

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

Wall Street's Democratic Party Stages A Rigged Convention

The Cuban Government Should

Expropriate The Expropriators!

It is time to drive the Yankee capitalists out of Cuba and expropriate their factories, mines and mills *without compensation*.

The government of the Wall Street profiteers is now threatening to reduce the Cuban sugar quota. This means they are trying to put the squeeze on the Cuban economy and hamstringing the Cuban revolution.

Castro has threatened to retaliate by seizing all American-owned property and business interests in Cuba. Good! But he did not say whether this meant that the properties would be *paid* for or not.

It would be a terrible burden on the poverty of Cuba to *pay* for these properties that have already been paid for by the blood and sweat of the Cuban masses many times over.

The Yankee billionaires own at least \$800 million worth of interests in Cuba. They own the Cuban Telephone Company, the Cuban Electric Company, many of the banks and mines, including the \$100 million U.S. government-owned Nicaro nickel mine. They own nearly 40 per cent of all the big sugar companies. It is time that they were kicked out and their booty returned to the Cuban people with no strings attached.

The following Wall Street-owned sugar companies made these huge profits *after taxes* (and they are only a small

sampling taken from the many Wall Street bloodsuckers in Cuba):

The Cuban Atlantic Sugar Co. made \$78.5 million in 22 years on a capital of about \$7.2 million.

The American Sugar Refining Co. made \$50 million in 21 years on a capital of \$15 million.

The Cuban-American Sugar Co. made \$2.6 million in 22 years on a capital of \$12.8 million.

The Guantanamo Sugar Co. made \$9.5 million in 20 years on a capital of 3.6 million.

These are just a few of the super-piracies committed by U.S. Big Business against the Cuban masses.

Well, what should be done with companies such as these?

The Castro government has been in power a year and a half. During that time, it has carried out a number of significant reforms, particularly the land reform. However, the bulk of U.S. capital holdings in Cuba are still in the hands of the Wall Street banks — although you would never know this from all the red-baiting by the Big Business-owned U.S. newspapers.

Actually, the biggest U.S. capitalists in Cuba have felt only the *chill* of expropriation. It is time to freeze them out completely. Expropriate them without compensation and thus return a portion of what they have robbed, to the Cuban people!

The Millionaires Pull the Strings Here

Just as They Do at the Republican Convention

The jimcrow dixiecrat Southern Bourbons and the jimcrow Northern bureaucratic labor leaders, *backed by Northern anti-labor and anti-Negro multi-millionaires*, are putting on a show in Los Angeles, called "The Democratic National Convention."

The purpose of the show is to make the American dictatorship of Big Business look "democratic"—to make the American working people think that they have something to do with the selection of a United States President.

The newspaper and TV spotlights of the country are played on this show, and the idea is created that the convention is not only choosing the best candidate for the American people, but it is also wrestling with a campaign platform and political program for the best interests of all.

The truth is that the campaign platform is indeed a product of much labor, but only because it takes a lot of work to make the *real* vicious anti-Negro and anti-labor program come out looking like the shiny tinsel at the bosses' Christmas party.

The truth is that the candidates—in this case, Kennedy, Johnson and Stevenson — are each of them millionaires, and each of them represents the opinions of one or another stratum of the millionaire and billionaire class of this country.

Whichever one is chosen, he will promise to fight "for civil rights and equality for all" — as has every Presidential candidate for generations. But if elected, he can be depended upon to resist every move for Negro freedom or labor betterment, just as every President in the past has done. Only the self-action of the masses themselves can win freedom *against* the wishes of capitalist Presidents, who must of course *recognize what the masses have already won by themselves*.

Kennedy is the son of a big Boston banker, whose family is worth \$400 million. He recently had a much-publicized dinner with racist Governor Patterson of Alabama, obviously trying to line up some dixiecrat votes for himself.

Lyndon Johnson, who some Negro leaders are saying is not really so bad, claims to have the whole "Solid South" in his back pocket. He didn't get those votes by being a friend to the Negro!

The nonsensical stories about his "pushing the Civil Rights Bill through the Senate" give the impression that he went further than the mass pressure required. On the contrary! He gets a lot of credit from his jimcrow colleagues because he let them pull nearly all the

teeth from the Civil Rights Bill and really cheated the masses of half of what their militancy had already won. That's the kind of man the "moderate" South needs!

As for Adlai Stevenson, the wise-cracking, so-called "brainy" friend of the liberals, he puts his brains completely at the service of his class—that is, the *capitalist* class.

When Stevenson first ran against Eisenhower in 1952, the reactionary Alsop Brothers (who backed Eisenhower) announced that a victory for Stevenson would be "just as good" for the country as Eisenhower.

