

# SWP Salutes Negro Council

## Nationwide Body Organized To Fight Union Discrimination

By Tom Kerry

MAY 17 — The Socialist Workers Party yesterday sent greetings to the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council scheduled to convene in Detroit at the Statler-Hilton Hotel on May 27.

The SWP hailed the formation of NALC as "a progressive advance in the continuing struggle of the Negro people for complete equality in all phases of American life."

According to a news release issued by NALC: "Approximately 1,500 delegates, from New York to Los Angeles and from New Orleans to Detroit, are expected to converge upon the world automobile center to establish a mass organization of Negro trade unionists to gain equal rights in trade unions and industry."

The official convention call pinpoints the reasons motivating the organization of Negro trade unionists in a movement dedicated to combating discrimination in the labor movement. The "issue," says the call, "is a nutshell" is that, "Negroes are disheartened and weary of discrimination and segregation in the labor movement."

In an indictment of present union practices the convention call correctly insists that the victims of discrimination must take the initiative in stamping Jim Crow out of the unions when it says:

"We resent Jim Crow locals; we deplore the freezeout against Negroes in labor apprenticeship and training programs; we disclaim the lack of upgrading and promotional opportunities for Negroes; we repudiate the lock-

out against Negroes by some unions; we, above all, reject 'tokenism,' that thin veneer of acceptance masquerading as democracy. Since hundreds of thousands of Negroes are the victims of this hypocrisy we ourselves must seek the cure, in terms of hundreds of thousands, in the dimensions of a mass organization."

The idea of the formation of a council of Negro trade unionists was first projected by Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters president, A. Philip Randolph, in a speech last July to the 50th anniversary convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Since then, local units of NALC have been set up in various cities throughout the country.

One of the knottiest problems for the convention to tackle will be that of political action. The top leaders of the AFL-CIO are committed to the support of the Democratic Party and their candidates, in the form of its Dixiecrat wing, is the worst enemy of the fight for Negro equality.

There is strong pressure from the union tops on Negro labor leaders not to upset the labor-Democratic Party coalition. There is equally strong pressure from the ranks to break with the unholy political alliance.

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ERROLL BANKS, Los Angeles packinghouse worker, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 23 district in California. On May 17 he declared: "When I see the way those youngsters in the South are fighting armed racists to a standstill, it makes me think we ought to bring some of them up here to replace the spineless top leaders of the labor movement. Then maybe we would give the anti-labor, anti-Negro Republican and Democratic parties a real battle instead of the cringing support they now get from the union leaders."

## Dobbs, Duggan Slug It Out on Socialist Issue

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The television audience here had the unusual opportunity May 2 of seeing someone capable of slugging it out with Tom Duggan, known throughout the city as a vicious McCarthyite. The counter-puncher was Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers candidate for the presidency.

Most people find it frustrating to be interviewed by Duggan, not that he can't be answered, but because he asks a question and then interrupts the answer with clown-type remarks.

Dobbs responded to that tactic at one point by telling Duggan, "Don't be a prosecuting attorney!"

On the question of getting on the ballot Duggan remarked that it is easier to get on in some states than others.

"All things are relative," Dobbs replied. "It's easier to jump 60 feet down than 100, but it's a hard jump."

Duggan asked, "Since you will

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# "American People Ashamed of Lies," Say Socialist Presidential Candidates

## Why Summit Broke Down

By Joseph Hansen

Each side is blaming the other for the crash of the summit conference May 17. Washington points an accusing finger at Khrushchev and seeks mysterious reasons in domestic Soviet politics for the "sudden" switch at Paris. Moscow, on the other hand, rails at Eisenhower and his approval of spying by jet planes.

As yet, Democrats and Republicans are standing on their bipartisan foreign policy; that is, not to criticize each other, no matter what the disaster. Nevertheless, it can be expected that sections of the capitalist class, as they begin to grasp the new situation, will seek to assess responsibility for what happened and this will be reflected to some degree during the election campaign.

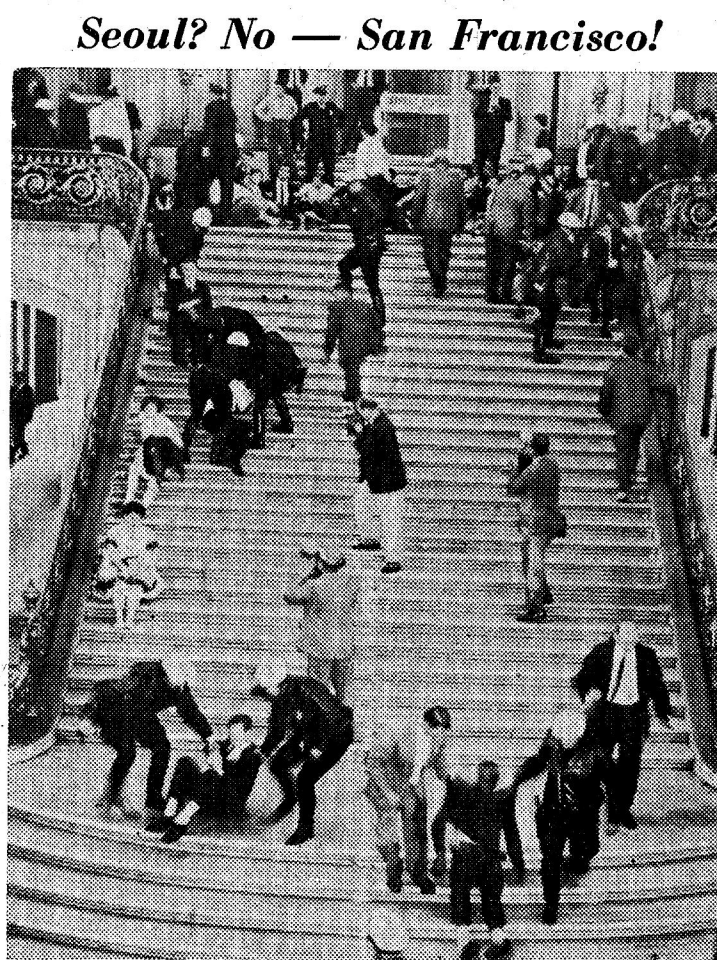
Of main concern to the American people, and to the working masses throughout the world, is how the struggle for peace has been affected by the blow up. Here things are not as gloomy as they might appear. The dispelling of illusions serves the cause of peace.

What happened fundamentally was the revelation before the whole world, in the most dramatic way, of the contradiction between the drive of American imperialism toward World War III and its diplomatic posture of pretending to seek peace.

By the very structure of its economy, America is driven inexorably toward another conflict. That is why Congress casually continues year after year to earmark \$40,000,000,000 in the annual budget for this purpose. That's what the stockpile of nuclear weapons is for—and the bases ringing the Soviet bloc.

And that is why all the capitalist politicians and propagandists automatically defended the dirty business of spying, defended its continuation as an official, avowed government policy, and also automatically defended lying about it. It's all part of the preparations for World War III, as they see it, so why should anyone be surprised about it or object to it? Why should the Enemy, even, object to it? It's

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When San Francisco youth acted to register their opposition to House Committee witch-hunting, the cops responded as they have in every other city where young people have opposed injustice. Police used brute force after fire hoses failed to break up a group of students at City Hall demanding entrance to the inquisitorial hearing.

## Sit-In Movement Scores Big Victory in Nashville

By Arthur Jordan

The Southern student sit-in movement entered its fourth month with a victory of major proportions. A signal breakthrough was registered May 10 in Nashville, Tenn.,

when six leading downtown department and chain stores, including Woolworth's, Kress', and Walgreen's, opened their lunch counters to Negroes on an unsegregated basis. There was one major hold-out, the W. T. Grant Co., whose officials said that Negroes would still be denied lunch-counter service.

Agreement with the six stores followed a month of negotiation backed up by a systematic campaign of sit-ins, mass demonstrations, and a highly effective boycott. Harrison Salisbury pointed out in the April 18 New York Times: "The volume [of store sales to Negro customers] is enough to make up the difference between red ink and black ink on the ledgers."

Immediate resumption of sit-ins after each wave of arrests testified to the movement's organization-in-depth. Even more dramatic evidence was the march in organized columns on City Hall of over 3,000 Negroes marshaled within hours after the April 19 bombing. An equal number turned out for the trials following the Feb. 27 arrests.

In every action students from Nashville's concentration of colleges played the decisive role. After attending a student executive committee meeting William V. Shannon wrote in the March 30 New York Post: "Since the students provide most of the manpower for the sit-ins, they make the basic decisions on strategy by majority vote."

The clamor was so great that Sheriff Carberry promised that on Friday students would be admitted on a first-come, first-served basis and loudspeakers would be set up for those who could not be accommodated. But on Friday only ten students were admitted.

"Abolish the Committee" Listening over the loudspeakers to a parade of hostile witnesses courageously defy the committee's McCarthyite browbeating, resentment of the students grew. Two hundred lined up in front of the committee

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## Call for Return of Troops, End to Nuclear War Drive

"The American people stand in shame and embarrassment before the entire world for what their government has done," Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president, declared May 18 in a joint statement on the blow up of the summit conference.

"The highest government officials have been lying and squirming like miserable thieves incapable of telling the truth," they continued.

"The government first said that an innocent weather plane had accidentally strayed across the Soviet frontier and had probably been shot down by the Russians in a ruthless provocation. 'This was a lie. The plane was deliberately ordered to cross the Soviet Union on a spying mission and the pilot was under orders to commit suicide like a Japanese Kamikaze pilot if he was caught.'

