

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 15

Monday, April 9, 1962

Price 10c

Steel Workers Get Short End Of New McDonald Contract

By Fred Halstead

The agreement between the major basic steel corporations and the United Steelworkers of America, announced March 31, marks a new low in capitulation to the bosses by Steelworkers President David J. McDonald. The settlement, concluded three months before expiration of the current contract, provides a small package of fringe benefits and no wage increase.

"The industry," says the April 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, "is counting on tax savings from administration programs plus gains in productivity to more than pay for the added labor costs that it figures at roughly ten cents an hour."

The fringe improvements include: 1) An extra week of vacation pay for every five years of employment prior to Jan. 1, 1961, and an extra week for every two years of employment after that date. 2) A guarantee of 32 hours' pay for every week in which a worker does some work. 3) An

improvement in supplementary unemployment benefits of about \$12 a week. 4) Minor changes in pensions, seniority and preferential hiring.

The essential feature of these concessions is that each is small, affecting only a part of the workers and at little or no cost to the corporations. The 32-hour guarantee, for example, is a fraudulent substitute for what used to be — until Kennedy said no — the union's official demand of a 32-hour work week at 40 hours' pay. The slack time 32-hour week, worked by so many steelworkers, will still mean only 32 hours' pay.

The concessions in the new contract are significant mainly for higher seniority employees. But even for them, the protections are far from adequate. With an assist from the Kennedy administration, the steel corporations have achieved without a struggle much of what they tried, but failed, to accomplish in the long strike which they forced in 1959.

The union leadership has capitulated to government-corporation propaganda and handed a victory to the employers by default. The default consisted mainly in the fact that McDonald surrendered on the key issue — the shorter work week with no reduction in pay — even before he went into negotiations.

This default is at the expense of the majority of the workers on the job, thousands who will lose their jobs as automation continues, and of the younger workers first trying to break into industry. The settlement will mean less jobs in basic steel and the freezing out of the youth.

Sell Food to China, Says Farm Leader

By Audrey Kalin

APRIL 3 — Herschel D. Newsom, head of the National Grange, America's largest farm fraternal organization, has attacked Washington's callous policy of barring sale of urgently needed food to China and North Korea. Newsom said his stand was based on humanitarian considerations rather than the need to dispose of the national surplus of 1,200,000,000 bushels of wheat.

On March 23 the Kennedy administration refused the request of the International Trading Corporation of Seattle for a license to sell \$400 million worth of wheat and barley to China and North Korea.

Although there is a U.S. embargo on sales to these countries, a cabinet-level review board has the power to grant export licenses in particular cases. The executive board of the 800,000-member Grange is expected to issue a formal protest against this ban.

Other farm organizations have come to share the attitude of the Grange. Most significant is a newly formed group in Kansas whose aim is to collect 100,000 signatures of Kansans to an open letter to Kennedy requesting the shipment of surplus food to China. Calling itself the Kansas Freedom from Hunger Committee, it considers the lifting of the ban "an act of human compassion regardless of ideological and political differences." The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Topeka have denounced the petition.

Representatives of the National Wheat Growers Association in Kansas and the American Farm Federation have spoken out for sending food to China. Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Federation, said that although he was not in favor of "soliciting" business with China, his organization believes that "we should sell for dollars anywhere anyone wants to buy."

For background information see page 4 article by Carl Goodman.

U. S. Acts to Turn Vietnam Into a Concentration Camp

By Harry Ring

American troops, sent to Vietnam to save the tottering regime of Dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, have been given the dirty work of organizing "Operation Sunrise," a brutal campaign of driving peasant families from their homes and villages and forcibly resettling them

elsewhere in prison camps. This campaign, similar to that tried by the French in Algeria, is intended to isolate the Viet Cong guerrillas.