Stevenson's meager record on civil rights will be no better when he's in the White House — *unless there is mass action which compels him to be better*.

"Put not your faith in princes," — and that goes for capitalist Democratic politicians (and of course Republicans), too!

No matter what program comes out of the Democratic Convention, the Democrats will continue to represent Northern Big Business and Southern jimcrow. They will find ways to *sound* more sincere than the Republicans, and to *maneuver* more flexibly with labor, kidding the workers into thinking they are for higher wages etc. But on the question of civil rights, they will not even go for such modest demands as full school integration, because they cannot disrupt their alliance with the Southern Bourbons.

Under present conditions, the elections are monopolized by Big Business. And the working and Negro masses should concentrate on action and more action, to *force* these arrogant capitalist politicians to recognize their rights.

And as a result of *this* kind of effort, a new political party, completely free of Big Business domination can be created, a party squarely *opposed* to the jimcrow system of class oppression, its membership and leaders *all chosen on the basis of this program*. That is the only guarantee of a program being honest and straightforward and the candidates living up to it.

Congo 4th of July?

(The Foreign Oppressor Is Still There!)

By Eleanor Stephens

On June 30 the Congo won its independence. After electing a 137-man man Parliament, Patrice Lumumba was made Premier and Joseph Kasavubu became the new President. It is no longer called the Belgian Congo, but the Congo Free State.

But to the Belgians and the Congolese, Independence means two very different things.

The Belgian capitalist class, which has pillaged this fabulously rich and fertile land for over 60 years, has no intention of letting go of the greatest source of its wealth and power. In the name of "paternalism" and with the age-old lie that "these child-like people are not ready to govern themselves," they complacently boasted only a few years ago that they would continue ruling in the same old way for at least another century.

But when the masses of the Congo joined with the whole African continent and demanded "Independence NOW," the Belgian rulers thought the time had come to substitute trickery for naked force.

"Yes, you can have your own Parliament. You will henceforth be your own masters," they said. "But first we will make a law that *your cabinet, including your Premier, will be appointed by King Baudouin of Belgium*."

It was only because the Belgian capitalists thought that Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu were "moderates" and anti-communists, that the king allowed them to serve in "their own" government.

This is only the first *visible* sign of the kind of "independence" the Belgians have in mind. No doubt they have already used, and still have many more such tricks up their sleeves — tricks they hoodwinked their own working class at home with, in the past couple of centuries.

But to the 11 million Congolese, "independence" means a complete break with the past. They will not be content with the knowledge that a few hand-picked men sit in a house of Parliament making laws. They will demand an end of agonizing labor in the mines and plantations at starvation wages.

They will demand to know why over a hundred million dollars in profits is taken out of their country every year. They produce more than half of the world's industrial diamonds and nearly all the uranium and cobalt the Western world uses for its atomic stockpiles. They are the world's fourth largest producer of copper, sixth largest producer of tin!

They will demand to know—since so few of them in comparison with the size of the world's population have produced so much for the world market—why they have received so little in return!

They will not be long in finding an answer. And when their new answer comes up against the crumbling old answer long-ago supplied by the Belgian rulers, an irresistible force will meet an object that is very moveable indeed.

South African Masses Scan the Horizon For Arms and Aid from Friendly Forces

While the great Belgian Congo celebrates its limited "freedom" and the Mali Federation (formerly Senegal and the Sudan) has been proclaimed "independent," an ominous silence seems to have descended upon South Africa. At least this is the impression created by the capitalist newspapers of the West, who only report insurrections when they are big enough and massacres when they are bloody enough, to make the headlines.

And it would appear that Hendrik Verwoerd and his unholy crew have the situation again in hand—especially since they have just announced that

they are *freeing* several thousand political prisoners who were jailed after the pass protest movement and the Sharpeville massacre.

(There are thousands of rank-and-file men and women still in jail for the "crime" of having torn up their hated "passes"—the identification papers that make them slaves instead of people.)

But the jailings, like the massacres, eliminated the *effects* not the *causes* of the searing social crisis in South Africa.

It may be that the black South Africans are too helpless without arms

(Continued on page 3)



TROTSKY

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LENIN

Negro Un-American, Too?

The Un-American Activities Committee of Congress is set up to investigate people who want to change the world and make it a better place to live. in.

It is set up to hound people out of jobs for trying to help their fellow workers to fight for their rights in the plant. It is set up to put people in jail for refusing to turn stool pigeon and give the names of everybody they know who fought the bosses.

It never investigates the activities of the corporations who charge super-high prices for medicine for sick people. It never investigates the meat, gasoline and record (payola) racketeers. It never investigates the sweatshops who are paying under the dollar-an-hour legal minimum wage. And it never investigates the Congressmen who are chiseling on their expense accounts, drinking champagne on the taxpayers and hiring their own kids in government jobs at a hundred dollars a week and more.

