation, schools, health and welfare, police brutality against minorities, racial discrimination, graft and corruption. Whose interests are being served?

So long as the major capitalist parties and candidates retain their monopoly in the political domain the answer will always be the same. The rich get richer and the working people get it in the neck!

In the past several years of the Wagner administration the stench of corruption has pervaded the body politic. There is scarcely a department of the city administration that has not been rocked by a major scandal. Tammany Hall, that stinking cesspool of graft and corruption, has polluted the wellsprings of public life, thanks to the intimate collaboration of the Wagner regime.

Wagner is a product of Tammany Hall. He was elected in both of his terms by the De Sapio machine. For the greater part of his tenure in office, he proved a faithful retainer and obliging benefactor to the machine, whose greedy henchmen fed with insatiable appetite at the public trough.

When scandal after scandal exploded with the force of an atomic chain reaction, Wagner was blasted into making a few timid and half-hearted gestures toward curbing the Tammany Tiger. He was running out of scapegoats. Each succeeding wave of scandal lapped at his own coat tails. In a last ditch effort to save his political hide, Wagner now comes forward as a political reformer—no joking!

Tammany Puppet

What are his credentials? It seems that more than seven years service as puppet for the Tammany political bosses qualifies him as champion of the Democratic party "reform" group in the fight against "political bossism."

One would have to be a political moron to fall for this shell game. Yet, there are those who know better, who have volunteered their services in creating the new Wagner image.

Some of our more cynical political promoters see in the "split"

between Wagner and Tammany Hall, an opportunity of feathering their own nests by weaning "His Honor" away from De Sapio and Company. They hope thereby to supplant the discredited Tammany bosses with their own set.

This tricky business goes by the name of "power politics." The leaders of the Liberal party have become adept at this game. They view their role as that of "balance of power" in the struggle between the major party political machines. The deals they make have no relation to the interests of the working people whom they profess to serve.

Every really important problem confronting the American working class today is in its very essence a political problem. Yet, the heads of the organized labor movement, have clung tenaciously to its bankrupt policy of supporting capitalist candidates—mostly Democrats—for public office. The result has been a series of defeats on the legislative front that has seriously weakened and undermined the strength and power of the unions.

Instead of counterposing to the candidates and parties of the boss-class a political party of labor, running its own candidates on a labor program, the union leaders have surrendered the political fate of the working people to treacherous "friends" in the camp of the class enemy. The result—disillusion, frustration and apathy.

Momentary Hope

When the announcement was made that the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council of the city of New York intended to form a new party to participate in the mayoralty elections this year, there was a momentary spark of hope that labor was at last coming forward to champion the aspirations of the working people.

The New York AFL-CIO claims a membership of approximately one million workers. Counting the families of its members, together with its friends and potential allies among the large minorities concentrated in this city, an independent party of labor running its own candidates on a labor program could command the support of a solid majority.

But the "spark of hope" has been all but extinguished by the formal announcement that the AFL-CIO's new Freedom party does not intend to run its own candidates but will name Wagner as its "reform" candidate. It is admitted by promoters of the scheme that the rank and file are disenchanting with both Wagner and Tammany Hall and would refuse to vote for him on the line of the Democratic party.

Illusion

The object, therefore, is to provide a "Freedom" party line on the ballot so that workers could be induced to vote for Wagner on that line under the illusion that they were thereby voting for labor.

This hoary fraud first saw the light of day in New York 25 years ago when the founders of the American Labor Party practiced this deception to get the socialist-minded garment workers to vote for Roosevelt on the ALP line because they would have no part of Tammany Hall.

If for no other reason, I would feel amply justified in running for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, to give the working people of this city an opportunity to vote for a genuine alternative to the boss-controlled candidates of the major parties.

There will be no better way to register a protest against the brazen swindle being perpetrated upon the people of this city than by casting your vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

A Labor Administration Could Provide Decent Homes for All

By Clarence Franklin
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For Manhattan Borough President

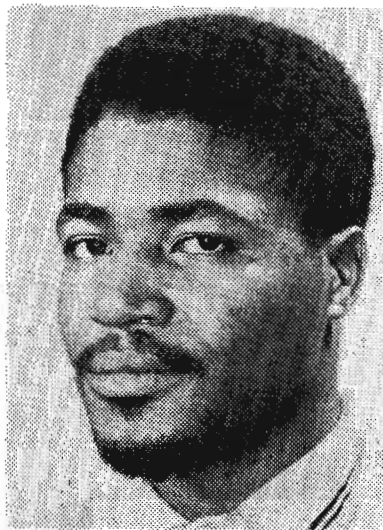
I live in a one-and-a-half-room apartment in a crowded tenement in Manhattan and I have to pay 40 percent of my total monthly wage for rent. I know that hundreds of thousands of other New Yorkers are in pretty much the same fix or worse. Human suffering is bad enough when there is nothing that can be done about it, but when it is completely unnecessary, like this miserable housing situation in New York City, then it is a crime to let it go on.