"Operation Sunrise" gives the lie to Washington's official pretext for intervention — the propaganda claim that the Viet Cong guerrillas fighting Dictator Diem are

"invaders" from North Vietnam. The campaign of forced resettlement is a damning admission that the only hope for victory over the small Viet Cong force is to imprison the peasant population, the main source of guerrilla strength.

Shocking details about "Operation Sunrise" have been reported by *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart. From Bencat, a rubber plantation area, he wrote on March 28: "Operation Sunrise was begun modestly in this area a week ago. The operation is subsidized directly with United States money, military planning and technical aid."

"In this region 1,200 families are to be moved voluntarily or forcibly from the forests controlled by the Viet Cong and resettled in new strategic villages. The abandoned villages will be burned to deprive the Viet Cong of shelter and food."

"The first step in Operation Sunrise involved encirclement of

NEXT WEEK. In a March 26 television speech Fidel Castro attacked bureaucratic and sectarian practices by officials of Cuba's united revolutionary party now in process of formation. He charged that Communist Party leader Anibal Escalante had sought to create an undemocratic, controlling apparatus within the new party. Our next issue will feature excerpts from this important speech.

half a dozen settlements . . . The government was able to persuade only 70 families to volunteer for resettlement. The 135 other families in the half dozen settlements were herded forcibly from their homes . . .

"Some families have been allowed to carry away beds, tables and benches before their homes were burned. Others had almost nothing but the clothes on their backs. A young woman stood expressionless as she recounted how the troops had burned the families' two tons of rice."

In a March 31 dispatch, Bigart wrote: "Last Wednesday, a large group of American colonels . . . and civilian observers from the United States operations mission inspected the stockade where the first group of families uprooted by Operation Sunrise were sitting dejectedly under temporary shelter."

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Pickets protest Broadway producers' hiring practices which exclude Negroes completely or relegate them to stereotyped roles. Also picketed was lily-white "Subways Are for Sleeping." Protest action is sponsored by CORE and Negro American Labor Council with support of Committee for Employment of Negro Performers. Shown above doing their stint on line are actors from cast of "Fly Blackbird."

"Rhetoric, Radiation and Reaction"

By Virginia Kaye and Craig Miller

BERKELEY — As President John F. Kennedy orated inside the University of California's Memorial Stadium here on March 23 about "the strong discontents of the youth and intellectuals in the Communist countries," some 500 discontented youth and intellectuals of the so-called free world picketed him.

During the morning 250 students gathered on the steps of the university's administration building in a vigil protesting the resumption of nuclear testing. This group was braving the pressure of UC Chancellor E. W. Strong who earlier that week had warned against any gathering which would "impede traffic" there.

Shortly after midday the vigil group joined marching students to form a procession which was three blocks long. For four hours they circled a large traffic island in front of the stadium where Kennedy was speaking.

Though the president was spirited out by another exit to avoid the pickets, all those going in and out of the stadium's main entrance were aware of the pickets and their signs.

A number of the signs displayed the nuclear disarmament symbol of the militant peace movement. Some of the many slogans carried by the marchers were: "Kennedy's 3 R's: Rhetoric, Radiation, Reaction"; "Who Approved of the War in Vietnam?"; "Let Cuba Judge Castro"; "Stop Testing"; "Freedom of Speech Is for Communists Too"; and "Keep Ronnie Moore Safe from Southern Justice" (Moore is a CORE official facing "criminal anarchy" charges in Baton Rouge, La.)

The call for the demonstration listed seven specific points of protest against Kennedy's policy: nuclear testing, intervention in Cuba, U.S. troops in South Vietnam, the attack on the civil liberties of the Communist Party, federal failure to back Southern civil-rights fighters, U.S. support for dictators overseas, and U.S. military aid to Portugal and France during the repression of the Angolan and Algerian independence struggles.

Ad Hoc Committee

The demonstration was the culmination of three weeks of constant activity of the Ad Hoc Committee for March 23. The hopeful spirit of the committee's first meeting was somewhat cooled as, one by one, organizations, which had been counted on most to support the demonstration, withdrew under pressure of newspaper attacks and California Attorney General Stanley Mosk's strong denunciation of any picketing of President Kennedy.

