

# WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

## Terror Beats Back South African Masses — But

# Can't Stop The African Revolution!

## Ike Plots Intervention in Cuba

By Ana Kezman

Wall Street's drummer-boys in Washington are doing their best to beat the American people into a war-frenzy against revolutionary Cuba.

Hardly a day passes that they do not manufacture another "event" of cruelty in Cuba; hardly a week that some new "opposition" to the Castro government is not discovered; hardly an hour that the accusation of "Communism" and "Soviet domination" is not handed out to the press.

The pace of the build-up has quickened in the past few days. Eisenhower is putting on a hypocritical show of concern for the "betrayed ideals" of the Cuban Revolution. The Secretary of State is handing threatening notes to the Cuban Ambassador. And Congress is only waiting until it has sufficiently knifed the rights of the Negro people at home (in the new "Civil Rights" law) before it sharpens the ax for the Cuban people abroad.

This is all preparation for intervention against Cuba.

The stories about new armies of opposition in Cuba, the stories of "anti-Communist" hide-out bands in the mountains, the stories of high Cuban officials "discovering" that Castro is "Communist" — all this is a build-up for armed intervention against the Cuban people.

While they beat the war-drums in Washington and Wall Street, every workers organization and, in fact, every class-conscious worker must raise the battle-cry of "Hands off Cuba!" Down with the interventionist plans of the Yankee bosses — down with the U.S. big business domination of the Cuban people!

## Atlanta Math Teachers Refuse to be Jimcrowned

It is not only the students who are jimcrowned in the South. And it is not only the students who are protesting.

Two professors and a graduate student of Atlanta U. walked out of a quarterly meeting of the Mathematical Association of America on April 1 because of the jimcrow character of the accommodations.

Dr. Lonnie Cross, chairman of the Department of Mathematics, Dr. S. C. Saxena of New Delhi, India, and Mr. Wm. E. Brodie were refused accommodations at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia, S.C., where they had reservations.

The heads of the Mathematical Association told the three that "about 90 per cent of the membership feels as you do." Nevertheless they bowed to—"South Carolina's law."

Professor Cross then said: "In view of the fact that the Southeastern Section of the Mathematics Association is operating contrary to enunciated national policy, and in view of the (hotel) management's refusal to honor our reservations, we cannot remain at this meeting." And the three scientists left the conference.

That's a failing mark for the class—and—"A-plus" for two professors and one graduate.

## Oppressors Shock Whole World With Slaughter; Oppressed Stunned by Violence, Now Seek Arms

The first phase of the South African revolution is over. It has been drowned in a vast sea of blood. By the use of the most terrifying combination of military and police violence, the Verwoerd regime has been able to temporarily overpower the totally unarmed populace.

But already, the masses in the provinces and in the main cities are preparing for the second round of the liberation struggle.

A beaten army learns fast. The false prophets of non-violent resistance are proving bankrupt in the face of unrestrained and savage repression by the barbaric regime. The instinctive urge of the masses to arm themselves with whatever weapons are available is fast becoming the order of the day.