Any good, honest architect will tell you it is perfectly possible to house more people than the slum areas now do, in the same area the slums now take up, and to do it comfortably and attractively, if the buildings were well planned and the projects were undertaken on a large enough scale. The rent money now being paid in New York City would be enough to finance such projects, with enough left over to provide adequate maintenance on the existing buildings that are worth saving.

No Parasites

Provided—and here's the catch—all the profits were eliminated from the non-productive groups that now control real estate in the city—the large landlords, so-called management agents, real estate syndicates, leasers, speculators, bank and mortgage houses, certain building, maintenance, and estimation contractors that charge huge fees for little or no work, and assorted public and private grafters.

The simple fact is that most of the rent money now paid, including the millions of dollars paid by slum tenants, does not go toward building or maintaining housing. It goes to these profiteers, who are stacked up five or ten deep on most pieces of real estate in the city. And each one takes a juicy profit (10 to 12 percent is not unusual) which is spent on luxurious living or reinvested in relatively useless projects.



Clarence Franklin

The solution is to have the city collect all rents. These should go in to a special fund to be used exclusively for regular taxes, new building (all low-rent projects until the slums are replaced), and maintenance; except for a small amount to provide a reasonable income to small landlords and small investors who had their honest savings tied up in real estate. Maintenance should be supervised by elected committees of tenants, which could also organize the tenants to keep the neighborhood spruced up. People owning their own homes would continue to do so, but mortgages should be taken away from the finance companies and banks and interest on them reduced to two percent.

As an immediate measure, all rents in slum tenements should be cut in half, and in no case should a working person have to pay more than one fourth his monthly income for rent.

That's the housing program of the Socialist Workers Party. It is practical, reasonable, and just. It could be carried out by a labor administration, but obviously not by any political party which is controlled by the bankers and real estate sharks.

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Labor Needs Own Ticket, Not Capitalist Politicians

By Fred Halstead

Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York Controller

The leaders of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council have announced the formation of a new party, tentatively called the Freedom Party. But instead of making a clean break with the Democrats and the discredited Wagner administration, they announce support for Wagner and say they will put his name on the ballot on the Freedom Party line.

I have for years been advocating that the unions should organize their own party, both here and nationally. The organized labor movement could be the most powerful political force in the city or nation, and it is the only large, well organized group that is not controlled by the big-business interests which put their profits above human welfare. These interests have to be opposed if the living standards of the working people are to be improved and if we are to advance toward equality, freedom, peace and plenty.

By putting Wagner on the Freedom Party line, the labor leaders are simply misdirecting labor's strength behind the same political hacks who have been running the city in the interest of the real estate sharks and financiers.

To justify this, the argument is made that labor will be able to get significant concessions from the different factions of capitalist politicians by getting its own line on the ballot and then wielding its bloc vote as a "balance of power." That's why the Central Labor Council intends to nominate Wagner instead of running genuine labor candidates.

"Auction"

As a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which for years has followed this policy through the Liberal Party, I am familiar with what's wrong with this game. It's also known as "auction" — or selling out to the highest bidder. The catch is that the union members' votes are handed to capitalist politicians over whom they have no control. Leaders of the Liberal Party may obtain some personal favors or even public prestige in return for this service, but they can't possibly get what their members need — the political means to break the stranglehold of the special interests over civic, economic and political life.

Just look at the results of the Liberal Party's "balance-of-power" policy. The ILGWU is potentially the most powerful organization of any kind in the city. Yet the relative position of the average garment worker has steadily deteriorated in the past 20 years. This is reflected in the fact that since 1947 average factory wages in New York City have fallen from first place to last place among



Fred Halstead

the nation's big industrial centers.

The city's biggest union — the ILGWU — has the most responsibility in this matter and yet seems powerless to stop the trend. To a large degree, this weakness is due to the dissipation of the union's political strength through the Liberal Party course.

This is in addition to the obvious failure of the Liberal Party to improve the morals of the city's politicians or to have any significant effect on improving housing, eliminating job discrimination, or defending civil liberties.

Canadian Example

A far better example for the Freedom Party to follow is that of the AFL-CIO unions in Canada who are setting up an independent labor party which will run its own candidates in opposition to the parties of the big money bags.

Unionists here are coming to recognize this need. For example, a letter in the July 2 issue of *The Record*, newspaper of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, by Leroy Streeter, a New York member of the union, says:

"Mayor Robert Wagner has been of assistance to labor only when he was forced to by his own political enemies. Louis Lefkowitz and the Republican ticket don't care a hoot for organized labor; the Liberal Party's recent endorsement of Wagner shows that the so-called liberals who head that party are more devoted to their own advancement as a power group at the fringe of the Democratic Party than to any other objective.