Unfortunately, the Berkeley branch of YPSL (Young Peoples Socialist League) — which traditionally has some influence on campus here — failed to participate following the ad hoc committee's decision to allow signs protesting the general record of the Kennedy administration. Some YPSL members, however, did join the picket line despite the fact that other members urged people not to participate.

Members of the ad hoc committee received official organized support only from the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance; Anvil, a socialist club at San Francisco State College; and SLATE, UC's off-campus student political party, which passed a last-minute resolution backing the demonstration.

To the best of our knowledge, this was the first demonstration in the country against the general record of the Kennedy administration. Persons who were skeptical of the possibilities of success were quick afterwards to congratulate the organizers of the protest for their correct estimate of the willingness of students to demonstrate their disillusionment with the present state of affairs.

Many students suggested that such demonstrations take place wherever Kennedy appears. Some student government leaders were embarrassed by the demonstration and called the pickets "disrespectful, dishonorable, irrational and inconsequential." Replied one demonstrator: "Kennedy's dishonorable and illegal acts in Cuba and Vietnam have embarrassed me."

Negro Youth Shot In Monroe Prison

A Negro youth, active in the anti-segregation struggle in Monroe, N.C., after being held incommunicado for several weeks, was shot in his jail cell by a guard on March 28, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has learned.

Jay Van Covington, 19, is the victim. J. B. Eller is the guard in the Union County jail in Monroe who did the shooting.

Covington's side of the story is, of course, not known. No one in Monroe's Negro community — neither relatives nor friends — has been able to speak or communicate with him since his arrest or since the shooting.

According to local press accounts, giving the prison authorities' side of the story, Eller entered Covington's cell in the prison basement and a fight began. Eller's statement is that Covington attacked him. At some point in the "fight" a trustee threw a 38 caliber pistol to Eller who thereupon shot the prisoner "to prevent his escape."

Covington's wound is reported to be in the leg. What medical attention, if any, he has received is not known to the Negro community. The local press reports

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ARMED FORCES move in on students demonstrating sympathy for strikers in Quito, Ecuador. This scene of the general strike which set in motion forces that brought down Velasco Ibarra government was taken by Joseph Hansen, editor of **THE MILITANT**, while gathering material for national speaking tour in the United States.

Our Editor on Tour

And Free Elections in Argentina?

PORTLAND, Ore., March 28 — Speaking before a student group at Reed College today, Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, scored the Kennedy administration for its silence over the establishment of a military dictatorship in Argentina.

Washington, Hansen said, disclosed its real views about democracy when it failed to denounce Frondizi for nullifying the election victory of the Peronistas.

"For three years," he said, "the State Department and its supporters have been screaming at the top of their lungs for free elections in Cuba. Why aren't they screaming about free elections in Argentina? It's quite clear that Washington favors free elections only if they think their boys will win."

"If they happen to lose, then the reaction in Washington is, 'Sorry, but that election got out of hand. As champions of the democratic way of life, however, we promise another free election — not right now, of course, but later, after the new dictator has properly rigged the way for more favorable results.'"

Pointing to the imminent collapse of the Frondizi regime, the editor of *The Militant* said, "Frondizi in reality gave way to the military when he acceded to the demand of the generals and admirals to toe the line drawn by the State Department and broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba."

"When Frondizi subsequently signed a decree nullifying the electoral victory of the Peronistas he put his name to his own death warrant as president of Argentina. By that decree he nullified the basis of his own right to office — victory in a free election."

"As a dictator, however, Frondizi lacks an independent base. The military will not let him draw many more pay checks."

Hansen's eyewitness account of what he saw in Latin America during an extended tour was well received by the audience. They were especially interested in learning about the Peronista movement.