"When the lie was exposed in front of all the people on this globe, the government then sought to justify the foul business of spying and suicide jet-plane missions. All the Republicans excused it. All the Democrats excused it.

"Then they lied once again. They said it was an American right to send spy planes any time over the Soviet Union. They admitted they have been sending spy planes for years. They said they intended to keep sending spy planes.

"Even this turned out to be a lie. When Eisenhower got to Paris, he said no more such missions would be authorized. 'Who can believe him?'

"The fact now evident for all to see is that the American government, under the Republicans and Democrats, is the most immoral government in the world. It follows the technique of the Big Lie practiced by Hitler."

The two socialist candidates affirmed their own faith in the American people. "The great majority are concerned about world public opinion. We want an honest America. We want a decent America. We want an America that need not feel ashamed to stand up and face the moral judgment of the rest of humanity."

"To get that, we've got to throw out the Republicans and Democrats, the two parties of the Big Lie. We've got to put in a socialist government."

Students who wanted to observe the hearings discovered that the committee had devised a pass system to limit hostile spectators. On Thursday afternoon, some of those who had been waiting to be admitted began chanting, "We want in. Open the doors." Sympathizers inside echoed with, "Let them in!" Seven were summarily ejected from the chamber. One was Archie Brown, a subpoenaed witness.

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## Indonesia Joins Cuba In Scoring U.S. Attacks

HAVANA, May 13 — Indonesia and Cuba today condemned economic aggression from the United States against Cuba and the aerial attacks on Cuban territory by planes coming from U.S. territory. In a joint communique issued this afternoon here, both nations declared that such actions by the U.S. "cause loss of human life and material damages."

The communique is signed by President Sukarno, of Indonesia, and Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba. It scores "the unmerciful policy" of racial discrimination followed by the government of South Africa and advocates "complete abolition" of colonialism in all its manifestations.

The document points out that "Cuba and Indonesia grant full support to the peoples that, in the use of their inalienable rights, try to emancipate themselves from imperialist oppression." In open reference to the practice of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa, Cuba and Indonesia demand the immediate abolition of such methods "which have caused untold victims among the native population." Finally, Indonesia expresses in this joint declaration its support and participation in the conference of under-industrialized nations to be held in this city later this year.

## Why Negro Unionists Need Own Council

By George Breitman

DETROIT — The Negro American Labor Council, whose founding convention will be held here at the end of May, is disliked, openly or unofficially, by many white union leaders, including liberals.

They dislike it basically because they don't like to see any groups organized inside the unions that are not tightly controlled by themselves. Of course they can't say that out loud. So what they complain about is that Negro unionists, by organizing themselves independently, are "disuniting the workers along race lines" and are encouraging "separatism" or "Negro nationalism" or "Jim Crow in reverse," etc.

This is an old, old story. Evertime Negroes organize their own forces to fight for their own rights, whether in the struggle against slavery 100 years ago (the Abolitionists), or in the fight against job discrimination and military segregation 20 years ago (the March on Washington Movement), or in the battle to end Jim Crow practices inside the labor movement today (the Negro American Labor Council) — everytime something like that happens, then certain white people, including some who call themselves friends of the Negro people, begin to wring their hands,

turn red in the face and ask in mournful tones: "Why do you want to have your own organization? Don't you trust us white people who are trying to help you? Don't you realize that we know the best way to proceed in the fight for equality? Don't you understand that your organizing separately will create suspicion and make it harder to overcome prejudice? Don't you see that if you organize in an all-Negro organization this will result in whites organizing all-white organizations?" And so on.

Douglass' Stand

This is an old story, we say. And we think it may be helpful to go back 100 years or more and re-read the writings on this subject by Frederick Douglass, who was born a slave and became one of the nineteenth century's greatest figures in any country of the world. After escaping from slavery in the South, Douglass joined the Abolitionists. This was a revolutionary movement, dedicated to the immediate and total emancipation of the slaves, which distinguished it from other groups advocating "gradualism" and colonization.

This is not the place to go into the history of the Abolitionist movement. It had many great merits, but it also had some serious shortcomings. Douglass after a time came to disagree with some of the policies and tactics of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which was led by William Lloyd Garrison, and there were some sharp disputes between them. One of these disputes centered around the place of Negroes inside the Abolitionist movement itself. Negroes represented a large part of the movement, but only a small part of the leadership (as in the labor movement today). Douglass was elected to the executive committee of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and was encouraged to speak and work for it, but when he questioned some of its tactics,

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## We Don't Want Ford Aid But We Do Need Yours

By Tom Kerry

Organizational Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Less than one month remains to complete the \$16,000 Socialist Fund required to carry forward our party activities for the next period. The sum of \$7,131 has been contributed to date, leaving a balance of \$8,869 to be collected in the next few weeks. If we are to reach our goal, our friends and supporters will have to respond quickly, with contributions and payments on pledges.

We note that the Ford Motor Company is also engaged in an election fund raising campaign. With simulated impartiality they are appealing to Ford workers to contribute their money to the two capitalist parties. The Ford corporation proceeds on the premise that they win no matter which of the two major party candidates are elected.

The following letter was addressed to Henry Ford II by Frank Lovell, SWP Michigan state chairman and candidate for the United States Senate:

"The press reports you have invited your employees to contribute financially to 'the party of their choice' through envelopes to be deposited in collection boxes in your plants and offices. Specifically, your employees are invited to make checks payable to Democratic or Republican state committees. 'I can understand your bias in favor of the Republican and Democratic parties, both of which are dedicated to the preservation of an exploitative economic system that allows people of your class to amass huge wealth out of the labor of their employees. 'You of course have the right

to favor the capitalist political parties. You also have the right to exclude from your program the other political parties on the ballot in this and other states. But when you help two parties and exclude the others, you have no right whatever to pretend you are encouraging your employees to contribute to 'the party of their choice.' The SWP, of course, neither expects nor wants any help from Henry Ford II. Our appeal is to those who seek to end the rule of the robber barons. Send your contribution today: Socialist Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. (See Scoreboard, Page 2.)

## New York College Bans Speech by Myra Weiss

ENDICOTT, N. Y., May 16 — The president of New York state-supported Harpur College here persisted today in defending a ban on a student meeting to hear Socialist Workers party candidate for Vice-President, Myra Tanner Weiss.

In response to student protests and statewide press coverage, Dr. Glen Bartle denied he banned the meeting because the SWP was "subversive." He said he merely wanted a "balanced program" with "all forms of socialism" presented — sometime "next year."

The SWP candidate wired Governor Rockefeller protesting the ban and demanding to know if a socialist "could campaign in New York state-supported institutions without discrimination?" She said Dr. Bartle "refused to discuss the matter with me" and insisted on quick action from the Governor to "prevent violation of my rights as candidate."

## First Big Breakthrough

Sit-downers at Nashville lunch counters here wrested the first group surrender to integration by the leading chain stores of a major Southern city. Earlier victories had been counted by ones and twos, typically in the local stores of border state cities. In March a group capitulation by the downtown merchants of San Antonio, Texas, registered an important success. But the significance of the Nashville breakthrough was emphasized by the fact that the border of the deepest South was less than a hundred miles away.

Nashville still faced the task of breaking down much remaining segregation, with the lunch counter at W. T. Grant Co. first on the agenda. One spokesman for the Negro community said: "We think it might be done with more dispatch just the way we are proceeding."

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The Truth About Cuba

# Why the U.S. Sent Troops In

By Joseph Hansen

Third in a series of articles

President McKinley sent American troops to intervene in the civil war in Cuba in 1898 ostensibly to aid the independence movement. His real reason was to make Cuba safe for American investments. That was why the troops were kept there for four years. By the time they were ready to leave, Cuba was safe for the Almighty Dollar.

By 1959 private American capital investments were listed at around \$850,000,000. This does not sound like very much compared, say, to the some \$2,000,000,000 which the Pentagon and State Department are reputed to take out of the public till each year for nothing but world-wide spying. But America's financial sharks are noted for their exceptionally strong parental instincts. They suffer agonies if the smallest investment is endangered; they will fight ferociously to protect it from harm; and they are fabled for their solicitude in providing it with human flesh, bones and nerves so that it will prosper and grow.

Thus a half century after the American troops were withdrawn, at least 40% of the sugar production in Cuba was held by U.S. corporations. About 90% of the island's mineral wealth was in the hands of Americans and 80% of public utilities. Cuba's oil resources were completely owned by American and British corporations. The biggest cattle ranches were likewise listed in the investment portfolios of American coupon clippers.

How much wealth was funneled from Cuba into American bank accounts since Cuba fell into Wall Street's orbit is not known. At present the Cuban government has been opening the books of the big corporations to try to get an idea. When the facts are made public, they should make interesting reading.

Even worse than the exhausting drain of profits wrung from the toil of the Cuban workers and campesinos, were the pernicious effects on the structure of the economy. Cuba became a one-crop country.

This does not mean much to American workers when they first hear about it. "So what?" they ask.

## World's Sugar Bowl

If we had a world-wide, integrated economy run according to scientific plan, a small country would very likely find it advantageous to concentrate on what its resources, climate and skills best enable it to produce. Bolivia's tin, Venezuela's oil and Cuba's sugar might then be regarded as the most important contributions to the satisfaction of humanity's material needs that could be produced in these countries for some time to come. Under capitalism, however, a one-crop economy compounds and intensifies the ordinary evils of this antiquated way of producing our basic necessities. The life of an entire nation becomes subject, sometimes to a disastrous degree, to the vagaries of the market and to the whim and calculations of a handful of ruthless, profit-minded monopolists.

In Cuba, sugar customarily accounted for two-thirds of the national income and 80% of exports. Property holdings became so concentrated that until the agrarian reform of a year ago, 75% of all the cultivated land was held by some 8% of the country's property owners. About 700,000 peasants held no land at all.