"None of these three major parties considered labor in nominating candidates; it is imperative that we present our own candidate, backed by the votes of our one million AFL-CIO members here in New York."

I agree. That's one idea we socialists are trying to spread in this election.

Lift Ban on Travel to Cuba Says Candidate for Council

By Sylvia Weinstein

Socialist Workers Party Candidate For President of New York City Council

As president of the City Council, one of my first actions would be to move that the Council use its influence on the White House to lift the present ban on travel to Cuba.

In the past, the Council has adopted many resolutions expressing the views of its members on general political problems not directly related to municipal affairs. But I can't think of any that would be of better service to the people of New York than the one I am proposing.

My reasons are very concrete. I think that if New Yorkers were permitted to travel to Cuba they would learn a great deal about how to solve some of the major problems that we face in our own city.

Examples

These are some examples: Racial discrimination is rampant in New York. Before the revolution, Cuba, too, suffered from this social evil. Yet in the two-and-a-half years since the revolution, discrimination has been rooted out in Cuba. Wouldn't it be a good idea for New Yorkers to go down there and find out how they did it?

The major factor in the solution is no secret. The new Cuban government is not controlled by bankers, employers and landlords who profit from discrimination, so this

government is able to strictly enforce anti-discrimination measures.

Job Discrimination

Take the problem of discrimination in employment. The federal employment offices in New York are supposed to send people out on jobs without regard to color or national origin. But last year, the papers revealed that code notes are made on the cards of employers who don't want to hire certain nationalities or colors and such people are simply not sent out on these particular jobs.

In Cuba today, people are listed at the employment offices by number and sent out on jobs by strict rotation, without regard to color. As a result Cuban Negroes are holding jobs today that they never dreamed of before.

Another example. We have a State Commission Against Discrimination. But it only has the power to "persuade" Jim Crow public establishments to change their policies. In Cuba any public place that discriminates is promptly shut down.

Housing

New Yorkers could learn a few other things in Cuba. In the cities there, housing was even worse than in New York and rents even higher. One of the first actions of the Castro government was to cut rents in half and to start building



Sylvia Weinstein

comfortable low-cost housing for the poor.

You see, when the government is not in the vest pocket of the real-estate interests, it's entirely practical to solve the housing problem.

Iron Curtain

These are some of the reasons why Washington put an iron curtain around Cuba by imposing the travel ban. If, instead of reading the lies in the daily papers, people could go to Cuba and see for themselves what's really happening there, they might come back with some sound ideas about what to do here.

4 Working-Class Candidates

lives with his wife and three children in Manhattan's lower east side.

For Borough President

Clarence Franklin, candidate for Manhattan Borough President is a stock clerk and a member of District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union. He was born in 1932 in Wayne County, Mississippi, where his family were sharecroppers. At the age of ten, he moved to New York with his mother, who worked as a housecleaner. He went to work at 14 setting pins in a bowling alley, and then as a dishwasher, porter and construction laborer. He was active in organizing the picket lines around Woolworth's here during the solidarity demonstrations with the Southern sit-in movement in 1959.

"I became a socialist putting two and two together," he says. "There just isn't any good reason why life has to be so hard on poor people. Hundreds of thousands of people in New York can't find jobs and hundreds of thousands more have jobs paying far less than even the city welfare department says is enough to provide a minimum standard of decency in living.

"The Democrats and Republicans let all that go on while they dip their hands into the graft and protect the big real estate interests and the private employment agencies and all the others who live off of honest workers. People vote for them because there doesn't seem to be any alternative. But there can and should be an alternative. That's why I'm running on the Socialist Workers ticket."

Franklin has a wife and a ten-year-old son, and lives in a Harlem apartment.

For Council President

Sylvia Profitt Weinstein, candidate for President of the City

Council, was born in Lexington, Kentucky in 1926. Her forebearers were Kentucky pioneers who intermarried with the Cherokee Indians. They fought for independence in the Revolution, against slavery in the civil war, and were coal miners and union people from way back. At the age of 13 she participated in a strike at the P. Lorillard Tobacco Co. with a grandmother who was helping to organize the CIO. When she was 18 she moved to Brooklyn where she married and has lived ever since.

She is a member of the Brooklyn branch of the NAACP, and participated in the March on Washington and the Brooklyn demonstrations in support of the sit-ins. She is active in the Brooklyn Fair Play For Cuba Committee. A waitress as well as a housewife, she has two teen-age daughters.

For Controller

Fred Halstead, candidate for Controller, was born in Los Angeles 34 years ago. His mother was a Debs socialist and his father a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, a leader of the unemployed movement in the Southwest in the 1930's and an early member of the Socialist Workers movement. Fred has devoted his energies to the labor and socialist movements since he was 20 and has participated in union organizing campaigns and strikes among garment, agricultural, auto, and electrical workers. He has lived in New York since 1955, is a staff writer for *The Militant* and teaches classes in socialism and economics.