The editor of *The Militant* described a preliminary election contest which he saw in Rosario, Argentina, in November. He said it was evident then from the favorable response received by the Peronistas that they would make heavy gains if they continued intensive electoral activity, running trade-union candidates instead of casting blank ballots as they had in the past.

After Portland, Hansen spent four days in Seattle, Wash., speaking on his four-month fact-finding trip in South America; he will speak in Minneapolis, Minn., April 4 through April 7; in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 10; in Chicago, Illinois, April 12-16.

Thousands Arrested In London Protest Against the Bomb

By Gordon Bailey

LONDON, March 24 — More than 1,100 Ban-the-Bomb demonstrators were arrested by London police today when they sat down in streets near the Houses of Parliament.

The demonstrators, organized by the Committee of 100, were protesting resumption of nuclear testing, U.S. nuclear bases in Britain, and Britain's membership in NATO.

The 1,200 sit-downers were outnumbered by 2,500 uniformed police; although some 5,000 observers and sympathizers of the demonstrators lined the streets.

This massive mobilization of police evidenced the Tory government's determined effort to prevent any effective expression of the British people's opposition to their policy.

Carted Off

As the demonstrators sat down in the street in groups of a few hundred each, pairs of police lifted each sit-downer bodily and carted him away to a waiting van. As a van filled up it was driven off to Bow Street Court, and another van rolled up.

This contest of passive resistance versus official force was carried out with an air of restraint and in almost complete silence. The demonstrators carried no banners and there were no sound trucks. Occasionally a demonstrator would make a few impromptu remarks to the crowd before he was carried off to the police van. The almost relaxed and leisurely pace of the demonstration belied the intensity of conviction motivating the demonstrators.

Fined

In Bow Street Court more than a thousand cases were disposed of in a few hours. Most demonstrators were fined one pound (\$2.80) while a few, who continued passive resistance in the courtroom itself and had to be carried in, were remanded for later hearing.

Effectiveness of the demonstration was limited by the lack of official support from the Labour Party or any of the powerful trade unions. Also the show of force by the police prevented the demonstrators from assembling where they planned — right on the steps of Parliament.

However the sit-down demonstration was large enough to block traffic on several streets and thereby draw attention to the anti-war sentiments of a large segment of the British public.

... Vietnam's Concentration Camps

(Continued from Page 1)

ters in a rubber plantation. Nobody looked happy. Families were herded together with only a flimsy barricade of their own household furnishings to afford a spot of privacy."

A U.S. Army major pointed out to Bigart that the settlement had only a minimum of barbed wire to "avoid a concentration camp

atmosphere." But, he added, "This is no Disneyland."

From these areas the people are supposed to be moved to "strategic villages" — most of which are still only on paper. Bigart describes "the most elaborate of the strategic villages" that have been built. The village, Cu Chi, is "a showplace for visitors."

He adds: "The village shows disheartening signs of over-regimentation . . . Security measures were tight and grim soldiers, with submachine guns were seen everywhere along the route of inspection. Americans . . . said they had heard complaints from farmers. These farmers said they had had to work six to eight weeks without pay on fortifications for the hamlet and had not even been supplied with food."

However, on the tour of inspection, "William Z. Gardiner, director of the United States Operations Mission, was delighted to find at one school a notice acknowledging that the United States had contributed most of the funds."

The people of Vietnam will certainly appreciate this latest "aid."

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: **The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

Name
Street
City Zone
State

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

What Makes Latin America Explosive. A first-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*. Fri., April 13, 8:30 p.m. International House, 1414 E. 59th St. Contrib. \$1; students 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

DETROIT

The Late C. Wright Mills — A tribute and an appraisal of his last work. "The Marxists." Speaker, Evelyn Sell. Fri., April 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CUBA. A discussion of two major speeches by Fidel Castro on the need to curb bureaucracy and deepen socialist democracy and revolutionary integrity. Speaker, Richard Garza, 1961 Socialist Workers candidate for mayor. Sat., April 7, 8:45 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

Peronism and the Argentine Crisis. Speaker, Fred Halstead, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., April 13, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

... Negro Youth Is Shot in Monroe

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that Eller was given medical attention at the local hospital.