And why should it investigate things like that? It regards all these things as very "American"—so why investigate them?

Lately, the Committee has opened up a whole new field for itself: the Negro

struggle. Naturally, it regards this too as Un-American. Considering the people who run the Committee, this is very understandable.

Richard Arens, the Staff Director is also a special "adviser" to Wycliff Draper at \$3,000 a year. And Wycliff Draper is a New York millionaire who believes that Negroes are genetically inferior and gives the impression that they should be sterilized or forcibly sent to Africa. He hires people like Arens to help him spread these ideas.

And not only the Staff Director of the Un-American Committee, but the Chairman himself (Representative Francis E. Walter) is a close collaborator of the vicious racist, Draper.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Un-American Activities Committee goes into the South and attaches the label of "subversive" to any white Southerner who dares to fight for integration.

The Committee should not only be abolished as a very large number of progressives and liberals have requested. Its leaders and members should be exposed and condemned by the American labor movement for the racist filth that they are.

Patterson and Palooka

Did you ever stop to think that Joe Palooka was champion for twenty years?

And did you ever stop to think that Joe was *white*?

There's nothing wrong with being white, of course. And it's perfectly OK if the *real* champion of the world should happen to be white, too.

But it so happens that Floyd Patterson is *not* white. He is Negro.

Not only that, but the real champions just about all during the time of Joe Palooka's reign, were also Negroes.

If you, dear reader, happen to be white, just imagine the frustration, anger and bewilderment that would be yours if you were a *Negro*, and looked at Joe Palooka every day of your life.

KKK in Union Square

Under the pressure of Jewish and Negro progressive organizations, the capitalist government of New York City has refused to license an anti-Negro, anti-Jewish fascist rally called for July 4 in Union Square.

Both the American Civil Liberties Union and the Emergency Civil Liberties Union are protesting the decision and the ACLU is representing George L. Rockwell, the would-be dictator, in court.

The ACLU, and especially the ECLC (which is closer to the labor movement), should be condemned for upholding the "rights" of a super-klansman who advocates a "white, Christian republic." They should be condemned for supporting the "rights" of a group that openly calls for the slaughter of Jews and the forcible exile of all Negroes to Africa.

We wouldn't uphold the "rights" of a worker to be a scab on his fellow workers. And a hundred times less would we uphold the "right" of a scab to beat up a striker. Still less can we allow anyone to organize scabs and scum-of-the-earth Negro-lynchers and Jew-killers, as Rockwell is trying to do.

But is it correct for a workers' organization to call upon the capitalist cops to take care of the workers' mortal enemy? Is this the way to educate the workers as to the real nature of fascism and how to fight it?

It is a betrayal of the workers to

fight for the "civil rights" of the fascist butchers as the ACLU and the ECLC are doing. But it is a *diversion of the workers' struggle* to call upon the capitalist authorities to fight fascism by refusing permits for meetings.

It is a wrong method of fighting because it creates the impression that the capitalist state is *impartial* in the struggle between fascism and the workers, or that the state can be really utilized by the workers in that struggle. In reality, the state is the instrument of the same capitalist class which at a certain point calls upon the fascists to maintain capitalist rule with club, gun and rope.

The state will refuse the fascists a permit only so long as the capitalists do not need the fascists—and perhaps not even that long. In the present case, the capitalists really refused the permit because they wanted to *save the fascists* from the righteous wrath of the Negro and Jewish population. (The Mayor said he wanted to prevent a riot.)

Naturally, if the cops and the capitalists for one reason or another attack the fascists or refuse them permits etc., no worker in his right mind is going to object. But every working class fighter must learn that the only *dependable* defense against fascism is the independent struggle of the working class itself.

The Real Segregators

Who expelled Rev. James Lawson from Vanderbilt University in Tennessee after he participated in the Southern sitdowns? Was it his white fellow students or professors? No, it wasn't. *It was the Board of Trustees who expelled Lawson.*

And who are the Board of Trustees? They are the most "honorable" and "substantial" people in the community. They are the wealthy citizens who pull the sinister strings behind the scenes of this university. They and their friends have the power to integrate all American colleges—and American factories, as well as the rest of American life—*overnight, if they wish*. But they do not so wish. They use their power to *keep America segregated*.

We list below, the Vanderbilt Finance Committee appointed by, and made up of Vanderbilt trustees. All information we print here about them, they themselves supplied to the most recent volume of "Who's Who."

Harold S. Vanderbilt

Capitalist (His own description).
Director of various railway and other corporations.

Eldon Stevenson, Jr.

Insurance executive.
President of National Life and Accident Insurance Co.
Director of Standard Brands, Inc.