He is a garment cutter by trade, a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and lives with his wife and three-year-old daughter in lower Manhattan.

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Victory in Raptis-Santen Case

After being imprisoned for thirteen months without bail, the trial of the European Trotskyist leaders, Michel Raptis (Pablo) and Sal Santen, was finally held in Amsterdam from June 21-28. On July 12 they were given fifteen-month sentences.

The verdict was regarded as a victory for the defense and a setback for the imperialist forces which had tried to frame up the Trotskyist leaders for their assistance to the Algerian rebels. The court apparently set the sentences at fifteen months to save face for the police by "justifying" the unusually prolonged detention of the political prisoners without trial.

Raptis and Santen were victims of a conspiracy by the Dutch, West German and French secret police who used provocateurs in their pay to try to implicate the accused in alleged crimes of counterfeiting currency, forging French passports and identity papers. Raptis and Santen admitted belonging to a group of people with diverse religious and political views, Catholic and Protestant, Jews, Moslems, liberals, socialists and Trotskyists, which aided Algerian freedom-fighters hounded by the French fascists and police and provided them with cards of identity. During the trial the British Labor Party M. P. John Baird recalled that in the Second World War his own countrymen had done the same for Dutch resisters against the Nazis.

Many prominent leaders of the European liberal and radical movement testified on behalf of the defendants in this important political trial. In addition to Baird, Labor M.P.'s Konni Zilliacus, Stephen Swingle and William Griffiths were on hand.

From France came Claude Bourdet, editor of *France-Observateur*, Laurent Schwartz, Professor of Mathematics at the Sorbonne, and Michel Leiris. Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir sent telegrams demanding freedom for the defendants.

The noted historian Isaac Deutscher praised the character, integrity and dedication to socialism of Michel Raptis. Natalia Trotsky, widow of the assassinated Russian revolutionist, addressed a letter to the court in support of the accused.

Latin-American supporters included such figures as Clotario Blest, general secretary of the Workers Central of Chile; Juan Palacios León, general secretary of the Fertisa Union of Peru; Benito Romano, general secretary of the Tucumana Workers Federation of the Sugar Industry (Argentina); José Gutiérrez, general secretary of the National Refrigeration of Uruguay; etc.

During the trial, Dutch socialist youth and members of the committee for defense of Algeria staged demonstrations in the streets of Amsterdam demanding freedom for Raptis and Santen and for the Algerian people. These culminated in clashes with the police near the courthouse. Manifestations of this kind had not been seen for many years in this city.

The men were defended by the Dutch Socialist Senator Cammelbeck. Jurists came from Belgium and France to observe the proceedings and testify.

Claude Bourdet pointed out the political foresight displayed by Raptis in discussions in which he predicted that the development of "the dirty war" would strengthen the fascist threats to the French people and urged that the entire left unite behind the Algerian fight for independence.

Raptis concluded his summary remarks with the following declaration: "In prison I was strongly fortified by the powerful voice of solidarity from men, not only from free Algeria on the march, but from all of Africa on the march. These men, I was certain, would not forget us, these men of Africa whom Europe christianized and civilized and for centuries ferociously oppressed and exploited, selling their children by the millions into slavery, plundering their natural resources and even today massacring the sons of Africa in atrocious colonial wars, like the war in Algeria and that now blazing forth in Angola . . ."

"The Dutch people can have no interest in showing the least accommodation to the oppressive imperialism which is repressing men like ourselves who have struggled in modest measure for Africa's liberation. It now appears that our trial is ended and the curtain falls on an episode which is after all insignificant compared to the colossal drama being enacted on the world arena.

"Let our conviction, our penalty, serve as an example to the European workers to bestir themselves all the more actively in solidarity with the combat of their colonial brethren. For the interests of all workers are essentially the same and the struggle for socialism is one and indivisible."

Unquestionably the broad international campaign of protest against the political frame-up was responsible for the light sentence given the Trotskyist leaders. Since they served thirteen months before trial, they should be released shortly.

SWP Convention Records Gains

Discussion of all aspects of the Cuban revolution and its impact on world events occupied the major attention of delegates attending the Nineteenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in a four-day session held the latter part of June.

The convention attendance, including delegates, visitors and members was the largest recorded in recent years. It reflected the growth in numbers and influence registered over the past several years by the Socialist Workers Party through more extensive political and electoral activity.

A crowded agenda included reports and resolutions on the world situation, the Cuban revolution, unemployment and union policy, domestic political and organizational proposals and the developing socialist youth movement.