This shooting of a Negro prisoner in his cell allegedly for trying to escape should be considered in light of earlier events in Monroe and the layout of the jailhouse.

It was in a basement cell of the same jail that Richard Griswold, a New York Freedom Rider, suffered a near-fatal beating last summer following the police-encouraged rioting by thousands of white supremacists against the anti-segregation pickets in Monroe. Jay Van Covington, the shooting victim, was a leader of those pickets.

The basement of the prison is shut off from the rest of the building by a big metal door. Griswold was beaten there by a white prisoner at the instigation of the police. They had promised to drop all charges pending against his assailant (assault and forgery) in return for his beating the Freedom Rider. Griswold's cries were not heard in the rest of the prison.

Thus it would appear that the basement cells may be specially set aside by Monroe authorities for third-degreeing or beating of prisoners.

In the latest case numerous questions are raised.

Why have Covington and several other Negro youth arrested with him been held incommunicado so long? Until the shooting, the Negro community had been given to understand that these youth were being charged with breaking and entering. Now it is said that Covington is held on a charge of "secret assault" involving the alleged firing of shots at a service station. The local paper also says that a hearing was held on March 19 and that bail was set at \$10,000. No one had heard or been informed of any such "hearing" and of course there could have been no counsel present to represent any of the prisoners.

Another question is how a trustee witnessing the "fight" came to be in possession of a pistol and why he should throw it to the guard. Could he not have assisted the guard in overpowering a 19-year-old boy?

The whole record of KKK influence in Monroe raises questions

about this mysterious shooting. Was it part of a third-degreeing of the prisoner? Or was it, as in Griswold's case, part of the sadistic torturing of prisoners?

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is demanding

Offer Williams Probe

An Associated Press dispatch from Havana, dated March 25, reports as follows:

"Robert F. Williams, American Negro leader who fled to Cuba after his indictment on a charge of kidnapping, said today a United States congressman has promised 'an investigation by the proper authorities' if he returns. Williams, who has maintained his innocence in the case that arose during the height of racial tension in Monroe, N.C., last August, said the offer came from Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Mich.)."

a complete public investigation of the case.

On May 7 the framed-up "kidnap" trial of John Lowry, 20, Freedom Rider from New York, Richard Crowder, 19, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and Harold Reape, 17, activist of the same organization, is scheduled to begin in Monroe. A fourth defendant, Mrs. Mae Mallory, is appealing the order of Ohio Governor Michael V. DiSalle ordering her extradited to North Carolina. Previously free on \$7,500 bail, Mrs. Mallory was jailed following DiSalle's order. Her attorney is appealing to have her again released on bail.

The purpose of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is to afford legal assistance to victims of the "kidnap" frame-up stemming from last August's events in Monroe. The CAMD is furnishing legal assistance in the May 7 trial and in related cases such as this shooting of Jay Van Covington. The CAMD also sends material assistance to the hard-pressed colored community of Monroe. Those wishing further information or wishing to contribute to the committee's work should write: CAMD, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Louis N. Schlosberg

Louis N. Schlosberg, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party and of the American Trotskyist movement, passed away in Boston on March 22 at the age of 74. He is survived by his wife, Nettie, his daughters, Rose and Bessie, and two granddaughters.

Born Sept. 1, 1888 in Czarist Russia, he joined the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in his teens, adhering to the early Bolshevik faction led by Lenin. He never deviated from the Leninist path and, upon emigrating from Russia to this country after the unsuccessful 1905 Revolution, he joined the Socialist Party of the United States. In it he was a left-winger and prominent in the party's Jewish Federation.

Bolshevik

In 1917 he rallied to the defense of the Bolshevik Revolution and later was a founder of the American Communist Party. In the difficult, witch-hunt days of the 1920's he was the Boston organizer of the Jewish Section of the Communist Party.