## Not Sweet for Workers

Taber summarizes figures indicating the situation facing the working class as follows:

"Of the total Cuban labor force of 2,204,000, some 361,000 persons were wholly unemployed throughout 1957; 150,000 were employed only part of the time; 154,000 were engaged in unremunerated labor — e.g., as domestic servants, working for their meals and lodgings. Of 1,539,000 Cubans gainfully employed, 954,000 earned less than \$75 a month in a nation where the peso was on a par with the dollar and had even less purchasing power in Havana than in New York."

These are graphic figures; but they fail to indicate the plight of the 500,000 sugar workers in Cuba's main industry. Employment for them existed each year only during the four months of the harvest. The other eight months were known as the "dead time."

For an American worker to grasp the meaning of that, he would have to recall in all its vividness the great depression of the thirties. That was a "dead time" in the richest country in the world, when it seemed hopeless to find work and millions found themselves reduced to beggary.

In poverty-stricken Cuba, eight months out of each year counted as a major depression for the bulk of the working people. The misery, suffering and hopelessness they experienced make for bleak reading. It is must reading, however, if you want to understand the reasons for the sensitivity of the Cubans to what happens in Washington and the counting houses of Manhattan.

## The Cuban Way of Life

They ate malanga, which is something like a straight potato diet. Sugar cane was a second staple. Thus they grew up stunted and subject to vitamin deficiency diseases.

They lived in huts called bohios. No floor, just the bare earth. A roof made of thatch from the royal palm, much appreciated by all kinds of insects.

Their clothes, more often than not, were patched rags. They went barefoot although this is hazardous in tropical countries.

They went without dental care, losing their teeth when they were still young. And they went without medical care. As for education, some 2,000,000 Cubans could neither read nor write.

Tens of thousands of fertile acres, growing to weeds, were available for cultivation, but feudal-minded landlords barred this. Cuba's long-suffering victims of chronic hunger, malnutrition and abysmal poverty had to avoid trespassing on land that really belonged to the people as a whole. To heighten their bitterness, Wall Street's propagandists made sure that they heard all about the "free world" and its wonders, particularly the prosperous "American Way of Life."

The American propagandists need not have rubbed it in. The Cuban masses were well prepared to desire a change in their way of life.

# The U.S. in the Korean Civil War

By Art Preis

(Third of a series.)

There is now a considerable body of factual information, from pro-imperialist sources and eye-witness contemporary accounts, to prove that the North Koreans were actually "on their own" and that the struggle waged in Korea during 1950-1953, was as pure an example of an internal civil war as we are apt to find. There wasn't even a differing accent to distinguish between contending Koreans, as there had been in the case of Northerners and Southerners in the American Civil War.

For instance, a New York Daily News correspondent, writing on October 18, 1950, from the captured North Korean capital Pyongyang, reported that the American troops no longer found it difficult to distinguish between "enemies" and "friends" among the Koreans. The dispatch quoted a U.S. lieutenant: "There is no difference between North and South Korea except that up here we know that all the people are North Koreans. We don't have to worry about telling the difference. All civilians are enemies, too."

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington on July 4, 1950, complained: "American soldiers in Korea are battling a strange enemy whose identity is uncertain, whose commanders are nameless, who fight murderously. The Northern enemy looks exactly like the Southern friend. . . There is no difference in appearance, in language or in personal custom between South and North Koreans."

We gather from the Korean dispatches of the period that the "enemy" was everywhere — in the front and in the rear, in peasant dress, in workman's clothes, in student garb. He was the engineer who drove the U.S. supply train to the wrong destination. He was the old man who gave wrong road directions to U.S. troops. He was the sniper who fired on a GI truck forty miles from where the "front" was supposed to be. In short, this enemy was almost the whole Korean people, fighting ferociously and with every means at their command against a foreign invader. That is why this enemy was "strange," "uncertain," "nameless." The masses have no name — and only one face.

### "Don't Know Enemy"

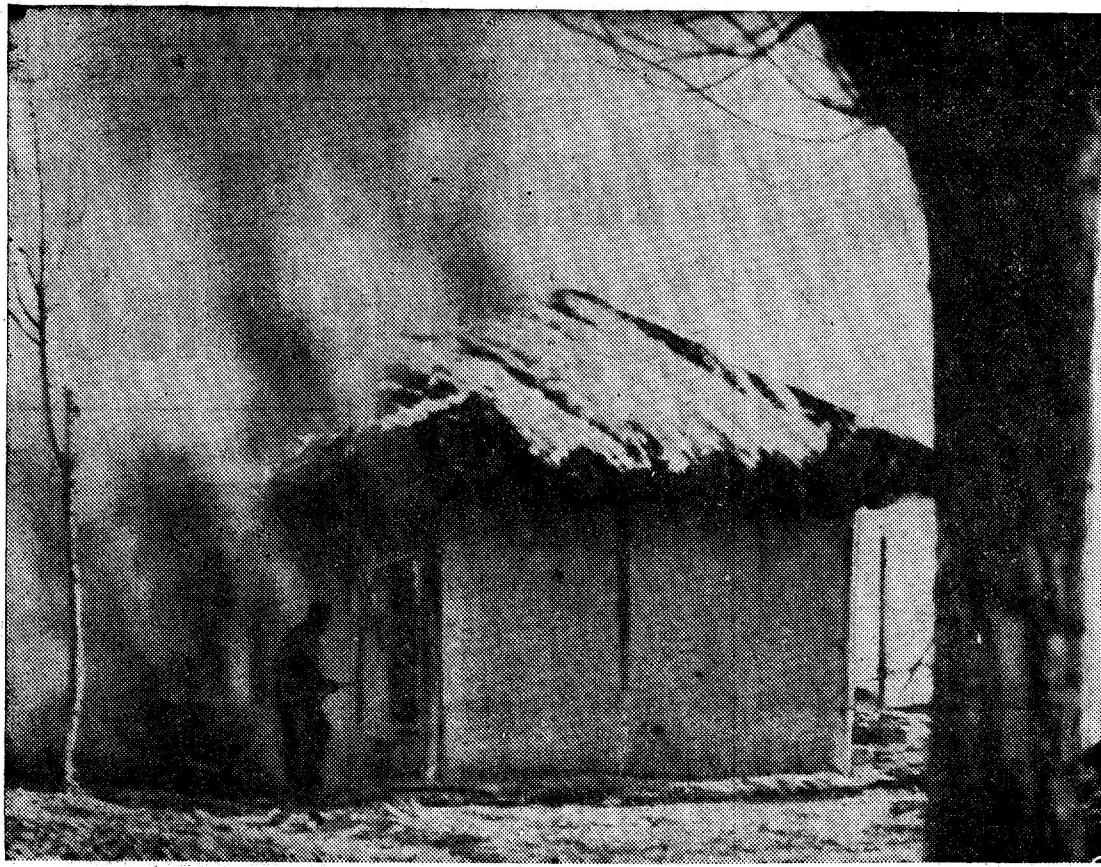
In a front-line dispatch to the July 18, 1950, New York Times, Walter Sullivan told of the American GI's fears in South Korea: "The soldiers said they felt the entire countryside was either passive or actively hostile. 'We don't even know who the enemy is,' one soldier said." On July 25, the same correspondent, commenting on the extensive guerrilla warfare in the U.S. rear, correctly observed: "It is a generally accepted principle that guerrilla warfare cannot endure if the lower levels of the populace support the government in power."

Of course, the "lower levels of the populace" did not support the government in power. In fact, that is what the fighting was all about. The "lower levels" were waging civil war against the "upper levels." Who fired the first shot in Korea? No one knows — least of all the Western imperialists who played on every key the theme of "unprovoked" and "wanton" aggression by the North Koreans precisely on June 25, 1950. Actually, the first shot had been fired years before in a continuing civil war between poor and rich in Korea.

"We are not only fighting the Chinese and North Koreans, but also the South Koreans. You can see by their faces that they don't want us here," a Missouri boy wrote Senator Kem (Congressional Record, March 1, 1951, page 1766).

Another typical letter from a soldier in Korea said: "Myself and a few thousand other GI's would like to know the answer

## How U.S. "Liberated" Korea



Typical example of application of Truman-Eisenhower policy of "liberation" in Korea during the "police action" of 1950-53. Dense smoke swirls about a burning Korean peasant hut as a U.S. soldier covers doorway with ready gun. This was in South Korea, behind U.S. lines. Military authorities ordered the burning of thousands of similar dwellings because they might serve as "cover for guerrillas." Last month South Korean working and student masses overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Rhee and are now continuing to fight for social and political demands.

to several questions. The biggest question at the moment is, just why are we over here? . . . The Korean people certainly aren't glad to have us. I've seen that with my own eyes." (Quoted by Rep. John B. Bennett, of Michigan. Congressional Record, March 13, 1951, page 1951).

There had been repeated but obscure references about civil war in Korea prior to June 25, 1950. "Korea is torn by large-scale warfare between the Russian-sponsored North Korean Republic and the U.S.-backed South Korean Republic," reported the U.S. News and World Report, July 8, 1949, a year before U.S. intervention.

Robert Payne, a British author long resident in China before the revolution and a bitter foe of the North Korean and new China regimes, described in considerable detail the civil war in Korea prior to 1950 in his book, "Red Storm Over Asia," published in 1950. He conceded that the North Korean government had divided the land among the poor peasants, set industry "on its feet," granted equality to women, established a free school system, cancelled the debts of the poor, etc.