Henry Clay Alexander

Lawyer, Banker.
Chairman of the Board, J. P. Morgan and Co.
Office: Wall Street, N. Y. C.

Vance J. Alexander

Banking.
Chairman of the Board, Union Planters National Bank and Trust Co.

Parkes Armistad

Banker.
President, First American National Bank of Nashville.
Director of North Carolina and St. Louis Railway, Gray and Dudley Co., Nashville Industrial Corp., Merchants Wholesale Warehouse Corp., Dyersburg Cotton Products Corp., Keith Simmons and Co., Nashville Bridge Co., Rockford Textile Mills, Inc.

Sam M. Fleming

President of Third National Bank of

Nashville.

Director of Williamson Co. Bank, Maxwell House Co., American Pencil Co.

President of National Bank Division of American Bankers Association.

Robert L. Garner

International Banker.
President of International Finance Corp. since 1956.
Vice president and Treasurer of Guaranty Trust Co. 1929-43.

Frank K. Houston

Banker.
Honorary Chairman of Board of Directors and Vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chemical National Bank and Trust Co.
Director of Chemical Bank and Trust Co., Hotel Waldorf-Astoria Corp., Piedmont Fire Insurance Co., World Fire and Marine Insurance Co., Chemical Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co., Standard Insurance Co. of N. Y.
Methodist.

N. Baxter Jackson

Chairman of the Board of Chemical Corn Exchange Bank to 1956.
Chairman of the bank's executive committee since 1956.
Director of McCrory Stores, Inc.

MAIL BAG

May 22, 1960

Dear Editor:

Dear Editor:

Joseph Germano, District 31 Director of the United Steelworkers of America, in an article in the Gary Post Tribune of June 11, was accredited the following quotation in reference to the Japanese Steel Unions.

"My first reaction," Germano said, "was that the unions there are *not as independent as they are here*."

"They have *no term contracts* and can strike at any time. . . . The unions there have *more freedom* in shutting down the plants. . . ."

(Italics mine, M.A.H.)

It seems to me that the words "independence" and "freedom" in the above quote, like our use of the word, "democracy," are mere phrases. Used as advertising and not description.

A union that can carry on without a term contract, a no-strike clause, and have 100 per cent organization and still have a disciplined membership (as Germano implies elsewhere) is a union to be envied. They have little to learn from us that will be beneficial to them.

This does not mean, however, that Japanese steel union men and women are better union people than ours. Nor does it mean that they have a more advanced leadership.

It means that the corporations of Japan are not so secure in the political saddle as are the corporations in the U.S.A. . . .

Yes, the Japanese unions have little to learn from us at the present moment. The future ahead can spell disaster for us all, however, if both we and they do not repossess the political power of our own respective countries *entirely from the corporations* and place it where it belongs.

In the hands of the people under the leadership of the self-organized unions on an industrial basis.

M.A.H., Gary, Indiana

It was with bold steadfast determination and in defiance of both the rabid white elements and the conservative self-appointed Negro leadership that some three to four thousand Negro college students and interestingly enough, an appreciable number of *white* college students from the neighboring white colleges joined hands and decided that "We will march to the state capital on the anniversary of the May 17th Supreme Court Decision and tell those white segregationists of Georgia that we are not satisfied with what they are doing to us."

Yes, it was with a profound sense of reverence for freedom that they said: "We have looked at the horrors of segregated Georgia too long and we are grieved at what we have seen."

Though advised by the more conservative of their self-appointed leaders that "This type of action shouldn't be done"; told by their conservative college presidents that "Your plans are premature, you should wait and think things over"; threatened by their segregationist Governor who in warning them that they would not be welcomed, opened the invitation to violence; these bold warriors for freedom, nonetheless, stood firm on their decision and began their two mile walk through the downtown area to the State Capitol—chanting two tunes which have become popular among the *sitdowners*: "We are not afraid" and "We Shall Not Be Moved."

Though most of them were diverted from the Capitol by the City and State militia on hand with fire hoses, tear gas, "billy clubs," and guns of varied description, to a church a mile away where they had a "rip roaring rally," Atlanta will long remember that three mile "walk for freedom."

It can be truthfully said that the youth of Atlanta's community are coming of age.

C., Atlanta, Ga.

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NAME

STREET

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

In Youngstown, So-Called Boom Is a First Class Depression

By J. Wilson

The depression in the Youngstown steel district is continuing. It is so bad that the *Wall Street Journal* and *Steel*, the metalworking weekly, have both written articles about it.

The boss magazines and newspapers try to lay the major blame for the depressed situation on the union wage scales that are paid to fabricating workers. They also blame the union for not cooperating with management in effecting greater efficiency (speedup) in the mills.