In 1926 he made a trip to the Soviet Union. There he witnessed at first hand the bureaucratic degeneration of the Revolution and the beginnings of Stalinism. He considered his most useful service would be to return to the United States and report to his comrades the true facts regarding the so-called Trotsky-Stalin dispute.

In 1928 Louis, along with Dr. Antoinette Konikow, another pioneer of Marxism both in Russia

and the U.S., was expelled from the CPUSA for Trotskyism. This was prior even to the expulsion of James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern, national CP leaders on charges of Trotskyism. Indeed, the Boston expellees were not even in touch with others soon to be expelled for wanting to read Trotsky's side of the dispute in the Communist International.

Thus even before the first issue of *The Militant*, edited by Cannon, the group in Boston, to which Schlosberg and Konikow belonged, issued a four-page paper announcing their opposition to Stalinism and their solidarity with the Russian Left Opposition.

Louis remained a revolutionary socialist to the end. A skilled worker — an electrician — he never lost faith in the working class or in the essential goodness of mankind. During all the trials and tribulations of the American Trotskyist movement he never despaired of building the American Trotskyist party.

Funeral services for Louis were held at the Boston Workmen's Circle, an organization in which he had been active for many decades. Eulogies were delivered both in English and Yiddish. Patrick Kelly, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, expressed the deep sense of loss felt by the members of that organization at Louis' death. "Comrade Louis didn't accumulate any worldly goods," he said, "the heritage he leaves is his revolutionary vision of a socialist world."

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

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Monday, April 9, 1962

Nixon's Slip

It has been said that had there been no Alger Hiss Case it would have been necessary to invent one. Some such springboard was needed for the development of the witch hunt, the attainment by the FBI of its current omnipresence and omnipotence in American life, McCarthyism and the meteoric political rise of Richard M. Nixon.

Now there is good ground to believe what many people have long suspected — that the Alger Hiss Case was indeed invented. Fred Cook in the current *Nation* points out a giant slip in Nixon's new book, "Six Crises," which bears out Hiss' principal contention during and since the trials and his imprisonment.

The major evidence against Hiss was documents typed on a Woodstock typewriter owned by him many years before. Hiss declared the typewriter had been given away long before the alleged copying of the "secret" papers, and asked the FBI to turn over the machine. FBI agents swore they did not have it and had never seen it. Much later the machine was "found."

In his book Nixon now upsets the applecart by revealing that the FBI had the machine before the first trial and copied documents on it. To cap it, Nixon gives exact dates and states these documents were shown the grand jury. Upset by Hiss' joyful outcry that this proves his long-scorned contention of "forgery by typewriter," Nixon hastens to blame the book's "errors" on his research department.

The *Nation* is calling for an investigation of the Hiss case and a re-opening of the grand jury minutes to determine whether, as Nixon's book says, copies of incriminating documents typed by an FBI expert on the "missing" typewriter were indeed produced at that time. Everyone who believes in elementary justice must back this demand. Only those with something to conceal can oppose it.

Multiplying Persecution

The United States is supposed to have freedom of the press. That means no harassment or persecution of editors or writers because of the political views they hold or put in print. Yet Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has invoked the McCarran Act against the newspaper *The Worker*, the magazines *Political Affairs* and *Mainstream*, and the youth publication *New Horizons*, on charges that these organs express the political ideas of the Communist Party.

In the United States political parties are supposed to have the right to solicit support for their ideas and programs without harassment or persecution from the government. Yet the McCarran and Smith Acts together virtually outlaw the Communist Party. In addition, the Kennedy administration last month took the completely unprecedented step of suing the Communist Party and its officials for huge sums in back taxes on the contention that a party falling under the Communist Control Act is taxable.

These persecutions heaped upon persecution of the Communist Party are designed to perpetuate the witch hunt, intensify the cold-war atmosphere, and accustom the American people to the "normalcy" of government persecution of political dissenters.