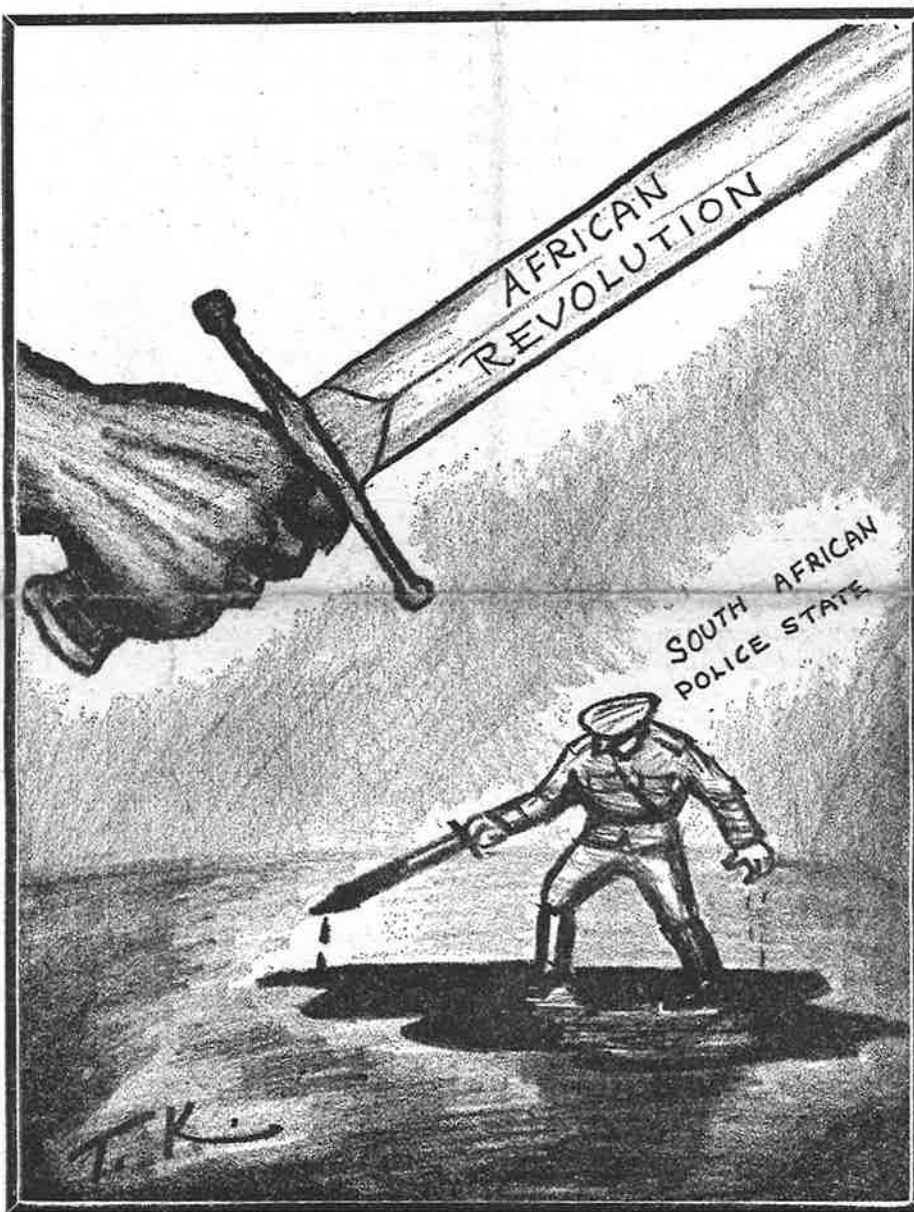
The army of the oppressed is regrouping itself.

The heroic South African masses have inflicted a mortal blow upon the imperialist-racist government and shaken its ruling class to the very foundations. This is clearly revealed by the absolutely unprecedented emergency regulations it has enacted in order to maintain its murderous rule.

(These regulations give the government authority to arrest and detain anyone as long as it desires without making any charge whatsoever. Under these laws, the government has banned the Pan Africanist Congress and also the African National Congress — the moderate, more conciliatory wing of the movement. Only the most brutal and unstable totalitarian powers have had to resort to measures such as this.)

The fear and instability of the ruling class was further heightened by the attempt on the life of Verwoerd by a white millionaire, himself a member of the ruling class. The regime is torn with inner dissension and has no confidence in the outcome of the struggle.

The heads of the masses are bloodied but unbowed. The South African Revolution has paused to regroup its forces. But its victory is inevitable.



## Negroes Need Armed Self-Defense Guards in

# Johannesburg—U.S.A.!

"The difference between Johannesburg and Birmingham," said a Negro worker in Alabama recently, "is that here they have not yet opened fire with the tanks and big guns."

(Another difference is that New York's Wall Street financiers have slightly more capital — and more wage slaves — in Alabama than in South Africa. But they run the state of Alabama, and can be depended upon to be just as vicious as their British and Dutch counterparts in South Africa any time their rule is endangered.)

Harrison Salisbury, a famous journalist, described Birmingham in the *New York Times* as follows:

"Every channel of communication, every inch of middle ground has been

fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."

Only a year ago, the police stood idly by and watched Asbury Howard, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers organizer, being mercilessly beaten by a mob of at least 40 men. Several weeks ago, a 19-year-old white girl allegedly "dating" a Negro boy, was beaten up by a carload of white men, which included, according to her sworn affidavit, a sheriff's deputy and an alderman.

Last month, several carloads of hooded men invaded the home of a Negro student who had been in the sitdown, and went to work on him together with

his mother and sister, putting them in the hospital. (They used iron pipes, clubs and leather blackjacks with razors sunk into them.)

The next day, two deputies visited the mother at the hospital. She recognized them as two of the gang who had beaten her!

One thing is clear. In Alabama — as in South Africa — the masses must arm themselves. They cannot depend upon the good will of the racist police who are usually Klansmen in uniform, stooges of big business, Northern as well as Southern.

Negroes and their white allies must organize their own Civil Rights Defense Guards to defend their most elementary rights — and in order to stay alive.



TROTSKY

# WORKERS WORLD

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LENIN

## Hiroshima Harry

A great many "liberals" and even some "radicals" seem to be surprised that Harry S. Truman expressed himself so viciously and violently against the student sitdowns for equality.

One reason he did so: he's not running for President this year and can express his real thoughts.

Another reason: he's in the act of lining up all the dixiecrat delegates for the Man at the next Democratic national convention.

## Support The Boycott!

Woolworth workers in San Francisco recently conducted a strike and won their point. And they proved another point beside their own; namely, that if labor were to back up the student sitdowns for equality, the big chain stores would soon capitulate.