They blame the union for having been responsible in defeating the corporation's plans to get cheap water for industrial use at the workers' expense. But they do admit that the unemployed crises in Youngstown are capitalist crises, and also imply that very little can be done about the situation.

What are the union leaders proposing to solve this number one problem and to answer the attacks of the bosses? David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers Union, made a couple of speeches urging the enactment of the thirty-hour week. But even the thirty-hour week would not solve the unemployment crisis in Youngstown today. The local leadership, through Paul Evans, the staff representative, admits

that the union has retreated before the attacks of the company by *granting better terms to the bosses* in certain instances.

And even the employers, while attacking the union, admit that the recently negotiated contract between the union and a group of aluminum extrusion companies may result in the Youngstown district companies having a "more favorable competitive position" than before. Union representative, Sam Camens, who led negotiations for this agreement, undoubtedly understood, but accepted this retreat.

Not one word comes from the top leadership demanding that new markets be opened up, such as could be had with the recognition of China. Not one word out of these apologists for capitalism to show the real way and the only way out of the unemployment crisis—the *nationalization of the steel industry under workers' control*.

These labor leaders are not even raising a hand to solve the problems resulting from the layoff crisis. They will act only when prodded by the suffering mass, of unemployed workers. Such is the bureaucratic blindness of our present labor leadership.

Gruesome Figures!

Nation-wide steel production is scheduled for 54.8 per cent of capacity during the week of June 27. It is expected to fall even lower during the week of July 4.

Twenty-five thousand steelworkers have been laid off indefinitely, and many thousands more are on short weeks.

Fifteen years ago, about the same amount of steel was being produced as now. But there were more steelworkers at work, and they were working six-day and seven-day weeks!

— South Africa

(Continued from page 1)

enough; it may be that they do not have enough organization and power—in spite of their numbers—to make the great struggle that their nightmarish living conditions demand of them.

But help is in the offing. If it be not inside the country, then it will come from outside the country. If it will not come from the newly independent countries of Ghana or the Congo or the Mali, then it will come from the Soviet or from revolutionary China. *But it will come.*

A Cruel Joke on India

The United States government is selling the government of India 17 million tons of surplus wheat for \$1,300 million. This is advertised as a great humanitarian step to prevent famine in India.

Maybe so. But somebody is making a lot of money on the deal. And it isn't the American or Indian working class.

First of all, the surplus wheat is around because the American workers paid the taxes so the U.S. government could buy it from the farmers. Then the American workers paid higher prices for the wheat that the farmers did take

to market, because the "surplus" was held off the market.

Then the Indian government taxed the masses of India to buy the American "surplus." But that's not all. A very large percentage of the purchase money will not be given directly to the U.S. government. It is earmarked to buy machinery and equipment from U.S. concerns. This makes it seem still more charitable on the part of the U.S. But what it really means is this:

U.S. manufacturers of this machinery will coin some more profits out of India's need.

Has Zero Hour Passed in Japan?

Parliamentary Reform or Proletarian Revolution?

By Sam Marcy

What is really at stake in Japan? What is really on the order of the day? *It is the revolutionary seizure of power*, for which the objective situation has fully ripened.

It is first necessary to define the aims of the basic classes in contemporary Japanese society in order to understand this situation clearly.

The Japanese bourgeoisie, having thoroughly exposed itself as a tool of Wall Street imperialism, is desperately trying to confine the masses to strictly bourgeois-democratic limitations. It is trying to make absolutely sure that the masses do not go beyond the confines of the "democratic" state structure. It intends to placate the masses with a fraudulent bourgeois election and divert them from the path of revolution.

The aim of the proletariat and its allies is to break through the facade of hypocritical bourgeois democracy and to erect a proletarian dictatorship.

This aim has on numerous occasions been given expression by various workers and students' organizations, particularly by the revolutionary element in the Zengakuren.

In the days immediately following the Hagerty debacle and the forced cancellation of Eisenhower's visit, it had become apparent that a truly revolutionary situation had finally matured, bringing with it the elements of *dual power*.

Dual Power

On the one hand stood the Kishi government supported by the bourgeoisie, the police and the governing bureaucracy, with the army standing by. And on the other hand there stood the Japanese proletariat, its organized trade unions (SOHYO), the revolutionary student youth grouped around Zengakuren, and the lowest strata of the plebian masses in the cities and the poor on the countryside.

A test of strength took place and is still taking place—between these two powers. It remained for the Zengakuren and SOHYO, along with the representatives of the above groups, to constitute themselves as the *government of the country* and call upon all the masses to rally around it and repudiate the parliamentary masquerade of the bourgeoisie. (Naturally the exact day and hour for doing this must depend on special tactical considerations.)

All slogans had already crystalized themselves into one: "Kishi Must Go!" And the hatred of Kishi, the oppressor of Japanese workers and tool of American capitalists had become well-nigh universal.