In addition, special panel sessions dealt with the Negro struggle for equality, the movement in this country in support of the Cuban revolution and the matter

of expanding press and publications projects.

The report and resolution on the world situation pinpointed the major changes which have taken place in the struggle against capitalism in the past 15 years. It noted the growing strength of the Soviet bloc, the irrepressible advances of the colonial revolution, and the declining prestige and power of U.S. imperialism.

It hailed the Cuban revolution as the opening step in the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. It stressed the central role of the workers movement in the advanced capitalist countries in breaking the power of world capitalism. The resurgence of their revolutionary activity provides the indispensable condition for breaking the present deadlock and lifting the world revolution to a higher stage.

[The complete text of the resolution on the world situation adopted by the convention appears in the summer issue of *International Socialist Review*. Copies can be obtained by writing the ISR at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

The political report on recent developments in this country supplemented by the report on unemployment and union policy, took note of the structural changes in the American economy due to the rapid acceleration of automation and mechanization of industry.

Chronic unemployment has become a permanent feature of American industrial life. As workers continue to be squeezed out of the productive process, twenty-five million young men and women will enter the labor market in the next decade, looking for jobs.

The economic squeeze will give rise inevitably to political repercussions. The reports noted the change in mood occurring among the masses which is a forerunner of the stormy period of struggle ahead in defense of the living standards and working conditions of American labor.

The greatest internal obstacle to overcome is the conservative union bureaucracy which stands athwart the path of struggle for a militant solution to the economic and social needs of the working people.

The central problem of the youth, as posed by the convention, is to find a link with the working-class struggle for socialism. The fight for Negro equality is an integral part of this struggle.

Defense of the Cuban revolution against the threat of American imperialist invasion was the central theme of the discussion at the convention. Despite important theoretical and tactical differences, all tendencies were united on the question of unconditional defense of the revolution.

The convention resolution on Cuba hailed the defeat of the April 17 invasion, organized by the Kennedy administration, as a glorious chapter in the developing Cuban revolution. It noted the May Day proclamation of Fidel Castro that the revolution had entered the stage of the socialist transformation of Cuba.

The resolution advocated the establishment of institutionalized forms of workers democracy and the formal organization of a mass revolutionary party, with "all tendencies supporting the revolution [to] be guaranteed full freedom of expression and association."

... Hijack 'Plot'

(Continued from Page 1)

of \$600,000, according to Premier Fidel Castro, and forced his government to institute rationing of this commodity.

"It would appear from the patterns established by the hijacking, seizure and sale of Cuban government property in the United States, a procedure which has been repeatedly sanctioned by American courts, that there is a conspiracy to which different departments of the American government are a party.

"In every one of these instances," Sanchez continued, "where Cuban government property has been seized and sold at auction in the United States, the American courts have refused to recognize the right of the Cuban government to sovereign immunity, a right recognized by all civilized governments.

Sanchez concluded: "These latest slanders voiced by the FBI and the New York City Police Department against sympathizers of Fidel Castro in the United States are nothing but a cowardly attempt by the real aggressors to place the blame for their own provocations on innocent Cuban working men and women to try and crush their undying devotion for the Revolution of Cuba and Latin America."

Communist Party Tops Back Wagner in New York Election

By Harry Ring

The old saying about history repeating itself first as a tragedy and then as a farce certainly applies to the present decision of the Communist Party leadership to support Robert F. Wagner's bid for re-election as mayor of New York.

With a few exceptions, like the ill fated Progressive Party adventure in 1948, the CP tops have tail-ended the Democrats for the past quarter of a century. The tragedy came at the beginning (the mid-1930's) when the CP wielded impressive influence in the labor movement and used that influence, in combination with the Social Democrats, to derail the then significant sentiment for independent labor political action.

The bitter farce comes today when a badly shrunken Communist Party—hounded and persecuted by the Democratic cold warriors—strains itself trying to prove there's something to be gained by supporting such thoroughly discredited Democratic politicians as Wagner.

The decision to rally the CP behind Wagner is outlined by Betty Gannett in two articles—one in the July issue of the magazine *Political Affairs*, the other in the July 16 issue of the *Worker*.

Since this policy of supporting capitalist candidates is now badly discredited in the radical movement, neither article states the vote-Wagner line openly and frankly. But regular readers of both publications will be able to discern that they're supposed to get busy helping Wagner win in the Democratic primary and then in the general election.

The *Political Affairs* article gives the cue by laying down an order of political priorities:

"First and foremost it should be a prime objective of all progressive forces to head off the realization of a coalition of the right, i.e., of a Rockefeller-instigated ticket." (I've added the emphasis for the untutored. The statement means, defeat the Republicans by supporting the Democrats.—H. R.)