But the abolition of Woolworth's national jimcrow policy was not among the concrete demands of these local strikers. For this, a national labor campaign is necessary.

The whole labor movement should throw its weight behind the economic boycott of the four national chains,

Woolworth, Kresge, Kress and Grants. The whole labor movement should immediately start a campaign to organize these four chains on an integrated basis.

This kind of campaign at this time would throw terror into the Wall Street owners of these jimcrow ten-cent stores, and would speedily raise the wages (which are as low as 65 cents per hour in many cities).

This kind of campaign would raise the fighting spirit of all the workers in the community and would weld the fighting forces of the labor movement together with those of the whole Negro people.

## Airlift for Whom?

—And why doesn't the U.S. government offer an airlift for refugees from South Africa like it did for the "freedom fighters" of Hungary?

## Is CCP Refuting Co-existence?

If the report in the April 3 *New York Times* is an accurate description of an article which appeared in the Peking newspapers of April 2, then it constitutes the most far-reaching repudiation of the Stalinist dogma of "peaceful co-existence."

It repudiates—although not by name—Khrushchev's whole idea of agreement with the imperialist West to freeze the existing sway of imperialism over the majority of the human race.

According to the *Times* story, *Hong Chi*, the theoretical organ of the CCP, stated first that the present "relaxing" of East-West tensions is more apparent than real:

"While juggling with peace, Eisenhower is making active preparations for war. . . . It is absolutely impermissible for us to mistake certain tactical changes on the part of imperialism for changes in the nature of imperialism."

After quoting Lenin on the hopelessness of expecting the bourgeoisie to be peaceful, the article continued:

"The Marxist-Leninist parties do not reject peaceful means for carrying out the Socialist revolution. But when the exploiting classes use violence against the people the possibility of employing other means has to be considered; namely the transition to socialism by non-peaceful means.

"The historical experience of mankind shows that the ruling class will not

give up the state power of its own accord."

At the end of the *Hong Chi* statement, according to the *Times*, an oft-repeated statement of Mao Tse Tung was printed:

"If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain several hundred millions more will turn to socialism. Then there will not be much room left in the world for imperialists while it is quite likely the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse."

This is all very different than the line of Khrushchev. There is not even the whisper of a thought that the imperialists are "sincere" in their desire for peace, as Khrushchev said Eisenhower was at Camp David.

The full text of the article was not available in the United States at the time *Workers World* went to press.

## China Spurts Ahead

"In 1957 China produced 130.73 million tons of coal. She more than doubled this—to 270.2 million tons—in 1958, and registered a further increase of 29 per cent in 1959 (to 347.8 million).

"Capitalism, even in its heyday, never showed anything like this rate of increase. It took the United States 16 years to effect a comparable rise—from 128 million tons in 1889 to 356.3 million tons in 1905."

—Peking Review

## MAIL BAG

### Tampa defense guard

Editor:

. . . The demonstration was well organized and the Negro participants were "vibrant" and the presence of the police did in no way intimidate them.

Personally, we have seen many workers demonstrations and our word for it is "wonderful."

After the initial demonstrations about two days previous to the ones we are speaking of here, Mayor Lane put the police force on a special "alert." All police were put on 12-hour shifts. This act of intimidation had no effect whatsoever on the activities of the sitdowners.

The head of the NAACP in Tampa (Lowry is the name) a few nights after the forth demonstration had two 45-calibre pistol bullets shot into his home.

True, there were special police stationed at his home after that. But Lowry did not depend on that alone as protection. He also had a volunteer defense guard around his home as well.

. . . The whites around the demonstrations were largely merely curious — although this could change somewhat if the Klan should see fit to start an anti-Negro campaign, which I feel is unlikely, as it might be "stillborn" in Tampa.

C, Tampa

### Seattle protest

Dear Editor:

Saturday, March 5, 1960, I was on my first protest march. It was a march held by students at the University of Washington in sympathy with the lunch counter sitdowns down South.

The president of the student body of the U. of W. was a chicken. He wanted to call the whole thing off if at least 100 people didn't turn up. Then he wasn't even going to go past Kress,

one of the discriminating stores.

Well, everyone protested, so we went to Kress in fashion. We had a police escort in front and marched right down the middle of the street in the university district. Afterwards, it was passed down the line that whoever wanted to could march downtown and walk in front of the main Kress and Woolworths.

The student body president didn't like this. He said for everyone to bring their signs in and not to march downtown. He said we didn't have police authority to do this.

About 30 or 40 of us protested this and walked downtown from the university district (which is over four miles). Several kids from the UPEL youth club I belong to were in it with me.

Afterwards, several people went in and sat down at the Kress and Woolworth lunch counter and didn't order anything. . . . My dad went in with this group.