### Hated Rhee Regime

The Rhee regime, on the other hand, was "dominated by landlords" and was hated by the majority of Koreans. Payne quotes a little-known United Nations report which told of 18,000 people being killed in "border fighting" and "guerrilla warfare" in the two years before the outbreak of full-scale fighting.

Even more revealing and authoritative information about the civil war in Korea was given by Col. A. Wigfall Green, in his book, "The Epic of Korea," published by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., in 1950. Col. Green had been Judge Advocate and President of the Board of Review for the Trial of Koreans in the American Military Government in Korea. At the time of the publication of his book he was on the faculty of the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. He told in some detail of the terrible conditions of the people in South Korea and the fiendish treatment they received at the hands of the courts and police.

Green in his book (pp. 125 and 126) gives the precise estimate of the UN Commission in Korea of the casualties in the civil war during 1949. North Korean

losses were 19,006 killed; 3,281 wounded; 7,140 captured; and 2,144 surrendered. South Korean forces, however, lost only 1,247 killed and 2,300 wounded. These figures establish the relative aggressiveness of each side in the civil war prior to 1950.

Col. Green also described the repeated threats and boasts by the South Korean leaders that their army, trained and equipped by the United States, could and would conquer North Korea. On February 20, 1949, the UN Commission requested Rhee to explain his statement that his forces "could defeat the North within two weeks if the Soviet Union did not intervene."

In a United Press interview on October 7, 1949, Rhee had bragged: "I am sure that we could take Pyongyang, the Northern capital, in three days. And an all-Korean border with Manchuria would be easier to defend than the 38th parallel." On November 1, 1949, Rhee's Defense Minister Shin Sung Mo told a press conference: "If we

had our way we would, I'm sure, have started up already. . . We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang within a few days."

Rhee himself was quoted in the March 2, 1950, New York Times as saying that despite advice by "friends from across the sea" not to attack the "foreign puppets" in North Korea, "we shall respond" to the "cries of our brothers in distress" in the North.

That same month Rhee imprisoned without trial 13 members of the National Assembly of South Korea who protested against his open threats to invade North Korea. According to a UN Commission report, three North Korean envoys who entered South Korea on June 10, 1950, to discuss proposals for unification of Korea, were seized, arrested and never seen again.

Space permits only the briefest treatment of the mass of evidence pointing to the distinct possibility, and even probability,

that Rhee deliberately provoked the full-scale war. "The Hidden History of the Korean War," an outspoken book by the eminent liberal journalist I. F. Stone, published in 1952, gives a fascinating and carefully documented account of the intrigues and maneuvers both by the Rhee government and U.S. officials that preceded the Korean War.

### The Chinese Defense

The charge of "unprovoked aggression" leveled against the Chinese, who entered the war on November 26, 1950, is a lie on the face of it. Using overwhelming air and armored power, the forces led by Gen. MacArthur had captured Pyongyang on October 20, 1950. They drove north to reach the Yalu River, Manchurian border of China, on November 20. A powerful U.S. army, including 20,000 members of the elite Marine Corps, stood poised on the Chinese border and threatened the key power stations providing electricity to the main industrial complex of China.

This American force and its South Korean helpers had just burned and ravished most of North and South Korea, slaughtering millions of the civilian populace. Gen. MacArthur who led this force, had been one of the most vocal proponents of the seizure of Formosa and war against China.

On August 25, 1950, in a speech at a Boston Navy Yard celebration, Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews had enunciated this policy of "preventive warfare." He had brushed aside the humbug about "aggression" and "non-aggression" and had urged that U.S. military might "compel cooperation" for what he called "peace." For such "peace," said Matthews, "we should be willing and declare our intention, to pay any price, even the price of instituting a war."

To show he was engaged in no loose rhetoric, Truman's Navy Secretary added that the U.S. must adopt the role of "aggressor for peace." This, he conceded, would "cast us in a character new to a democracy — an initiator of a war of aggression." Since Truman had claimed that North Korea had committed an "unprovoked aggression," the embarrassed State Department declared Matthews' "views do not represent United States policy."

But right after Matthews' speech, Gen. MacArthur, who was commander of all U.S. and UN forces in Korea, had called for "aggressive exploitation" of Formosa, traditionally recognized as part of China, as a per-

manent U.S. military base from which to launch air power to any point in Asia "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

Ever since "our Pacific victory," MacArthur said, "our strategic frontier shifted to embrace the entire Pacific Ocean, which has become a vast moat to protect us as long as we hold it." The U.S. and its "free allies," said MacArthur, control a chain of islands "extending in an arc from the Aleutians to the Marianas," from which "we can dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore. . . ." Formosa, he stressed, is "in the very center of this defensive perimeter."

### Chinese Warned U.S.

After the Chinese forces had counter-attacked and very nearly destroyed the U.S. forces, it was disclosed that the Chinese People's Republic had repeatedly warned the U.S., the UN and MacArthur not to threaten its Yalu River power stations and defenses. We have the testimony of no less a military authority than the then Army Chief of Staff, Gen. J. Lawton Collins, that the Chinese made no hostile move until MacArthur had carried his drive to a point which his own advisors had warned him would not be expected to tolerate. General Collins, on May 26, 1951, told a Senate hearing on Truman's ouster of MacArthur:

"I feel now compelled to tell you that I don't agree with Gen. MacArthur's reply that it would not be possible to stop on the high ground overlooking the Yalu. . . In fact, when we suggested that he stop his troops. . . on the high ground commanding the Yalu, he replied that it was not feasible. . . if we went beyond that to the river itself, (we felt) that they might feel that from their own security standpoint, that they would have to come across and see to it that we did not get those heights."

Of course, Collins' testimony is not cited to show that if the invading U.S. forces had stopped short of the Yalu River, the Chinese would not have entered the war. We need only consider what the U.S. government would do if a Chinese army had just ravaged all of Mexico and was nearing the Rio Grande and its top commander had just called for the seizure of the West Indies and bombing the United States.

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## Why Summit Broke Down

(Continued from Page 1)  
the normal American Way of Life, ain't it?

Virtually all the criticisms have been directed at getting caught red-handed in the dirty business, at failing to accept Khrushchev's proffer of letting Eisenhower deny that he knew about it or gave permission for it, and at forcing Khrushchev to make a demonstration at the summit of his capacity to uphold the sovereignty of the Soviet Union.

As Walter Lippmann acutely observes from the capitalist point of view, in his May 17 column, it was a "fatal mistake" to make it "impossible for Mr. Khrushchev to bypass the affair" of the spy plane. "Had he done that, he would have been in a position of acknowledging to the world, to the Soviet people, to his critics within the Soviet Union, and to his Communist allies, that he had surrendered to the United States the right to violate Soviet territory. No statesman can live in any country after making such an admission."

The outstanding fact, however, is not the "bungling" of the Eisenhower administration, but that everyone in Washington, including all the Democrats as well as Republicans, put pursuit of their basic war policy above the passing diplomatic need. That's what partisans of peace should observe and observe well.

But there is also a lesson to be drawn about Khrushchev's foreign policy. The basic contradiction in this case is between the planned economy, which inherently requires a world of peace to develop its full potentialities, and a foreign policy calling for "peaceful coexistence."

The smash up of the Paris summit conference should prove to the most willfully blind, one must hope, how unrealistic is a policy resting on the assumption that "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and planned economic structures can actually be won.

The People's Republic of China has called attention to this fact repeatedly, citing some of Lenin's sharp words on the question. The Chinese leaders have warned over and over about the danger of putting the slightest trust or confidence in

the imperialist powers, above all the United States. Their warnings proved accurate.

American radicals who rather unthinkingly followed Khrushchev in his campaigning, might well consider congratulating the Chinese leaders on this point if they think it too much to admit the correctness of the Trotskyists, who have long called for a more practical approach to the struggle for peace.

Khrushchev followed the illusory policy of "peaceful coexistence" to the last possible moment. Even after the famous U-2 spy plane had been shot down some 1,200 miles inside the Soviet Union, Khrushchev still pretended that such an act of military aggression might not be official Washington policy. He opened the door for Eisenhower to make a graceful diplomatic disclaimer that he knew anything about it.

Eisenhower looked up from his golf club long enough to say, "Nuts." That slammed the door on Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence." The Soviet premier was lucky not to lose his fingers.

If Washington is faced with an acute policy question, Moscow is up against a still more crucial one.

As a matter of course, the Soviet leaders can be expected to demand of such capitalist satellite countries as Norway, Pakistan, and Turkey that they exercise their national sovereignty and close their territory to U.S. military operations against the Soviet Union. They will most likely also seek to regularize the anomalous situation of Berlin.

But above these tactical steps looms the greater issue of what foreign policy to follow in defense of the Soviet Union and its allies. In the past year and a half, such events as the revolution in Cuba, the student uprising in Korea, the student demonstrations in Turkey, and the great revolutionary upsurge in Africa have done more to hold back the warmakers and defeat the schemes of imperialists than all the talk about "peaceful coexistence" and all the hypocritical "summitry" diplomacy.

An objective examination of world events over the past 15 years easily demonstrates that

the Soviet Union received greatest aid from revolutionary movements such as the one that toppled the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek.

Isn't it time to return to the revolutionary-socialist policies of Lenin and Trotsky? That question is surely being discussed in Soviet circles, even if surreptitiously due to the hardened resistance of the top bureaucratic clique to such a change in course.

### "States' Rights"

The Atomic Energy Commission, which has the responsibility for enforcing safety regulations in the handling of radioactive materials, is planning to delegate the job to the various states.