Hatred of the foreign occupier is a powerful cement in welding the revolutionary masses together. The enrichment of the Japanese bourgeoisie through the American occupation authorities in the face of the poverty of the masses, makes the appeal for the overthrow of Kishi's government far more powerful than would otherwise be the case.

But there is a great obstacle to the seizure of power *beside* the reactionary bourgeoisie itself. That obstacle is the leadership and the policies of the "left-wing socialists" and the CP. For the leadership of these organizations, contrary to false impressions generated by the vile red-baiting press in this country, are carrying out a policy which helps and abets the plans of the Japanese bourgeoisie and even its overlords in Washington.

Strategy of Diversion

The strategy of the bourgeoisie was to *divert* the revolutionary struggle of the masses into safe parliamentary channels—to create the illusion that a

ministerial reshuffle was the basic solution to a deep-going social crisis, a crisis of bourgeois society itself.

The CP and SP leaders joined the bourgeoisie in creating this illusion.

To confine the objectives of the revolutionary mass movement to a purely parliamentary reshuffling was the worst of all deceptions. For the history of all bourgeois parliamentarism teaches that the bourgeoisie can rule no matter what party and no matter what clique holds office as long as the essential elements of *state power*, the army, police and governmental bureaucracy remain intact.

Under such circumstances, the bourgeois parliament is nothing more than a screen behind which the class enemy maneuvers, dupes the mass movement and then destroys it.

To utilize the bourgeois parliament to the very end in the interest of rallying the masses and exposing the bourgeoisie is the duty of every working class party. However, when the elements of *dual power* become apparent, and the masses or the majority of class-conscious workers among the masses, have become thoroughly disillusioned with the bourgeois parliament and the hypocritical stooges at its head, such as Kishi and Co., the situation is different. Then it is the duty of the working class parties to give political expression to their side of the dual power which has openly split Japanese society.

The SP Failed

The large Socialist fraction in the Diet was plainly cognizant of this all-important fact when it decided to hand in its joint resignation. The next logical and consistent step for them to have taken was to *convene a congress* of the basic organizations of the popular masses, composed of the trade unions, the various anti-treaty organizations, the revolutionary youth organizations, the peasants and all working class organizations who stood on a program of "Kishi Must Go" and an "End to the Japan-U. S. Treaty."

This in fact would have been, and even as of now would be, the embryo workers state in direct and irreconcilable opposition to the capitalist state.

Such a body would have the authority to declare any treaty signed by Kishi null and void and not binding on the Japanese people. Such a body would have had the support of the decisive elements among the popular masses as even their enemies now admit.

But the Social Democrats, true to their role as handmaidens of the bourgeoisie, refused to make a complete break with the bourgeois parliamentary regime. By the trick method of having resigned from parliament, *but not really handing in their resignation*, and merely depositing it with the chairman of their parliamentary delegation, they revealed their unwillingness for a clean break with the bourgeois regime.

In the meantime, the high waters of the revolutionary struggle have tempo-



rarily subsided. The hated treaty is signed. But the issue of Kishi's resignation still remains.

Only a Re-Shuffle?

Kishi, of course, must go. He is hated by the masses and he is of no further use to the capitalist rulers. The bourgeoisie does not mind having a new general parliamentary election, especially if the time and circumstances are well chosen to suit its own need and the election is conducted by its own henchmen. A ministerial re-shuffle or even a new bourgeois coalition with an SP-supported ministry could still serve its predatory class interest. (Indeed, in a revolutionary situation, this would serve the bourgeoisie much better than Kishi who is so thoroughly exposed!)

But the revolutionary mood of the masses must not be dissipated and frustrated by parliamentary deception and dilatory tactics by the leaders of the CP and SP as has happened all too often in other countries.

The tactic of convening a congress of all the workers and revolutionary student organizations is the method best suited for organizing the overthrow of the Kishi regime and the establishment of a workers state.

This would open a new historical epoch in the Far East.

Strong for Revolution



Kazuyuki Tanaka

This 23-year-old young student is a Trotskyist leader of the militant left wing of the Zengakuren. He told American reporters that his group stood for the revolutionary overthrow of Japanese capitalism.

Who Are The "Ultra-Lefts", Khrushchev?

The imperialist press the world over was all but delirious over the recent Pravda article denouncing "left sectarianism." And with good reason! For they knew all too well that the long-awaited attack was directed not against real living sectarians or ultra-lefts, but against none other than the firmest, and strongest class ally of the Soviet Union—Communist China and the Chinese CP.

With malicious delight, the *New York Times* of June 14 exclaimed that Khrushchev would eventually have to come out against Peking in much less guarded terms. Loyal Communists throughout the world, genuine Socialists, and friends of the Soviet Union generally, have a natural reluctance to accept the imperialist interpretation of events. And that is the way it should be.