A reporter asked people what they thought of our march. Everyone thought it was terrific of us kids.

Some of our signs were:

Jim Crow is Going, Justice and Equality, Civil Rights for All, Stand for Equality, and We Join Southern Students.

D. W., Seattle, Wash.

### It's all true

EDITOR, WORKERS WORLD:

WW presents some very interesting information. Something that you do not get in the Public (?) Press. One request I make is that a person could rely positively on the statements as being authentic. Why? Because I could, and can, use what appears in WW to very good advantage in my forays with the nit-wits in Robbers Roost (Washington, D.C.).

C.A.F., Coulter, Pa.

## Poisonous Prejudice Ground Out Daily (Ruark Even Does it on Safari!)

By V. Grey

*Prejudice is made, not born. It is manufactured by the capitalist class every day and every hour. It is then poured into the minds of the masses by means of radio, T-V, newspapers, etc. Here is how they manufacture the poison of race-prejudice.*

On April 4 and 5, the following headlines appeared at the top of a New York newspaper:

"Africans Beaten in Raids"; "Police and Troops Use Clubs to Break Negro Work Boycott"; "Police Club, Whip, Shoot South Africans." — And the horrible story of mass murder was told in grim and grisly detail.

At the bottom of the front page, however, appeared another article about Africa. This one was about the Belgian Congo. It began as follows:

"The king and I were sitting on the dirt floor and sweating profusely. The king, whose name is Nymi Lukengu of Mushenge, weighs 300 pounds. He was swabbing himself with a dirty towel. . . .

"He was naked to the waist, barefoot, and his fat ankles were ringed with wire . . . and he wore around his neck what appeared to be a choker of human arm sinew." (Our emphasis—Ed.)

It seems that a character by the name of Robert Ruark went to the jungle of the Belgian Congo and interviewed the king of one of the most backward tribes there and sent his story back to the *New York World-Telegram*.

This worthy newspaper printed Ruark's drivel on the same day and on the same front page that it printed the news about the South African slaughter.

Naturally many readers got the idea that the Africans who were killed and beaten in South Africa were probably naked cannibals and not worth much sympathy from civilized people.

Now why did the *World-Telegram* not decide to send its man Ruark to interview the cultured Dr. Hastings Banda, who was then still being held prisoner by the British in Nyasaland?

Why did this wealthy newspaper syndicate—purveyor of truth and culture—not send the well-travelled Ruark

to interview the Oxford-and-Moscow-educated Jomo Kenyatta, who is still under house arrest in British-ruled Kenya? (Ruark has many friends in Kenya, where he once went on a "hunt" with the British to shoot down people suspected of supporting the Mau Mau.)

And why did this great molder of public opinion not send Ruark to interview the black school teachers and other intellectuals who are leading the mass movement for South African freedom? Why the sudden interest in moth-eaten old tribal "kings" who are nothing but Uncle-tom jungle-stooges for the Belgian imperialist bosses?

This is why:

The *World-Telegram* understands very well that there is a world-wide wave of white working class sympathy for the black masses of South Africa. And it tries to counteract this sympathy by depicting the African people as semi-cannibals, influenced by "old fetishes and ju ju charms" as Ruark so charmingly describes his backwoods king.

The *World-Telegram* is owned by big business and is a big business itself, part of one of the largest newspaper syndicates in the country (Scripps-Howard). It is in the business of lying to the masses in order that big business can stay big and get bigger. Like the movies and the T-V, it manufactures propaganda and prejudice daily and hourly.

It is up to us, the working class, to combat this manufactured prejudice and educate ourselves and our children with the real class truth: That the capitalist class are the real cannibal kings; they live on the flesh and blood of men, women and children all over the world.

They and their kingdom of lies and terror must be overthrown so that workers of all races may live in peace.

### Solidarity

The Scottish Miners Union sent about \$3,000 to the dependents of the 435 African miners killed in the South African mine disaster.

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# Class-Conscious Worker's Guide to Cuba

(Questions and Answers on Class Nature of New Regime)

Is the Castro regime Communist?

No. it is merely striving for national independence in place of colonial slavery to U. S. monopolists.

What is the class character of the Castro regime?

It is a bourgeois-nationalist regime.

What's that?

A bourgeois-nationalist regime is one in which a colonial country struggles for national independence, but does not struggle against capitalism.

But can't you separate the two struggles?

No. Because the native capitalists would rather get a sure slice of imperialist profits (even if the slice is small), than risk everything in an all-out war against imperialism.

Real independence is only possible under a workers state—as in China. The native capitalists are a temporary ally in the struggle against imperialism—and a very unreliable one at that.

Is Castro for capitalism?

Yes.

Then why does he expropriate great plantations, including Cuban-owned as well as U.S.-owned estates?

To secure the strong allegiance of Cuban masses for a new regime; create an independent peasant base for Cuban capitalism; and weaken Wall Street's throttle-hold on the Cuban economy.