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Connecticut	\$ 100	\$ 94	94
Detroit	625	509	82
St. Louis	80	55	69
Newark	285	162	61
New York	4,300	2,612	61
Allentown	110	50	45
Boston	350	145	41
Chicago	800	325	41
Cleveland	650	266	41
Denver	60	24	40
Philadelphia	400	156	39
Los Angeles	4,500	1,722	38
Bay Area	925	325	35
San Diego	245	68	28
Milwaukee	300	78	26
Seattle	500	125	25
Twin Cities	1,700	385	23
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
General	80	30	38
Total through May 17	\$16,000	\$7,131	45



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Monday, May 23, 1960

**The Cuban Revolution Proceeds**

A series of far-reaching economic measures provide fresh evidence of the deep-going nature of the Cuban revolution.

One of the most significant, in our opinion, was the announcement April 25 of the creation of a Bank of Foreign Commerce. It has been placed in charge of Cuba's foreign trade.

The National Bank of Cuba, under the direction of Che Guevara, had already placed strict controls on Cuba's dollar supply and thereby on foreign purchases. These transitional measures have now been extended so that the new bank becomes the "sole importer and exporter" of products that "may be to the national interest."

This amounts to virtual government monopoly of foreign trade, a most effective means of combatting the economic pressure of imperialism and of counteracting the tendency of private Cuban capital to seek foreign trade ties that go against the country's primary needs.

Of equal significance on the domestic front have been the measures against private property that was held by supporters of the Batista regime, by companies that became involved in labor trouble, and by American monopolies. The latest was the expropriation of the last big holdings of the United Fruit Co. The total acreage taken from this one company amounted to 272,500 acres.

The Cuban government agreed to pay \$6,150,207 in bonds for this land. "They wanted \$56,640,579," Nunez Jimenez, executive director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), is reported to have declared May 15, "but we are not a government of idiots or fools." He noted that United Fruit had paid three and a third cents an acre for land during the time the U.S. held Cuba with an army of occupation.

A report appeared in the May 15 New York Times that the \$100,000,000 American-owned Nicaro nickel plant and the \$75,000,000 American owned Moa Bay Mining Co. had been expropriated. But this has not yet been confirmed although it may well be in the works.

The Cuban government, when it began to move against the most powerful foreign interests, said that it would do so gradually in order to avoid disruption of production. It stressed this particularly in relation to the sugar industry which accounts for two-thirds of the national income and some eighty per cent of export.

The "interventions" (a transitional control measure), the expropriations and outright confiscations have been numerous. Few issues of the daily papers appear without notices, almost in passing, such as this in the May 13 issue of Revolution: "Workers of the Cuban Cordage and Rope Co. of Guanajay were jubilant over the intervention by INRA . . ." A \$200,000 outfit like this rated about seven inches of type on page four.

At the beginning of the last sugar harvest, INRA was operating 12 of Cuba's giant sugar mills and "administering" another 24. This is no small enterprise. Cuba

is easily capable of supplying the world with its entire current sugar needs.

In carrying out the agrarian reform, the Cuban government has taken over 80,000 caballerias (2,666,666 acres) grown to sugar cane. Of this, some 50,000 caballerias will continue to be planted to sugar cane, the rest is destined for diversified crops. About 700 sugar-cane co-operatives have been set up, involving 140,000 workers. In addition, land titles will go to some 30,000 smallholders.

Among Cuba's 161 sugar mills, "local commissions" have been set up to handle production. These include representatives from INRA, the Rebel Army, the trade-union locals affiliated to the FNTA (National Federation of Sugar Workers), the Association of Smallholders, and the Association of Farmers.

In all, 400,000 caballerias (13,333,330 acres) come under the agrarian reform. INRA has intervened 227,880 caballerias, purchased 35,000, expropriated 13,500 and is in process of expropriating 26,612. In the purchases, \$2,145,876 have been paid out and \$6,771,832 granted in twenty-year bonds.

Sugar is the most important sector of Cuban industry. Similar strides are to be noted elsewhere. On Dec. 14 of last year, INRA set up an Industrial Department. This department now operates 190 plants worth more than \$300,000,000.

"Only five months old," says a report in the May 16 Revolution, "the Industrial Department of INRA has taken under its responsibility the organization, disposition, and increasing planning of industries extending from meat processing to metal-lurgy, from chemical works to fruit packing, from textiles to mining. It is administering, organizing and planning the production and expansion of industries from those valued at a few thousand dollars, with scarcely a dozen workers, to great industrial plants costing millions and employing thousands of workers."

As for the motor forces behind this impressive development one in particular should be noted. In a TV speech May 15, Raul Castro, Minister of the Armed Revolutionary Forces, singled out the pressure of Wall Street and its campaigns against Cuba as "the dynamo" that propelled the revolution forward.

Against the aggressive manifestations of American imperialism, this top government figure declared, the slogan was launched: "With each aggression, a step forward. (Frente a cada agresion, un paso al frente.) And we have taken a lot of steps."

"They" sought to "hold back" the revolution, continued Cuba's spokesman. But what they succeeded in doing was to give it "velocity." They "have radicalized the revolution to a decided degree . . ."

The revolution is "farther advanced than we believed it was going to be by this date, because we are taking our steps calmly, and when we find it convenient to take steps. But if they have pushed us . . . let them push us. In any case it is better to be moving forward than backward."

**Vincent Hallinan's Example**

We welcome Vincent Hallinan's declaration of support to Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

At a joint press conference with Dobbs in San Francisco May 9, the noted attorney and 1952 Progressive party banner-bearer declared: "While I do not belong to Mr. Dobbs' party, I support his bid for the presidency. He is the only socialist candidate in the field. I cannot support any Republican or Democratic politician."

Hallinan took his stand for socialist opposition to the major parties at the very moment that a new wave of cold-war hysteria was being whipped up in Washington in the wake of the criminally provocative spy-plane violation of Soviet sovereignty.

The bipartisan moves to reintensify the cold war underscore, we believe, the soundness of Hallinan's position. Those who claim to see even an iota of basic difference between the Republicans and Democrats on the war issue are more hard-pressed, than ever to prove their point.

And those who argue that vigorous popular or labor intervention, through the medium of support, can change the Democratic party for the better are providing a glaring example of political impotency.

Fearful of being caught behind the wrong horse, a union leader like Walter Reuther, who proclaims a labor-led "reform" of the Democrats insisted almost pathetically that he was neutral in the contest for the Democratic presidential

nomination. Then when millionaire union-hater John Kennedy swept the West Virginia primary, Reuther "leaked" the fact that he's for him.

The Americans for Democratic Action, dedicated to victory for liberalism within the Democratic party, did not even dare at their recent convention to declare their presidential choice. The leaders of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation have also made known they will not act on the presidential race until after the Democratic convention.

And the Communist party leadership, which proclaims a "vanguard" role for itself in a popular reshaping of the Democratic party, also decided at a recent national committee meeting that it was "too soon" to say where it stands on the presidential contest.

Clearly, all those in the liberal, labor and radical movement committed to the Democrats will find themselves painfully swallowing whatever reactionary choice the party bosses decide on. Even dimmer is their prospect for "projecting issues" within the Democratic party.

In contrast, the stand taken by Hallinan, and other independent socialists like Muriel McAvooy, William A. Price and Elinor Ferry, of supporting a socialist opposition ticket, provides them with an opportunity to strike effective blows against both pro-war capitalist parties. We hope that many other independent socialists and fighters for peace will elect to take the same stand.

**Cuban Countryside**



On his recent trip to Cuba, Farrell Dobbs (center), Socialist Workers presidential candidate, admires the lush Cuban countryside in the tropical sun. The guide (left) points out a prize stand of tobacco grown by the campesino in the white straw hat. The youth to the right stopped out of curiosity. He can read and write, as is indicated by the ball-point pen with which he is armed; but he has yet to reach the status of owning a pair of shoes.

Among the freedom fighters who finally overthrew Batista's dictatorship, lack of shoes

was one of the burning symbols of Cuba's abject poverty under American domination. As the guerrilla armies formed, acquisition of a pair of shoes was regarded as almost as important as getting a gun and ammunition.

In the Sierra Maestra, as the revolutionary forces consolidated their hold, shoe manufacture was the first industry set up in a primitive way.

On the consumer-goods front it is still one of the foremost goals of the revolution to provide every Cuban with a good pair of shoes.

**... Why Negro Unionists Need Council**

(Continued from Page 1)  
he was bitterly denounced, often unfairly.

Douglass always respected Garrison, despite their differences, but he did not hesitate to speak up when he thought Garrison was wrong. He felt that one of the issues between them was the right of the Negro to speak and act for himself, rather than be the "ward" of white people, no matter how well-meaning.

In 1855 Douglass printed an article on "Self-Elevation" in his paper: "It is well known that we have called down upon our devoted head, the holy (?) horror of a certain class of Abolitionists, because we have dared to maintain our individuality, and have opened our own eyes, and looked out of them, through another telescope . . ."

Negroes, he continued, cannot win equality through the efforts of other forces alone; they must fight for it too:

"OUR ELEVATION AS A RACE IS ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT UPON OUR OWN EXPERTISES. If we are ever elevated, our elevation will have been accomplished through our own instrumentality . . ."

"Our oppressed people are wholly ignored, in one sense, in the generalship of the movement to effect our Redemption. Nothing is done . . . to inspire us with the Idea of our Equality with the whites . . ."

"Of course, if we are 'unable to keep pace' with our white brethren, in their vivid perception of the demands of our cause, those who assume the leadership of the Anti-Slavery Movement; if it is regarded as having 'transcended our ability,' we cannot consistently expect to receive from those who indulge in this opinion, a practical recognition of our Equality. This is what we are contending for. It is what we have never received. It is what we must receive to inspire us with confidence in the self-appointed generals of the Anti-Slavery host, the Euclids who are theoretically working out the almost insoluble problem of our future destiny."