"Second, it is necessary to contribute toward the defeat of the old-line Democratic bosses, responsible for the corrupt machine entrenched in the city administration." (Again, I've added the emphasis to help indicate the second order of priority—within the framework of supporting the Democrats against the Republicans, help the Wagner machine defeat the De Sapio machine in the Democratic primaries.)

"Criticism of Wagner's uninspired and lumbering conduct of

city affairs is essential." (Here the emphasis is added to underline the key point: Blast the Republicans and DeSapio Democrats while "critically" supporting Wagner.)

In the *Worker* article, Betty Gannett makes clear her remarkable determination not to be unduly hasty in evaluating Wagner's record. She concedes that "The Wagner administration, after eight years in office, has failed to meet the critical needs of the people," but quickly adds: ". . . to what degree this was due to Wagner's policy of carrying out the bidding of the banks, the utilities, the real estate and banking interests remains to be seen." (Emphasis added.)

Supporting a Wagner would be scandalous enough even if there wasn't going to be a meaningful alternative to him on the ballot. But there will be and Betty Gannett knows this. In the *Political Affairs* article, she stresses the need to convince radicals of the vote-Wagner policy and adds: "This is also vital in order to help prevent sincere socialist-minded and Leftward-moving forces from being influenced by the Trotskyites (who have already projected their mayoralty candidate) whose 'socialism' has nothing in common with Marxism, and whose diversionary and disruptive tactics separate advanced forces from the very people who must be put in motion . . ."

Betty Gannett's support of capitalist party candidates lends a certain irony to her observations about people who "have nothing in common with Marxism." What she is really objecting to is the insistence of the Socialist Workers Party on the Marxist principle of running socialist candidates in every possible election in order to give the voters an alternative to the anti-labor and anti-Negro programs of the two big-business parties. Betty Gannett is apparently concerned by this since in recent elections a growing number of radicals have ignored CP appeals to vote Democratic and chosen instead to support SWP candidates.

It should be added that the CP decision to back Wagner is not a "local" aberration. In the July 16 *Worker*, CP general secretary Gus Hall calls in effect for continued support to the Kennedy administration despite its invasion of Cuba, its stepping up of the cold war against the Soviet Union and its determination to carry through the Supreme Court's reactionary ruling outlawing the Communist Party. I'll discuss this incredible statement in a subsequent issue.

BOOK REVIEW

Biography of Cuban Revolution

M-26, THE BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION, by Robert Taber. Lyle Stuart, Publisher, 226 Lafayette St., New York 12, N.Y. 348 pp. 1961. \$4.95.

Robert Taber, today the head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was the Columbia Broadcasting System's radio-television reporter who managed to get into the Sierra Maestra mountains in April 1957 and bring back a sensational telecast of Fidel Castro's guerrilla fighters. He later covered the *Second Front*, which was opened against the Batista dictatorship under command of Raúl Castro. During the April 17 invasion this year, he was the only American correspondent at Playa Girón where the counterrevolutionaries were defeated. In the intensive fighting, he was wounded by a machine gun.

The author of *M-26* is thus able to bring his own considerable personal experience into play in telling the story of the insurrection that toppled Batista and won Cuba's national independence. This is particularly evident in his graphic account of the guerrilla war that began with Fidel Castro's landing at the Playa de las Coloradas in 1956. Taber follows the campaigns in some detail, including anecdotes by participants and extracts from his reporter's notebook.

Besides the main stream of the revolutionary forces which centered around the *Movimiento Revolucionario 26 de Julio*, headed by Castro, the author recounts the heroic, if often suicidal, actions of other sections of the anti-Batista forces. One of the most gripping is his description of the unsuccessful attempt by the *Directorio Revolucionario* under the student leader José Antonio Echevarría to assassinate dictator Batista.

Among the significant facts reported by Taber, which students will find of special interest, is his confirmation of the small number of active militants in the July 26 Movement. In March, 1958, the rebel forces in the Sierra Maestra numbered not more than 400 adequately armed men with



Robert Taber

perhaps 500 more unarmed volunteers in training.

Raúl Castro set out in that month with just sixty-five men to open the *Second Front*. Of these, 54 were armed. "Juan Almeida was setting out toward Santiago, and subsequently received orders to capture that key garrison city, with seventy men, of whom just twenty-eight had military weapons—rifles or submachine guns."

Finally, at the hour of Batista's flight, "Fidel had, of armed and disciplined fighters in all of Cuba, not more than fifteen hundred."

That such small forces could succeed in conquering a highly trained army backed by the United States testifies to the depth of the discontent in Cuba and the ripeness of the revolutionary situation. Another significant indication of how the social scales tipped in favor of the revolution at the end was the state of the treasury. When the rebel march began on Havana, "the *Movimiento 26* had three million dollars in hand, as yet unspent."