"Expropriations" are in reality forced sales to capitalist government. The government buys with bonds which are twenty-year promises to pay (which yield a 4½ per cent return per year as well).

Action is very radical and progressive nevertheless. But it is a radical bour-

geois action which takes on still more radical coloration because of tremendous opposition from U. S. imperialism.

Why is U. S. so much against Castro?

Because he wants an independent capitalist regime in Cuba. And U. S. wants a colonial stooge government.

But why do U. S. capitalists call Castro a Communist?

Because his capitalist-nationalist program is interfering with their profits and endangers their investments in all Latin America. (This is reason enough for U. S. capitalists to call anybody a Communist!)

But Castro now co-operates with Communists and defends them. Doesn't this show he is completely with the workers and against the capitalists, Cuban as well as U.S.?

No. "Castro is using Communists, not the other way around," as Joseph Alsop said in a recent series on Cuba in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune.

Should U. S. workers support Castro regime in its fight against Wall Street?

Of course! Fight Wall Street all the way. Keep it out of Cuba altogether.

How can U. S. workers help Cuba?

First duty is to expose U. S. imperialism as main enemy of both U. S. workers and Cuban workers. Mobilize American workers to stop U. S. intervention in Cuba.

But isn't this the same as telling workers that Castro is one hundred per cent OK?

No. Along with our defense of revolutionary Cuba against Wall Street, we patiently explain the real situation to the workers. We show that Castro is not basically different from Nehru, Kassim,

Nasser, Sukarno. (Although he has been compelled to go further than they but along the same lines.)

In each of the above cases, the United States capitalists first called the new man a "Communist," but later accommodated themselves to the new regime as the Communists were shunted aside.

But can't the Castro regime evolve into a Communist one?

There is absolutely no example in history of a bourgeois-nationalist regime automatically transforming itself into a workers state. The road is strewn with the tragic victims of this false theory. One after another of these bourgeois-nationalist regimes first befriended, then slaughtered the workers. ....

Chiang Kai Shek once led an even more violent anti-imperialist revolution than Castro (China, 1925-27). He and his party, the Kuomintang, were formally affiliated to the Communist International as a sympathizing party. This did not prevent Chiang from turning viciously against Communists and setting up a capitalist-landlord dictatorship.

More recently, Nasser literally climbed to power on the shoulders of the most militant workers and soldiers. Now he imprisons, tortures Communists and their sympathizers, as explained by Khaled Bagdache, General Secretary of Syrian CP—The Worker, March 27.

But is there any danger of this kind of development in Cuba now?

No. Not right now, of course. The great danger is from counter-revolution and U. S. intervention. And that fact has to be put in the forefront of the political struggle.

What is the position of the Communist Party on Castro?

Unfortunately, the CP supports Castro uncritically and unconditionally. Does not push independent class program of its own. Merely follows Castro line. Will not try to outflank Castro from the left.

Is this in accord with the line of Soviet leaders?

Absolutely. Their line is not to go beyond the program of the bourgeois-nationalist regimes—not to encourage any real break with U. S. imperialism.

Doesn't recent trade treaty (between Cuba and Soviet Union) prove otherwise? This was a blow at Wall Street, was it not?

Yes, it was very progressive, and it is far better that Cuba should trade with Soviet Union than be completely subservient to Wall Street. But in spite of all the shouting from U. S. capitalists and their stooges, the trade treaty is no more than that. It's a progressive agreement. But it's the same as the deals with Nasser, Nehru, Kassim and Su-

## 1960's Biggest Lie

South Africa's High Commissioner in London told a Birmingham Rotary Club luncheon last month:

"The mass of Africans are the happiest people on God's earth. We have done far more for our natives so far as civilizing, educating and lifting them up than any other country in the world."

(And if you spread it on the ground—it'll make your flowers grow!)

karno. Gives Soviet Union a better trade lever against capitalist West and strengthens these new nationalist regimes against imperialism. But that's all.

How do we sum up position of Workers World?

Fight with Castro against Wall Street, but show why Castro will not carry the fight through to the end. Patiently explain the real class character of his regime to the workers.

Propagate for the complete break with imperialism and prepare for the socialist revolution.

## More Nonsense!

An AP dispatch from Moscow dated March 23, informs us that:

"Izvestia told its readers yesterday that the Republicans were campaigning on a peaceful co-existence platform in America while the Democrats were following leaders who call for sterner measures against Russia."

## Ike's Healed Free

There is a bill before Congress to give medical care to the aged. It is called the Forand Bill.

The American Medical Association and President Eisenhower oppose this bill. They call it "socialized medicine."

Speaking of Eisenhower's opposition, William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO said:

"We've got a President who has spent his entire life on the public payroll. He has never paid a doctor bill in his life."