This article is thus a biting attack on what today would be called "paternalism." It concludes with an appeal to other Negro Abolitionists not to remain "in their 'waiting' position, till they satisfy their superiors that they are able to 'keep pace' with them. This they can never do in their present secondary position . . . as understrappers. They must develop their manhood, and not to be too modest to attempt such development."

In 1857 Douglass delivered one of his most famous speeches, at a celebration of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. This contains his widely quoted passage on "the philosophy of reform . . . If there is no struggle there is no progress." Just before that passage is another which is equally worth quoting, for it shows that Douglass not only fought the slaveholders but also those white Abolitionists who thought the place for Negroes was in the ranks, not in the leadership. It said:

"I know, my friends, that in some quarters the efforts of colored people meet with very little encouragement. We may fight, but we must fight like

the Sepoys of India, under white officers. This class of Abolitionists don't like colored celebrations, they don't like colored Anti-Slavery fairs for the support of colored newspapers. They don't like any demonstrations whatever in which colored men take a leading part . . . "Your humble speaker has been branded as an ingrate, because he has ventured to stand up on his own right, and to plead our common cause as a colored man, rather than as a Garrisonian. I hold it to be no part of gratitude to allow our white friends to do all the work, while we merely hold their coats."

After the Civil War, the slaves were emancipated but denied equal rights. In 1871, Douglass joined a number of other Negroes in signing a call for a Convention of Colored Citizens to be held in Columbia, S.C.

A Republican paper, the Macon (Ga.) Union denounced both the call and the proposed convention. How, it asked Douglass and the others, would they like it if the Southern whites held a convention "pertaining exclusively to their welfare, as against the Negro race? . . . If they (Douglass and the others) really desire impartial rights and privileges, would it not be common sense to expect them to set the example of impartiality?"

Douglass was a Republican himself at that time (of course a different kind than Republicans today). But he answered the Macon Union in his own paper, in an article called "The Southern Convention," patiently explaining that "The Negroes are not to hold a convention against the white race, or against any race; but a convention is to be held for the purpose of devising the means for promoting the best interests of a race lately released from a condition almost dehumanizing."

The Macon Union wasn't satisfied, but attacked again, accusing the signers of the call of "race prejudice" because they wanted Negroes to organize themselves to improve their conditions. This time Douglass' reply was sharper too. In an article called "The Macon Union," he wrote:

"We say to the editor of the Union that the colored race of this country are fast becoming able to think and act for themselves, and they readily learn to know friends from enemies, and it does not lack in appreciation for the efforts of friends. But we hold that no man is a friend to the Negro who wishes him to follow implicitly all the advice such a man may offer, and to show no independence of thought or action for himself."

"It appears to be the idea of the editor of the Union that the Negro must not think or act for himself, but must continue under the advice of the friends that 'made him free' — in our opinion, it would be more truthfully expressed, restored to him the freedom of which they had robbed him — and if he does not willingly and cheerfully submit to the advice of his alleged friends, 'it is time they formed against him and make him feel his insignificance,' says the editor of the Union.

"This editor claims to be the friend of the Negro, which means for the time that he can

control him. When he fails in ability to do that he will organize and make his friendship (?) felt by making the Negro 'feel his insignificance.'

"Colored people of Georgia, the editor of the Union is your bitter enemy; he wants to be your master, and if you do not willingly acknowledge his authority, then you are to be made to feel your 'insignificance,' whether by Ku-Klux outrages, or other diabolical means, the editor of the Union does not make known."

In 1883, after Reconstruction was smashed by the joint efforts of the Republicans and Democrats and the conditions of Negroes became more and more oppressive, a Convention of Colored Men was held in Louisville, Ky. Douglass made the main speech, "Address to the People of the United States," which dealt chiefly with the grievances and demands of the Negro people. But before taking them up, Douglass felt it necessary to explain why such a convention was being held:

"We are asked not only why hold a convention, but, with emphasis, why hold a colored convention? Why keep up this odious distinction between citizens of a common country and thus give countenance to the color line? It is argued that, if colored men hold conventions, based upon color, white men may hold conventions based upon color, and thus keep open the chasm between one and the other class of citizens, and keep alive a prejudice which we profess to deplore."

"We state the argument against us fairly and forcibly, and will answer it candidly and we hope conclusively. By that answer it will be seen that the force of the objection is, after all, more in sound than in substance."

"No reasonable man will ever object to white men holding conventions in their own interests, when they are once in our condition and we in theirs, when they are the oppressed and we the oppressors. In point of fact, however, white men are already in conventions against us in various ways and at many important points. The practical construction of American life is a convention against us."

And that's still the point today! The practical construction of American life is still a convention against the Negro people in various ways and at many important points, including race relations inside the labor movement. That is sufficient explanation and justification (if any are needed) for the formation of the Negro American Labor Council and for such other measures and organizations as Negroes feel are necessary to help them wipe out Jim Crow wherever it exists.

Any white worker who doesn't see this is still blind to the realities of the practical construction of American life, to justice and to his own interests, which depend on the total and immediate abolition of inequality.

All the quotations from Douglass in this article are taken from the excellent 4-volume compilation by Philip Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (International Publishers). See especially Vol. II, pages 360-1 and 436-7; Vol. IV, pages 251, 270 and 377.

**"They Stood In Shocked Silence"**

By Joyce Cowley

When the news that Caryl Chessman had been executed reached the crowd near the prison gate, they stood in shocked silence. A radio reporter announced that there was no violence. The only violence committed that morning was a ritual murder by the State of California.

To those who held vigil at San Quentin and walked the picket lines in Sacramento, Chessman had become, through 12 agonizing years, a symbol of struggle against injustice. At stake was a man's right to a fair trial and due process under the law.

It is not remarkable that Chessman, an obscure man with a record, became the victim of a routine frame-up by the Los Angeles police. His case is unusual because he found a way to fight back, and this destroyed the legend of equality before the law and justice for all. You can get "justice" if you have enough money to pay for it and the right connections. If you have enough money, you can kill someone and you will not be executed. The death penalty is almost exclusively reserved for the destitute. In fighting for his own life, Chessman became a representative of the destitute, giving them a voice and an identity.

"His fellow convicts liked him," a prison official said, "because he bucked the system. They hate the system."

Uniting against this challenge to their authority, the judges, the legislators and the liberal Democratic Governor (a lifelong opponent of capital punishment, as he said so frequently when he was campaigning for office) have upheld the dignity of the law.

**Settling Down for the Vigil**

On Sunday, May 1, almost 24 hours before the execution was scheduled, the people began to gather near San Quentin, at a road block set up by the Sheriff about a quarter of a mile from the gates. It was a windy day but the sun was shining bright. The crowd collected slowly. Families arrived, pushing the younger children in strollers or carrying them in their arms. Many brought mattresses, blankets and food, prepared to settle down for an all-night vigil. This did not look much like a grim prelude to execution. It was difficult for most of the people there to believe that the execution would take place. The date had been set so many times before, and it had always been postponed.

People walked around restlessly, waiting for something to happen, looking eagerly toward the road for new arrivals. The speaking started about three in the afternoon when several hundred people arrived from Marin County. No one made a long speech. No one made a very eloquent speech. Most of these people had little or no experience as public speakers. But it was important to keep the speeches going, as radio stations were picking them up. It also served as a focus of attention as the hours dragged by and the people grew hungry and tired. Many left, but there was a constant stream of new arrivals. The crowd did not exceed 600 at any one time, but probably several thousand participated in the 22-hour period of the demonstration.

At dinner time some families with children left. But 100 protest marchers arrived as reinforcement. The majority of the marchers were students from six local campuses, and a group of 30 high school students, but they were joined by others as they started out across the Golden Gate Bridge.

The loudspeaker droned on, but the speakers were obviously tired. They kept asking if there wasn't someone else who wanted to speak. The monotonous voices, repeating over and over the facts that all of us there already knew, became irritating, and yet we needed it.

About every 15 minutes we heard an announcement that Marlon Brando was expected. After some hours this became a joke and we asked new arrivals:

"Are you Marlon Brando?"

Brando did arrive later in the evening, after a futile trip to see the Governor in Sacramento. He was one of more than 100 who remained for the all-night vigil.

**Help Needed at Sacramento**

About eleven, a speaker announced that he had been talking to Sacramento, where a small group was picketing the Governor's mansion. They needed help.

One of the student marchers came to the mike.

"Let's go down! Let's keep the line going all night! We've got plenty of people here. We need people in Sacramento."

Sacramento is about ninety miles from San Francisco, but there was no hesitation. Dozens of young people walked quickly down the road towards their cars.

When our car arrived in Sacramento at 1 a.m., there were 80 pickets on the line. A little earlier the number had reached 200. While the crowd at the gates of San Quentin was composed of various types of people of all ages, this picket line consisted almost entirely of young students and a few others who had joined them. Many had made the march from San Francisco to San Quentin, yet they were ready to keep an all-night picket line going.

A reporter arrived about 2 a.m., looking rested and tidy, and contemptuously described the exhausted young people as "looking more like beatnik types than the students they claim to be." Counter pickets appeared with signs that read, "He Deserves to Die" and "Justice at Last." The pickets either ignored their attempts at provocation, or quietly argued with them.

**Was It Just the Chessman Case?**

Walking the picket line at two in the morning, I wondered who these young people were, and why they had come here. Was it just the Chessman case? The capital punishment issue? I told the girl walking next to me that it looked as if the students had spearheaded these demonstrations.

"A great many different people have joined in," I said, "But the students apparently form the hard core. They keep going. They stick it out."