Among the topics Taber discusses in the final chapter of his book is working-class democracy (as opposed to bourgeois democracy). At present, he observes, the members of the provisional gov-

ernment are "subject only to their own integrity and their own interpretation of the popular response to what is said and done in the name of the Cuban people." This raises the question of the orderly transmission of power, a line of inquiry opened particularly by C. Wright Mills.

"No one who has honestly studied present-day Cuba can question that the Revolution is doing what the overwhelming majority of Cubans need and wish to have done," Taber declares. "But the truth is that as yet no political forms have emerged through which the authority now vested in the revolutionary leadership shall be transmitted to others. Cuba has been living in a permanent state of emergency—and of social and economic transition—since the first day of 1959. It is too soon to demand clearly defined political forms. They must arise from the needs of the country and develop naturally in a manner consistent with their social and economic base; they cannot be artificially or arbitrarily imposed. The whole experience of the Cuban Republic, an unsuccessful American graft on a foreign culture, demonstrates that.

"What forms will evolve remains to be seen. The best assurance for the future comes from the observation that the base is being constructed solidly. The economic democracy, the social justice, the equality before the law which any notion of democracy demands have been established beyond all question in Cuba. One sees no reason to doubt that the political forms of the future will be equally democratic and just. To ask whether they will be 'Communist' is at this point meaningless cant."

This view undoubtedly reflects the main tendency of the Cuban Revolution. Revolutionary socialists will agree that it is not only correct in principle but it conforms with the most imperative needs of the defense of the inspiring gains made by the Cubans in their costly struggle.

Joseph Hansen

Letters from Our Readers

News From India

Tamilnad, India
I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. In India, the entire press is mostly controlled by the monopolists and it is impossible to get any news at all about the important developments taking place in Cuba and Algeria, for example. They are particularly averse to publishing news about the workers' movement. Since we are bringing out our Tamil weekly shortly, the regular receipt of your paper will help us to keep the workers here informed about these developments.

At the same time I would like to see you publish more news about India which occupies an important place seen from a revolutionary perspective. The grip of Nehru and his government over the masses is loosening and the Congress Party's prestige has been sharply curtailed. Heavy increases in direct taxes and workloads, skyrocketing prices of essential commodities, inflation, non-implementation of land reforms, etc., have made the workers and peasants revolt against the capitalists and their institution, the government.

During the past decade the government has adopted more laws of a repressive nature and workers have been shot. The discontent and dissatisfaction of the workers culminated in the July, 1960 strike of two million government workers. Though the strike did not end in victory it made Nehru confess that if it had won his government would not be here. I'm sorry you did not publish much about this strike.

I take this opportunity to congratulate you for the heroic struggle you are waging in your country in defense of the Cuban revolution. To tell the workers the truth about Cuba, to educate them on the need to solidarize themselves with the Cuban revolution, to mobilize them in defense of the revolution is something that you are doing and is something that deserves emulation by every Marxist.

We highly appreciate your tireless work in defense of the revolution and we convey to you our revolutionary greetings.

N. Arumugan

Backing for Farm Workers

San Antonio, Texas
A joint statement relating to farm workers and believed to be the first of its kind signed by representatives of the three major religious bodies—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—was submitted to the Senate Committee on Agriculture on July 12, 1961.

The statement urged minimum reforms to Public Law 78 which now permits almost unlimited importation of Mexican farm workers (braceros), even into poverty-stricken areas such as Bexar County (San Antonio) where thousands of resident workers are chronically unemployed—and where many employed hardly make a subsistence living because of the prevailing starvation wages.

Indicating that the joint statement is not aimed at our poverty-stricken neighbors to the South, one of its chief sponsors, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, recently stated that people of great wealth in Latin-American countries "must share their blessings with their fellow countrymen who are becoming restless and will not much longer patiently endure the poverty and wretchedness to which they have been condemned." The archbishop called for the creation of a just social order in which the poor and

needy may live like human beings.

Let us hope that more and more leaders in religion, labor and politics will join with the people (to quote poet Don West) in "building new bridges on the road to the rich green valleys of the new earth" and thus help to forever banish poverty, discrimination and war from this planet.

Harry Koger

Revolutionary Tradition

Glens Falls, N.Y.
Regarding the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the law declaring it a crime to be a member of a party advocating "violent overthrow" of the U.S. Government.

As has been pointed out many times, several of the revolutionary American patriots believed that the people had the right to overthrow a corrupt and iniquitous government. Abraham Lincoln in his first inaugural address said: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

A substantial number of individuals in this country long ago, evidently taking their Declaration of Independence seriously, did overthrow the existing government with much force and violence, and these overthrowers have ever since been held in the highest esteem and respect.

K.M.G.

Anti-Test Action Needed

Boston, Mass.
The June 26 article on the resumption of the bomb tests by Harry Ring was the best that I've read in a long time. Written very simply and full of facts, how can anyone interested in peace fail to understand and act at this crucial period in history?