## Kennedy's Well-Heeled

News note—"Senator John F. Kennedy today swung at Republican prosperity claims by saying 17 million Americans 'go to bed hungry every night.'"

Senator Kennedy is SO right. And he made this important discovery all of seven months before the election, too!

But you have to give him a lot of credit for bringing up such a delicate subject at all. He doesn't go to bed hungry, you know. His family has a fortune of 400 million dollars.

This is considerably more than the combined bank accounts of the whole 17 million people he is talking about.

## When the Bosses Don't Need You

By John Rich

This is the story of a worker I know named Tom. He had harder luck than many do. But stop and think if you don't know someone like him.

Tom grew up on a farm outside a small, eastern Ohio town. He had dark curly hair, brown eyes, and a shy, bowed-head, hands-in-the-pockets way of talking with a habit of interrupting himself with little chuckles.

At home on the farm, he had to work hard, so he didn't get out much with the rest of the town gang his age. When he got out of school, times were hard. He wanted to get away from the farm, so he got a job in a basket factory in a neighboring town. It was the hardest work he'd ever done and the pay was 35 cents an hour.

Then the war came. Tom enlisted, got married soon after, then went overseas as a bomber gunner. He had a number of close calls, but finally made his 35 missions and got back to the states. At home, jobs were scarce in spite of the "prosperity" and he had a family now. He rented a farm, tried running it and working full-time in one of the local, small-town, non-union factories. Now the pay was 70 cents an hour.

He had two kids by this time and it was pretty slim going.

The factory where he worked made knives. The knives were stacked in a container and put through a heat process. Then they had to be turned over, placed on a belt which carried them to the next machine. Putting the knives through this process and getting them on the belt to the next machine was Tom's job.

One night something went wrong with the machine as Tom was taking a container of knives out of it. It all happened in a flash. Tom's hand was caught and ripped into a bloody claw.

The accident took one of his fingers off completely and left another stiff and his hand only partly usable. The non-union company claimed he had been using the wrong method in operating the

machine. Their payment barely covered his medical and living expenses. And he lost his job.

It was about this time that Tom's wife had their first boy baby. It lived exactly six hours.

Tom was on welfare for a while after that. It was a bitter thing for him to accept because he'd been brought up to believe that only bums had to take welfare. But there was nothing else to be done. He couldn't work and they had to eat.

Later on he got a job in the city.

Then his brother was killed and Tom and his wife took care of his brother's wife and kids. Tom's wife developed cancer and had to be operated on. His kids got sick. Later his wife had to have another operation. Tom was deep in debt but he kept on working and finally paid it off.

Then a few months ago Tom began to have pains in his back. They got worse until he could no longer work. The doctor could not find his trouble and Tom ended up in the hospital. There they found he had a rare type of trouble: calcium deposits in his muscles—probably, they said, brought on by an accident injury. He got treatments, more treatments.

For weeks Tom sat around, an invalid. Then, though it was painful for him to move, he went back to work. The doctor told him he should not drive.

"How would I get to work?" Tom said disgustedly to his wife.

The doctor also said it would be a good idea for Tom to get to a warm climate and rest.

"Just how the hell would I do that?" Tom said.

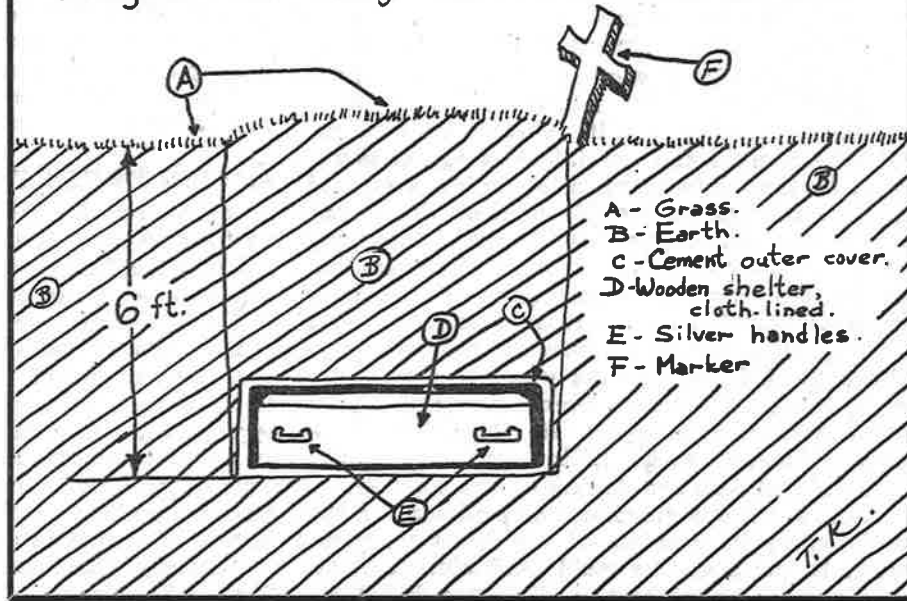
So Tom continues to work. Weekly treatments take a big bite of his pay. How long he'll be able to keep working he doesn't know.