Unless halted or reversed, precedents being established against the Communist Party will be used in the future, as their designers intend, against other publications and political parties. No individuals or organizations with social and political views to the "left" of Barry Goldwater will be able to feel absolutely safe.

An injury to the civil liberties of the Communist Party now is truly an injury to the future civil liberties of all.

Help Save Brown and Jones

John Brown, Jr., and Robert Jones, Jr., both residents of Louisville, Ky., are scheduled to die in the electric chair at the Eddyville Penitentiary. These men are not charged with murder or some other heinous offense. They did not shoot anyone. Brown took \$137 in a robbery. Jones took \$200 in a similar holdup.

What these men are really guilty of is being penniless and friendless. Brown is also a cripple from arthritis. He is also a disabled veteran of World War II.

Jones has the added handicaps of being a Negro and having no home. He has nervous and emotional disturbances. He was born and reared under the most deprived conditions, and for this he must now pay with his life.

People who consider the sentences of these two men to be unjust and unfair, a crime against humanity and a crime against society, have formed a Committee for Clemency for Jones and Brown. The Rev. William H. Bell of Louisville is chairman. The committee is asking the governor of Kentucky to commute the two sentences and to ask the next session of the state's General Assembly to repeal the death penalty for armed robbery.

The committee urges people to wire or write Governor Bert T. Combs, Frankfort, Ky., urging the above two actions. The committee has also prepared petition forms for circulation. For such petitions and further information, write: "Committee for Clemency for Jones and Brown, 1368 S. 28th St., Louisville, Ky."

Che Guevara and the Cuban Trotskyists

By Joseph Hansen

I should like to call attention to an interview with Che Guevara printed in the winter issue of *Root and Branch*, a new West Coast radical quarterly (Box 906, Berkeley, Calif.). The interview, which was recorded Sept. 14, 1961, by Maurice Zeitlin, a member of the sociology faculty of Princeton University, deals with such topics as Cuba's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, the projected formation of a new revolutionary party in Cuba and the question of Cuba's development in a democratic socialist direction.

Among the questions and answers, the following exchange, I believe, will prove of special interest to readers of *The Militant*:

"Zeitlin: How will other radical tendencies — organizations other than the Revolutionary Directorate, the Communist Party and the 26th of July, whose members will unite in the new party — be included? What about the Trotskyists, for example? Carleton Beals pointed out recently that their press here had been smashed and they were unable to complete printing copies of Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution*.

"Guevara: That did happen. It was an error. It was an error committed by a functionary of second rank. They smashed the plates. It should not have been done.

"However, we consider the Trotskyist party to be acting against the revolution. For example, they were taking the line that the revolutionary government is petty bourgeois, and were calling on the proletariat to exert pressure on the government, and even to carry out another revolution in which the proletariat would come to power. This was prejudicing the discipline necessary at this time.

"Zeitlin: You might be interested in knowing that the Trotskyists in the U.S. have been almost completely behind the Cuban Revolution, and their recent official statement on the revolution is enthusiastically approving.

"Guevara: I do not have any opinions about Trotskyists in general. But here in Cuba — let me give an example. They have one

of their principal centers in the town of Guantanamo near the U.S. base. And they agitated there for the Cuban people to march on the base — something that cannot be permitted. Something else. Some time ago when we had just created the workers' technical committees, the Trotskyists characterized them as a crumb given to the workers because the workers were calling for the direction of the factories.

"Several people have asked me the same question (about the Trotskyists) — but it is a problem I regard as small. They have very few members in Cuba.

"Zeitlin: The reason is not because we are specifically interested in the Trotskyists — I am hardly one — but because how they are treated is probably as good an index as any of how different political tendencies within the revolution will be treated, especially groups who differ with the Communist Party, which has always had a particular animosity for the Trotskyists, labeling anyone who disagrees with them as Trotskyists — or worse.