But the *deeds* of the imperialists which speak a thousand times louder than all the imperialist propaganda, must be examined carefully and clearly by all class-conscious workers and Communists.

Just consider this: Barely had four weeks elapsed since the collapse of the Summit Conference and the U.S. ruling class quickly began to readjust its strategy toward the Communist bloc. In doing so, it once again demonstrated that its class instinct for blackmail and bribery is as sharp as its appetite for imperialist plunder is insatiable.

In the case of Poland, for instance, the U.S. announced that it will negotiate a credit in the sum of no less than \$100 million for surplus food, and in return will merely take "local currency." A rather generous offer, indeed!

This offer followed immediately upon the heels

of a speech by the Polish Ambassador to the UN, Jerzy Michalowski, on May 24, 1960. The speech was made during the U-2 debate. Michalowski, while he supported and voted for the Soviet resolution, made it clear that his line of attack was based principally and primarily on "violation of international law and sovereignty."—and pointedly refrained from attacking the U.S. as an imperialist aggressor, which was the line of the USSR's attack.

All who had their ears carefully attuned to the measured words of the Polish delegate knew what his speech meant. It was a diplomatic signal from Gomulka to Eisenhower that the Polish regime still stood at the extreme *Right* of the Communist bloc — with the exception, of course, of Yugoslavia.

How different it was with the case of China! No imperialist hand-outs there! But more guns, planes, ships and missiles to re-inforce the Seventh Fleet and "safeguard" the security of the Western Pacific! And that's not all. The hastily convened SEATO Conference was quickly shifted to *Washington*, where both Herter and Nixon unloosed the most provocative and bellicose of war speeches directed against China and made open threats of continual military maneuvers around the South China Seas. And this, on top of more than one hundred violations of China's air space!

Can Khrushchev fail to realize the significance of the mightiest capitalist government handing out generous offers to *one* of his collaborators and meting out punishment and threats of aggression to another? Hardly.

By scandalizing the Chinese CP to the glee and merriment of the entire imperialist bourgeoisie,

Khrushchev *weakened* the USSR and sharpened the appetites of the war-makers.

And the irony of it all is that by doing so, he has done damage to his own theses of "peaceful co-existence." For if there is any validity to his thesis at all (and we don't believe there is), one of its firmest pillars is the avowed unity of the entire Socialist camp. Yet who among the imperialists will fail to see that Khrushchev's attack on the Chinese CP revealed a widening rift within the camp.

The bribery offered to Poland and the blackmail attempt on China are in the final analysis *only two different forms of pressure exerted on the USSR, itself*. One only has to ponder for a moment the enormous harm to the defense position of the USSR and the international proletariat if U.S. imperialism's tactic toward Poland and China were to succeed even only partially!

Fortunately, the same acute contradictions of imperialism which perpetually pull it in the direction of war against the Soviet bloc also exhibit a tendency in the opposite direction. The revolutionary intervention of the masses in Japan, the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee government in Korea, and the ouster of Menderes in Turkey operate, even if only temporarily, as a *tremendous brake on the Pentagon militarists* and constantly upset their war plans.

This has saved the Soviet bloc from the catastrophe that Khrushchev is courting with his false policy of conciliation with imperialism, while China openly defies the U.S. war-makers. This is the *real* issue in the struggle he is waging against the Chinese CP, for which "left-sectarianism" has served as a shabby cover.

Book Review

Democratic Angels and Fascist Devils

The Reluctant Satellites. Leslie Bain, MacMillan \$3.95.

Leslie Bain proves that the Hungarian uprising of 1956 was in reality a capitalist "democratic" counter-revolution. He also proves (unconsciously) that the new "democratic" capitalist government led by Imre Nagy would have gone down before a *fascist* capitalist assault in a few months if the Red Army had not overthrown it first.

His main thesis, however, is that American imperialism *sabotaged* the Hungarian counter-revolution by trying to force it into a *fascist* pattern, by not supporting Nagy soon enough, and by encouraging the Hungarians to continue the armed struggle for *immediate* withdrawal of Soviet troops from *all Hungary* when this was an obvious impossibility for the Soviet—obvious even to the anti-Communist Mr. Bain.

This very pro-capitalist author spent part of the summer of 1956 in Hungary and was well acquainted with the political trends there. And therefore his complaint about the U. S. agencies being *too reactionary for their own good* in Hungary has a particular interest for us.

For example he quotes a bitter Hungarian refugee who says, "It would be sheer ingratitude on the part of the Soviets not to decorate the directors of Radio Free Europe with the Order of Lenin."