The bomb-happy politicians and military men are doing everything in their power to renew the testing regardless of the consequences. It is so unfortunate that the peace movement in this country is so weak, split and confused.

Here in Massachusetts both of the U.S. Senators, Smith (D.) and Saltonstall (R.) have come out in favor of the bomb testing. Senator Leverett Saltonstall who once flirted with SANE in this state did not fool any of the old-time radicals at the time.

What is essential at this time is dramatic action on the part of the peace groups to arouse the American people to the danger in resuming the bomb testing.

Those of us in the peace movement are grateful to *The Militant* for such a comprehensive and informative article.

A New Reader

Why They Hate Castro

San Francisco, Calif.
Just read the June 26 *Militant* and particularly got a bang out of "We'd Ask Him, How Come?" which was a June 8 speech by Fidel Castro in Havana.

Castro's speech of June 8 ranks with the best I have heard or read by F. D. Roosevelt, and it was, moreover, very funny in parts. There is no question about it, this man Castro is a great salesman for socialism. He is a great man, period.

No wonder the reactionary segment of the American capitalists want to liquidate him and turn the clock back on human progress and well-being. If every American could read just this one speech of Castro it would gain millions of rooters and friends.

H.E.

Thought for the Week

"It is reprehensible for man to be the first experimental animal on which toxicity tests are run, simply because by-passing toxicity tests on laboratory animals saves time and money."—Dr. Louis Lasagna of Johns Hopkins University, testifying in Washington on practices of profit-hungry drug corporations.

It Was Reported in the Press

Unimpressed — "WASHINGTON, July 12 (UPI) — President Kennedy took 60 N.A.A.C.P. delegates to see Abraham Lincoln's bed in the White House today. A woman member of the group yelled: 'We don't want to see Lincoln's bed. We want to see our children go to school in Mississippi.'"

Fashion Note — Leonard Barrat, a London tailor who specializes in bullet-proof vests, reports an encouraging spurt in business following the sudden demise of Dominican dictator Trujillo. Most of the new orders came from African and Latin-American countries that are focal points of social unrest.

Touchy Question — Singer Eddie Fisher, visiting Moscow, left his Intourist interpreter "almost speechless," reported the AP July 13, when he was shown the Lenin-Stalin Tomb. "Where's Trotsky?" asked Fisher. The guide reportedly replied that Trotsky had been killed with a bottle in a drunken brawl in "some other country." Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico by Ramón Mercader, a secret police agent of Stalin.

Blue Chip Deal — The president of the Kansas Cemetery Association says he's sure most people are willing to pay the cost of keeping graveyards maintained attractively because "grave space is one of the most permanent investments a family will ever make."

Spare the Rod-Wielder — The headmaster of a private school in

Connecticut drew a suspended sentence for beating a pupil with a switch for forgetting to wear his rubbers. However he was fined \$50 for putting a second pupil in a clothes dryer and turning on the gas for a few seconds. The judge said "moderate punishment" was necessary but felt the gas chamber deal was "a serious error of judgment."

The Corporate State — The Delaware State Senate voted to direct the State Police to show the film, *Operation Abolition*, in all public schools in the state. A crudely doctored version of the San Francisco student demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee, the film depicts the demonstrations as "communist-inspired." A July 1 editorial in the *Wilmington, Del., Morning News* declared the Senate action "shocking—police-enforced political propaganda in the public schools."

Another Alibi Exploded — Washington claims it can't agree to a nuclear test ban without a "foolproof" detection system inside Soviet borders. The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority reports that it's possible to detect explosions in space at a distance of more than a million kilometers. That's about 625,000 miles.

The Pause That Comforts — Joseph Kaselow reports in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune* that Walter Persson of McGraw-Hill assured him that TV viewers appreciate extending station-break commercial

time by ten seconds because it gives them more time to get a beer from the refrigerator, kiss the kids goodnight empty ash trays, etc. Kaselow adds: "Mr. Persson left out one rather important benefit. The one that put a heavy demand on water companies the country over at station-break time."

Key Latin-American Issue — The Manhattan Borough president's office in New York reports that there have been several bills to change the name of the Avenue of the Americas back to Sixth Avenue, but action has been thwarted because "The federal government is afraid of offending the people of Latin America."

Love That Legion — American Legion commander William R. Burke thinks there's a good chance we'll be at war with the Soviet Union by the end of the year and suggests we ought to smash the Castro government to force the Soviet hand. He says: "Any society whose members are afraid to die for it is a dead society."

Cold-War Casualty — A Denver dairy ran a newspaper ad advising that the Soviet stand on Berlin is "virtually a declaration of war" and urged housewives to "establish a regular order of milk" before it's too late. The Better Business Bureau was flooded with complaints and the dairy said it had suffered "some cancellations" of orders.