"That's right," she answered, "and look what the students in Turkey are doing!"

In an age of mass destruction and violence, when millions of men and women have died in gas chambers and hundreds of thousands have been killed by a single bomb, does it really make sense to fight for one man's life? Many of us end up rejecting any kind of action, either because it is too small to make any real difference, or too big to tackle. In dramatic defiance of this tendency, the young people who walked across the Golden Gate Bridge and kept going for mile after mile through hilly country, then manned the Sacramento picket line, have testified to their belief in the value of human life.

If they keep going, it is a conviction which will lead them beyond the gates of San Quentin to confront problems of a society that creates prisoners and executioners.

"We've got to protest," they told me. "We have to find a way." So they kept the line going all through the night, stamping their feet and singing sporadically. Sometimes it was "Glory, glory, Hallelujah," sometimes the chant:

"Chessman is worth saving. We shall not be moved."

Chessman said he hoped his epitaph would be that he died with dignity, and he achieved that hope. Completely composed, calm and erect, he walked into the execution chamber. When he was strapped to the chair, he turned his head toward a friend who was a witness at the execution. He saw her agitation, smiled a little and spoke. The words reached her soundlessly through the glass: "It's all right."

This reassurance to another person was his last conscious act. He did not know that he had received one more reprieve, a reprieve of one hour, so that his lawyers could once again go to the U.S. Supreme Court. This was the final, ghastly irony. A nervous telephone operator dialed the wrong number and Judge Goodman's call reached the prison seconds after the gas pellets had been dropped.

Liberal opponents of capital punishment (of the Governor Brown type) claim that now that the Chessman case is "out of the way," we can really get to work on the issue of capital punishment, implying that in some way he hampered their efforts. But there was no capital punishment issue in the State of California before Chessman made it one.



A Greeting From Abroad

Editor: I read in the Militant of the 70th birthday of James P. Cannon and Rose Karsner.

I'm not too familiar with Rose's activities, but from what I've heard of her, she is not just Jim's wife and comrade-in-arms, but a life-long revolutionary who has written a glorious page of her own in the history of American Trotskyism.

Jim, on the other hand, is well known beyond the border of the States and symbolizes to me and many others overseas the continuity of the revolutionary tradition in the American labor movement.

In both their cases, one can apply to them the Hebrew saying: "Their old age hasn't put to shame their young days." My wish is that they'll live long enough to see the realization of socialism in the USA and the world over.

N. S. Beer-Sheeva, Israel

Criticizes Report On Soviet Strike

Editor: A recent letter from a Wisconsin reader of your paper expressed the hope that the Militant improves as much as the Worker has in not branding others on the left.

As a matter of fact, the Worker dropped in the last times the old abuses against the "Trotskyites." The last slander occurred when it accused some fascist gangster who assaulted Robert Thompson in prison of being a "Trotskyite." In connection with this I sent you an enraged letter which was printed.

Permit me therefore to express my amazement (at best) if not indignation at your repeating a canard from the Christian Science Monitor about crushing a workers' revolt somewhere in Kazakhstan and sentencing strikers with death and long-term sentences. I discount such a possibility in present-day Russia and it seems to me that this story was not even printed in the responsible capitalist press.

I do not go as far as your Wisconsin reader who doesn't want to find in your paper "criticism of Russia and China." The trouble with the Communists was their apologetic attitude toward the USSR, even defending all cruelties and crimes of the Stalin era. But criticism is one thing and slander something else. In whose interest is it in the present-day situation slandering the USSR, basing yourself on "cold-war" propagandists? Not in the interest of peace, defense of the USSR against capitalist onslaught, workers movement and international socialism! So, please, follow the advice of your Wisconsin reader and improve yourself.

A. B. New York

[The May 2 Militant account of a strike of young construction workers in Kazakhstan was based on a Christian Science Monitor report which coincided with similar accounts in the New York Times April 5 and earlier. We did not report the earlier accounts in the Times because they were unconfirmed. But both the Monitor's and the April 5 Times' accounts included official confirmation of the strike by D. A. Kunayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist party. His statement, placing responsibility for the strike on local bureaucrats who ignored the workers' living conditions, was reported in the Kazakhstan Pravda. Our account included his statement. We firmly believe it does not slander or weaken the Soviet Union to report struggles of workers there against bureaucratic repressions. The experience of the Stalin era showed that such repressions weaken the USSR. Success of the workers' efforts to rebuild Soviet democracy will strengthen the USSR and deal a crippling blow to capitalist propagandists who exploit the bureaucratic crimes to smear the USSR and socialism itself. — Editor.]

"Rosemary"

By Trent Hutter

This is one of the best and surely the most timely motion picture to come from Germany in recent years. It is based upon a true story that shook Adenauer's Federal Republic. Rosemary Nitribitt was a well-known, high-priced prostitute in Frankfurt, the West German metropolis of commerce. Leading industrialists were among her customers. She was murdered in 1957, probably because she knew too much. She is said to have tape-recorded her conversations with some powerful figures in Adenauer's Germany. The murderer was never found.

"Rosemary" is admirably directed by Rolfe Thiele. He and Erich Kuby wrote the script. They did not wish simply to tell the usual tragedy of a prostitute that so many books and films have told. They wanted to produce a social satire rooted in the reality of post-war bourgeois Germany, underscoring the deeper significance of Rosemary's dream. And they have brilliantly succeeded in this.

We see the corrupt society of the "economic miracle" and its newly rich... We see an automated factory and a few workers on strike, their mood nonetheless influenced by the general boom. Their boss had an unexploded American World War II bomb gilded and set up as a symbol in front of the plant. The war did not erase but indirectly modernized the industrial apparatus of German capitalism.

The millionaires boast of their "social conscience," their enormous exports, their efficiency. And they laugh away their Nazi past. While they praise "European unity" and "Franco-German friendship," fierce competition is going on between French and German industry. The pretty Rosemary is hired by an agent of a French cartel. Men often are talkative in bed... She is to spy on her customers, the German industrialists, using the recording equipment provided by the Frenchman.

After various revelations in the French press, the Germans realize they have been victims of industrial espionage and easily trace the source to Rosemary and to the representatives of their French colleagues. They offer Rosemary 100,000 marks for the incriminating tapes. But she thinks she is rich enough now. Money has ceased to be her paramount target.

She wants to blackmail one of the German capitalists, her favorite, into marrying her. She tries to outsmart both her French employer and her German customers. She refuses to deliver the tape to either of them and asks a student, an activist of "Jehovah's Witnesses," to hide them for her, without telling him what the brief case she entrusts to him contains.

In spite of a certain astuteness, she isn't smart enough and she believes in the old myth of the high courtesan not subject to the dictates of society, who has the most powerful men eating out of her hand. She does not understand that, far from standing outside of bourgeois society, she is one of its instruments. The French agent tries to make this clear to her, but to no avail. She still fancies she can play her trump card even while fear begins to seize her. She does not surrender the tape.

The courtesan Rosemary is a small gear in the capitalist machine. When the gear moves on its own, when it becomes a serious annoyance, it must be stopped. Much as they are in conflict, the agent of French industry and the German capitalists get together to have Rosemary strangled.

Nadja Tiller is excellent as Rosemary. The rest of the cast gives fine or, at least, very competent performances. The absence of over-acting and coarseness are praiseworthy, and so is the film's pictorial ingenuity. Several scenes are tremendously intense.

Naturally, a film which so frankly portrays the morals of the West German bourgeoisie was bound to disturb the Adenauer government; the Bonn authorities tried to prevent "Rosemary" from being shown as Germany's entry at international film festivals. However, this proved to be an added recommendation and only helped the film's publicity — a result Bonn certainly did not intend.

... SWP Hails Negro Council

(Continued from Page 1)

... SWP Hails Negro Council ... field of political action to the Meany-Reuther promoters of labor-Democratic coalition politics. Two of the prominent union leaders invited to address the delegates in Detroit, Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and George Harrison of the Railway Clerks, are up to their ears in Democratic Party politics. Harrison has endorsed Symington, the Truman candidate; Reuther has "unofficially" endorsed Kennedy.



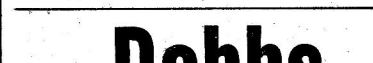
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Both these candidates are highly acceptable to the most rabid white supremacists in the southern wing of the Democratic party. Governor John Patterson of Alabama, Faubus of Arkansas, Talmadge of Georgia, are listed among their supporters. Can any one believe that these Jim Crow practitioners would possibly support any candidate that even remotely threatened the "Southern way of life?"

Segregation and discrimination because of skin color will never be wiped out completely while this country is ruled by Democrats and Republicans. The Jim Crow system in the South is the primary source of infection. The one-party South will remain a stinking cesspool of reaction unless and until the organized labor movement breaks the Democratic Party stranglehold by launching its own independent labor party.

So long as the workers in the South remain captive to the Democratic party machine the democratic poison of color discrimination will continue to infect every institution of American life — including the trade unions.

To quote the SWP message to the founding convention of NALC: "The organized labor movement must be cleansed of every vestige of discrimination because of skin color. Labor must come before the people as the foremost champion of equal rights for all workers. To do this it must come with clean hands."



WALTER REUTHER

... Dobbs, Duggan in TV Debate

(Continued from Page 1)

How can you justify a change to socialism? It's like saying we should start using square tires. Dobbs denied that this is a contented country and gave as an example West Virginia where the miners are living in abysmal poverty because of economic decline. The 600,000 formerly employed in the coal area have been cut down to about one-third of that amount.