The refugee obviously meant that Radio Free Europe "compromised" the uprising; made it seem more fascist than it was; drove Hungarian capitalist "democrats" back into the Communist camp because they were more afraid of fascism than of Rakosi; and provoked the Red Army into bloody reprisals for fear of the U. S. intervention that Radio Free Europe was almost openly promising.

It is true that the capitalist elements leading the counter-revolution were a vaguely "democratic" melange of middle class intellectuals, Social Democrats and typical demagogic capitalist politicians. And Bain, like every other admirer of the Hungarian "democrats," says that

these people had the counter-revolutionary situation "well in hand," so to speak.

But he shows with convincing facts and figures that the fascist parties grew like mushrooms after the rain. He reveals that Pal Maleter, the hero of all the capitalist democrats and Social Democrats in America, was in reality a *fascist*. He says that Maleter was using his post as defense secretary in the Nagy capitalist government to organize fascist armed gang formations (*outside* the already anti-Soviet Hungarian Army!). And the fascist parties were already grouping together in the "Christian Front" under Maleter.

But in spite of all this, says Bain, there was no real danger of fascism in Hungary! This, you see, was because the "freedom fighters" were so heroic and because Nagy, Tildy, Kovacs, Kethly, Bibo and the other gentlemen in the new capitalist government were such good democrats.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the very richest countries, modern nations cannot remain poised for long upon the golden tightrope of capitalist democracy.

Capitalist democracy depends not upon the ideals of high-minded professors or the liberal political platforms of other assorted "men of good will." Capitalist democracy depends more fundamentally upon the ability of capitalism to provide a modern living standard for the masses without losing its own profits and stability. It depends upon the ability of capitalism to survive without destructive class struggles. Hungarian capitalism could have no such ability.

In backward Hungary, the *state* must organize the economy. It is just a question whether the workers will do this organizing through *their* state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) or the capitalists will do the organizing through *their* state (in this case, the *fascist* state).

There will be no democracy in Hungary except the workers democracy exercised by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of course there will be no workers'

The Sweet Smell Of Segregation

By Frederick Matteger

What is the real cause of racial bias on the job, in housing, in schools, at lunch counters?

Is it just ignorance? Is it a result of a mass white neurosis that demands a feeling of superiority over somebody? Is it just that whites are evil?

These are answers that are sometimes given. But the truth is this: *discrimination is carefully planned.*

Well-dressed men, talking in well-bred, business-like voices, smelling of expensive after-shave lotions, sit in modern offices, or comfortable clubs, and deliberately plan methods of promoting racial bias. They plan carefully, coldly, and they plan thoroughly the details of promoting and using racial distrust and hate.

You see, racial discrimination means *profits* for these men.

Nationwide, the income of the average Negro family is about half that of the average white family.

Median income for white families in 1957 was \$5,166.

Median income for Negro families was \$2,764.

Who gives—who gets

This means that millions of Negro workers are forced to furnish cheap labor. It means that millions of Negro workers must furnish a day's work and are paid only a small fraction of the value of what they have made. (White workers also get only a fraction of what they produce but their fraction is larger.) It means that billions are being made on the sub-standard pay of Negro workers.

And who gets these billions? The shrewd men in the expensive

democracy while the Kadar bureaucracy deforms and betrays this dictatorship. But as against the capitalist democratic angels of Mr. Bain as well as against his fascist devils, *we fight alongside of Kadar.*

suits, the men who own the factories and the banks.

In the north where racial bias is officially banned, these fine-smelling men may actually contribute money to Negro causes. (As John D. Rockefeller, Jr. did.) These gifts are widely publicized. Yet these same men and their agents who manage their factories carry on a carefully planned campaign in these factories to keep black and white apart.

Spoon-fed prejudice

Negroes are given the harder, more unpleasant and dangerous jobs. White workers are slyly bought off with better jobs at higher pay. The mutual distrust built up in both white and black over long years of conditioning is fed and fostered by racist foremen carrying out the policies of the wealthy men they serve.

In a mixed shop, white union stewards are discouraged from fighting for their black brothers. And Negro stewards are persuaded that white brothers' problems are not theirs.

Housing in northern cities is for the most part segregated by landlords' "gentlemen's agreements." High profits are then made by landlords charging high rents for ramshackle houses—the only ones available to many Negro tenants. And this segregated housing pattern means segregated schools and a further separating of workers into two groups. This split of the working class forms two props which support the capitalist class.

Join these two props together and they become a battering-ram that will topple the system which fattens on Jim Crow.

Combine these props into one and the system which gets fat on Jim Crow will be ready for toppling!

And we must combine not just with our black and white American brothers but with our Cuban, African, Japanese, Chinese and Russian brothers, and all workers everywhere.

Then we will begin building socialism—a system that thrives on human brotherhood.