Whether you're from Seattle or Alabama, Puerto Rico or Podunk, it doesn't really matter much when you're a worker that the bosses don't need anymore.

## Our architect's diagram of Rockefeller's REAL plan for atomic fallout shelters

(Please study carefully)

### Diagram for Worry-Proof Fallout Shelter



Internationalism According to Lenin and according to Khrushchev—

# How Khrushchev "Helped" Stifle South African Revolution

By Sam Marcy

When the Soviet Republic was barely three years old and faced with a formidable array of imperialistic armies at its doorstep — with hunger, misery and desolation caused by the civil war still raging throughout the land — Lenin took time out to write on the international obligations of the first workers republic. He wrote on "making the greatest national sacrifices" on behalf of the oppressed people of other countries "in the interest of overthrowing international capitalism."

Such was the revolutionary internationalism that was the creative genius of Lenin. And it animated the entire Communist International. So highly did Lenin value this cardinal tenet of *genuine* internationalism, that he embodied the above thought in a special section of his celebrated "National and Colonial Theses" adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920.

Nor was this all. The Red Army Oath had a section incorporated in it on the motion of Trotsky, which pledged it to defend, not only the country and the regime, but the world revolution.

## Proletarian internationalism Is a two-way street

Naturally, the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky was never conceived as a one-way street. It was ABC for every genuine Communist in whatever country he lived, that it was his duty to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union from all its enemies. And by the same token, it was conceived to be a fundamental duty of the new revolutionary workers regime to defend, give aid and assistance to all the workers of the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from imperialist exploitation.

With the deepest insight and with the profoundest knowledge and understanding of class relations governing the latest phase of imperialist society, Lenin re-defined proletarian internationalism in such a way as to separate his conception from that of the social-patriots and the chauvinists.

"Proletarian internationalism," he wrote, "demands (a) the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one nation to the interests of the struggle on an international scale; (b) the capability and the readiness on the part of one nation which has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism."

It is therefore extremely instructive on the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birthday, to examine the conduct of the present Soviet leadership in the latest world crisis.

## The stage was all set For the Soviet delegate

On the day following the brutal massacre of the African people at Sharpeville by the imperialist-racist Verwoerd regime, the stage at the U.N. seemed to be ready-made and specially set for the Soviet Union to show it was the tribune of the oppressed and true defender of the colonial masses.

(Assuming, of course, that the whole purpose of joining the U.N. — if there can be any justification for it at all — is to have a forum to rally the oppressed and expose their oppressors.)

Rarely in recent history has there been such a favorable opportunity to demonstrate fidelity to the Leninist conception of revolutionary internationalism — "the capability and readiness" to come to the aid of "other oppressed nations."

London and Paris were in virtual panic at the magnitude of the South African rebellion — its momentum in Africa and its repercussion throughout the entire colonial world. The savage measures taken by the white supremacist regime awakened the sympathy of incalculable millions throughout the world. Washington itself was temporarily thrown off balance, as the South African rebellion came in the very midst of a tidal wave of sitdown demonstrations in America. In the eyes of the world working class and the oppressed peoples everywhere, the U.S. ruling class was tarred with the same chauvinist, white supremacist brush as its South African counterpart. Its hypocritical gestures of "regret" at the killings could only evoke distrust in all Asia and Africa — if not laughter.

This was a day singularly well chosen for the revolutionary intervention of the Soviet representative. It was a day he could avail himself of an extraordinary opportunity to utilize the difficulties

of the imperialist exploiters in the interest of the exploited.

He could have declared that since South Africa is in a state of revolutionary crisis, the Soviet Union, as the leader and champion of the oppressed, was offering all aid, both material and military, to the embattled African people, and that the Soviet Union was ready to extend recognition to the Pan Africanist Congress, and the African National Congress as the representatives of the South African people until a provisional revolutionary government was set up. This would have been in the spirit of Lenin's internationalist thesis, as described above.

But it would have been entirely out of character for the present ruling stratum in the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet delegate should at least have utilized the U.N. as a forum for the African revolution.

## Here was his chance For revolutionary diplomacy

Here is what he could have done: not only condemn and denounce the murderous racist Verwoerd regime, but make a motion to expel it from the United Nations. And moreover, invite the authentic leaders of the African masses to present their case at the U.N. More specifically, invite the leaders of the PanAfricanist Congress as well as the African National Congress.

Such an action at this historical moment would have gained the approval not only of the South African people, but of the masses of all Asia and Africa, in fact, of an absolute majority of the human race! And it is the very least that could have been done.