Duggan: "Coal is not as valuable as gas now. What are you going to do, fight progress?" Dobbs explained that he was not arguing for coal over gas but for planning in industry and consideration of the working force, particularly of older workers.

Duggan: "Okay, we take care of older people, what with social security, which is certainly socialism at its worst..." Dobbs: "Tens of thousands are out of work in West Virginia..." Duggan: "Now what's the percentage? There are tens of thousands unemployed in every state..."

Dobbs: "The norm for the country as a whole is 5%; the percentage in West Virginia is close to 18%. Even the young people who have got out of the area have had to take jobs where they make less... That's not progress..."

After a break for a commercial, Duggan opened with the remark, "Instead of hollering at each other, Farrell," and then tried this one on his guest: "Say that you are elected President of the United States. What would you do with the basic means of production?"

Dobbs: "Our party would recommend that a party of the majority, supporting our program, nationalize all the basic means of production and operate them under the control of the working people and introduce a planned economy whereby the productive powers of the country could be directed in such a way as to raise the standard of living of all and correct all social inequities in the country."

Dobbs told Duggan that when property is confiscated he would be for granting a fair compensation. In an exchange over the labor bureaucracy, Duggan tried to get Dobbs to say he favored the bureaucracy. After Duggan was pinned on that, he continued: "But you're going to have a labor government, isn't that bureaucracy? Who's going to run it?"

Dobbs: "No, that's not bureaucracy! It's going to be run by a party of the working people that is based on elected representatives of the working people."

Duggan: "You mean we're going to elect someone to run U.S. Steel? You mean the foreman of the plant will be elected?"

Duggan: "That's right! Democracy all up and down the line." Duggan: "We won't have time to work, we'll be too busy in the voting booth!"

Dobbs: "You'll have time to work, and time to work constructively." Duggan: "Oh we will, will we? Thank you, thank you, Com-missar!"

Dobbs: "It is absolutely imperative that the working people of this country change the social system. And when a majority of the people of the country decide that is necessary, they will make the change." Duggan: "That will be the millennium! That is somewhere out in infinity..."

Dobbs: "It will be the opening of a whole new stage in the life of the human race, that will solve an awful lot of the problems that are plaguing the people today... such as the question of peace."

Duggan: "How is taking over United States Steel going to solve the problem of peace?"

15,000 at Rally In New York for Rights Fighters

NEW YORK, May 17 — Fifteen thousand unionists observed the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling today at a spirited rally that pledged labor support to the Southern sit-in movement.

Workers, Negro and white, jammed an entire block in the center of the garment district for the rally which was sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union in support of the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr.

Workers held aloft placards declaring: "Labor Opposes Discrimination" and "Labor Wants Equal Rights for All."

Officials of both unions pledged there would be continued union picketing of Woolworth's and other dime stores that discriminate against Negroes in the South.

The rally extended a huge ovation to Harry Belafonte and Sidney Poitier. Both declared that as Negro artists they had a responsibility to do all they could to help advance the civil rights fight. Belafonte said he would not "be able to sleep nights" if he did not utilize his popularity to aid the cause. Poitier explained that he wanted his three children to enjoy the privilege denied him of living "in a free and democratic society."

The militant, optimistic spirit of the rally was vividly expressed by the wave of cheers and applause that greeted District 65 president David Livingston when he recalled that five years ago his union had rallied in the same area to protest the lynching of Emmett Till.

"That was a mournful, bitter, occasion," he said. "But today we have a new and wonderful thing. The Negro people have taken their fate into their own hands and are fighting to be free... The Negro workers, farmers and students of the Deep South have served notice they will no longer live with Jim Crow."

Woolworth Building Picketed An additional action in support of the Southern rights fighters came later in the afternoon when students marched in front of the Woolworth Building which houses the company's headquarters. The picket line was organized by the New York Youth Committee for Integration.

Fred Mazelis and Nora Roberts, City College students who are chairman and treasurer of the committee, presented a company official with petitions signed by 7,000 persons who pledged they would boycott Woolworth's until it ended its discriminatory policies.

... Students Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

room began to chant: "Abolish the Committee! Open the doors!" They began to sing, "We Shall Not Be Moved."

Riot squads appeared. A student yelled, "Sit down," and a majority went to the floor.

Then suddenly, high pressure fire hoses were turned on them. White helmeted, booted cops grabbed them by arms, legs, collar and hair and began dragging them down the wide marble staircase that led to the main floor.

Some cops hauled out nightsticks and beat their victims into insensibility. Blood - streaked water cascaded down.

More than a hundred of those young people defied the fire hoses and clubs. Sixty-three were arrested. As they were hauled to the police vans, soaked and mauled, they were still singing out, "Abolish the Committee! We shall not be moved!"

On Saturday morning 3,000 pickets marched with placards denouncing the witch-hunters. A battery of cops were on hand to keep them out of the building. By noon, the singing, chanting crowd was swelled to 5,000 by longshoremen and others.

Many waited for Rep. Willis (D-La.), the racist chairman of the subcommittee to emerge when the hearings were to adjourn. But the committee had raced through its routine without lunch. Willis and his cohorts sneaked out a side door.

Calendar Of Events

EAST COAST Memorial Day weekend at Mountain Spring Camp sponsored by New York Militant Labor Forum and Students Committee for Dobbs and Weiss. Three full days, May 27-30, in the scenic Poconos foothills near Washington, N. J. Excellent meals, swimming, sports and recreation. Special student rate — \$15 for three days. Features: An eyewitness account of the Southern sit-ins by Jim Lambrecht, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and an address by Gladys Barker Grauer, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey. In New York, phone AL 5-7852 for reservations and transportation. Or phone Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, N.J. Murray 9-1352.

Persecuted?

Judge James D. Hammonds of Bessemer, Ala., who sentenced Asbury Howard, Negro union official, to six months in jail last year, has been indicted for evasion of federal income taxes. A Bessemer city council resolution charges that Hammonds' troubles started after he found Howard guilty. Howard, a vice-president of the Mine-Mill union, was arrested for urging Negroes to qualify as voters.—Afro-American, April 23, 1960.

Which Counts — Polio Cure or Prestige?

Have you ever watched a child crippled by polio trying to get around with braces and crutches? Do you believe that it is the obligation of the government to do everything in its power to help eliminate the dread disease?

Then what do you think of this action by the State Department? On May 11 it announced that it was stopping three government physicians from attending an international symposium on polio because there would be doctors present from China and East Germany. Spokesmen said U.S. participation might imply recognition or give "prestige" to the governments of these countries.

New Yorkers!

Buy the Militant at the National Memorial African Book Store, 2107 Seventh Avenue.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203. Open Thurs. nights 8 to 10 P.M. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmp 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

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- LOS ANGELES William F. Ward discusses C. Wright Mills' work, "The Sociological Imagination" on Friday, June 3, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St., Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
- MINNEAPOLIS "The Cuban Revolution As I Saw It." A firsthand report by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers presidential candidate. Saturday, June 4, 8:30 p.m. at 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Twin Cities SWP.
- NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University City Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND - BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.

Notes in the News

OUR CLASSLESS SOCIETY — Leonard Lyons, a columnist for the New York Post, reports the following: "A N.Y. dowager carrying her toy poodle through Lord & Taylor, stopped at a water fountain at the rear of the store and had the poodle drink from it. A floor walker stopped her, 'Madame, please. This water fountain is for the use of the customers.' 'Oh, I beg your pardon,' the dowager replied. 'I thought it was for the employees.'"

THEY JUST LOVE THE U.S. — Admiral Herbert Hopwood, U.S.N., found himself in the middle of a sizable uproar May 3 when he officiated at a solemn military ceremony in Sidney, Australia. A group of students released a red-painted pig in the crowd, which police had quite a time in catching. A fracas developed and two cops were injured when the students exploded firecrackers. In another incident, students fired rockets toward a U.S. nuclear submarine stationed in the harbor.

ADVICE TO THE OLD COUNTRY: — The following letter from the U.S. appeared in the April 23 Dublin Evening Mart: "Allow me to offer a word of advice to Irish parents. Don't, in any circumstances, allow your children to go to the U.S.A. to live and work until you can be quite sure that conditions are satisfactory. I have been working three months in the States and... I have met Irish girls working here — and crying their eyes out from loneliness and overwork. Their pay does little more than keep them from starvation — in comparison it is far worse than union rates in Dublin — and the work they have to do is appalling. Twelve hours a day is not uncommon, and there is practically

no social life for these poor things. 'One of the Slaves,' Bronx, N.Y.'"

KANGAROOBURGER — The Illinois Beef & Provision Co. of Pittsburg has been cited by state authorities for using imported kangaroo meat in sausages and for mislabeling its products. It was charged that the kangaroo meat had a high bacteria content. An agricultural expert at the Australian embassy said: "I don't know how much you know about the kangaroo. I mean how he gets around. He's a pretty athletic sort of fellow. You might say he's all muscle. He's a stringy sort of beast."

SECOND THOUGHTS — A laundromat manager in Biloxi, Miss., got mad when the Negro community organized a protest boycott after a racist attack at the local beach. He posted a sign reading, "White only — Colored trade go to other store." Negroes took him at his word. Next day he ran up a new sign — "Everyone welcome here."

WHY ALL THE NOISE? — Gov. Cecil Underwood of West Virginia can't understand the press rumpus about the thousands of unemployed miners and their families in that state on starvation diets. "So far as I know," the governor declared, "not one child has starved to death from lack of food."

WHEN WILL IT HAPPEN HERE? — For the second straight year, an American Negro girl won the Cannes "Miss Film Festival" beauty contest. Crowned as queen was Lajeune Hundley, 19, of Washington, D. C. Last year's winner was Cecilia Cooper of New York.