No one could conceivably claim that the Soviet delegate was risking the fate of the Soviet Union with such an action. Nor could anyone claim that this would be an irresponsible adventure.

This is the year 1960 — 40 years after Lenin's thesis. The Soviet Union is no longer a besieged fortress with hunger, misery and desolation at home, without state allies, and standing alone against mighty imperialist empires. The Soviet Union today is at least the second greatest industrial power on earth, with allies who govern workers states from Albania all the way to North Korea.

Surely Lenin's thesis is easier to maintain and easier to carry out today than it was in Lenin's own time!

## But he voted with the Counter-revolutionary diplomats!

But what did the Soviet representative actually do at this historic moment? He joined with the imperialist powers headed by the USA and voted for a miserable, rotten, utterly shameless and gutless resolution, calculated to whitewash the imperialists and actually give aid and comfort to the Verwoerd regime at a time when it was all but crumbling. The resolution was so shameless that even the oldest and rottenest of the imperialist powers (France and Britain) did not bother to vote against it. They merely abstained.

To add insult to injury, the resolution "calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures bringing about racial harmony based on equality." It further "requests the Secretary General, in consultation with the Government of the Union of South Africa, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate."

## A whitewash resolution!

Aside from the fact that this resolution covers up the hypocrisy of the imperialist powers in relation to the Verwoerd terrorist regime, the Soviet signature serves an even more monstrous purpose. In the first place, in calling upon the "Government of the Union of South Africa," that is, the murderous, racist regime of Verwoerd, it gives legitimacy to an oppressor government at a time when the oppressed are in open rebellion against it. This is an act of treachery. For it is an elementary principle of proletarian internationalism to withdraw recognition from an imperialist oppressor regime in time of revolution against it.

Secondly, the resolution requests the so-called General Secretary to consult with the Government

of the Union of South Africa, and eliminates any reference to consultation with the leaders of the oppressed. It is nothing but a whitewash resolution. For to send Dag Hammarskold to consult with Verwoerd is tantamount to sending an errand-boy and a friend of the White Citizens Councils to consult with Eastland in Mississippi on the state of equality for the Negro people there!

If the Soviet delegation had moved to expel the Verwoerd terrorist regime from the U.N., there is scarcely an Asian or African, or even Latin-American government that could refrain from voting for it without imperiling its political position with the masses at home.

A vote on an issue raised in such a manner would have reduced itself to a clear cut struggle between the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces in the U.N.

## It's a league of robbers!

Actually the U.N. is nothing but an agency of imperialism—a post-World War II version of the robber League of Nations, which Lenin condemned as a "thieves' kitchen" ruled by the monopolists. But the Soviet delegate on this occasion should have utilized it as a forum for the African revolution.

But such an action on the part of the USSR would have meant a complete break with imperialism. It would have effectively exposed imperialism and re-established the Soviet Union as the champion of the colonial masses everywhere. It would have meant the virtual end of the highly-cherished class-collaborationist policy of "peaceful co-existence," and probably the end of the U.N. as a mask behind which the imperialist robbers prepare for war.

## The CP forgot Last week's slogans

The Worker of March 27, 1960, apparently unaware of what was coming from the Soviet delegate in the U.N., demanded of the United Nations in a front page editorial: that it "invoke the full penalties of the anti-genocide conventions against South Africa. The U.N. must brand South Africa as a violator of the U.N. Charter and Declaration of Human Rights and impose sanctions." This would have meant expulsion.

But the Worker, having learned the news that the Soviet delegate voted for the shameless resolution, conveniently forgot to so much as mention in its next issue, the slogans it had just raised in the previous issue. And it did not breathe a word about the conduct of the Soviet representative.

What have Comrades Jackson and Davis to say? Do they really think that this was an example of proletarian internationalism on the part of the Soviet delegation?

The conduct of the Soviet leaders in relation to the South African uprising throws a powerful searchlight on Khrushchev's "peaceful co-existence" policy.

## The Communist vanguard Must prepare itself!

Khrushchev's recent conduct in Paris does the same — his demonstrative handshaking with de Gaulle, arch-executioner of the Algerian people and enemy number one of the French working class. He was courting a spurious deal with him, instead of lending aid to the embattled Algerian people by granting diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Government of Algeria.

De Gaulle's reply to Khrushchev's overture for "peaceful co-existence" was the explosion of another atomic bomb at the precise moment of Khrushchev's visit.

The course of capitalist development in the next period, long prepared by the inherently explosive contradictions of the imperialist system, will expose Khrushchev's maneuvers as a cruel deception of the masses.

The irresistible drive of the revolutionary masses in Asia, Africa, Latin-America, cannot but force the imperialists to new adventures, followed by new catastrophes which will impel the re-entry of the Western proletariat on the revolutionary arena.

A re-orientation of the Communist vanguard elements among the revolutionary working class, becomes not only more imperative day by day, but is absolutely inevitable.