"Guevara: You cannot be for the revolution and be against the Cuban Communist Party. The Revolution and the Communist Party march together. The Trotskyists say that they are against 'Stalinism.' But in the (1959) [1958?] general strike, for instance, the Trotskyists refused to cooperate with the Communist Party."

Central Point

Among Guevara's remarks, the point of central importance, it appears to me, is his acknowledgment that the suppression of the Trotskyist press in Cuba was an error. The error — and this is of even greater significance — was not committed by top government officials but by "a functionary of second rank."

This was the conclusion we came to when we learned the details of the incident last summer. In registering our protest at the time (see *The Militant*, Aug. 7, 1961), we thought that it might be due to "disruptive factionalism" ascribable to officials of the Cuban Communist Party whose attitude toward Trotskyism might still be under the influence of indoctrination in the school of Stalinism. Whatever the actual political affiliation of the guilty second-rank functionary — Guevara does not clarify this — we are gratified to learn from the interview that we were not mistaken in the essence of the matter. It is fresh confirmation of our opinion that the top leaders of the Cuban Revolution are democratic in outlook and have kept in tune, to the best of their ability, with the basically democratic and socialist trend of the revolution they have guided.

On Guevara's other remarks I should like to offer the following comment: We have not seen any material printed by the Cuban Trotskyists calling for a "march" on Guantanamo. At a youth conference in Havana in the summer of 1960, where this charge was

first made to my knowledge, a leaflet was cited. The leaflet in question, however, contained nothing on this point but a repetition of the demand that the U.S. should withdraw from Guantanamo.

The Militant has demanded this of the U.S. government since the beginning of the Cuban Revolution as have all friends and supporters of the Cuban people.

We of course agree, as we are sure the Cuban Trotskyists do, that it is entirely up to the Cuban leaders to determine how to press this question from the Cuban side. Mindful of the war danger, they have exercised admirable restraint in face of the belligerent attitude displayed by Washington under both Eisenhower and Kennedy.

General Strike

As to the general strike called by Fidel Castro in 1958, the Trotskyists could not have played a decisive role no matter what their attitude. They have been few in number since they were crushed by Batista in the middle 1930's. From what we have been able to learn about the 1958 strike what was really in question was the response made by the officials of the Communist Party and the sectors of the labor movement under their influence to the call from the Sierra Maestra.

On the characterization of the state — we think that the Cuban people now have a workers' state and that the Cuban Trotskyists agree on this. Yet the key leaders of the revolution — they have often admitted it — certainly began as "petty bourgeois." Despite this background, Castro and his collaborators did not hesitate to nationalize industry, to introduce planned economy and many other proletarian measures. This is completely to their credit. The government they established, whatever it was at first, most certainly represents the interests of the workers today.

Disagreements

Finally I should like to make clear that we do not agree with the Cuban Trotskyists on some questions. We believe they were wrong, for example, in thinking that it was in response to "pressure from below" that the government initiated workers' technical committees. In general we have the impression that the Cuban Trotskyists have been overly critical.

Such criticism, however, does not injure a revolution. It can even play a role in strengthening it by inspiring more thorough discussion and explanation. Besides that, the fact that such opinions can be freely expressed testifies to the health of the Cuban Revolution and to the promise it holds for the expansion of workers democracy. We believe that the Cuban Revolution as it develops may yet offer the world an example of democracy in action such as has not been seen since the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

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Hunger: A Cold War Weapon

By Carl Goodman

The preservation of "free enterprise" is supposedly one of the objectives this country is fighting to uphold against the "Communist menace." But evidently "free enterprise" goes by the board when this is dictated by cold-war needs — it is almost as vulnerable in this respect as freedom of speech and freedom of the workers to strike. Consider the case of the International Trading Corporation of Seattle, whose request for permission to sell \$400 million worth of wheat and barley to China and North Korea, thus relaxing the American economic blockade of these countries, was flatly turned down by the Kennedy administration.

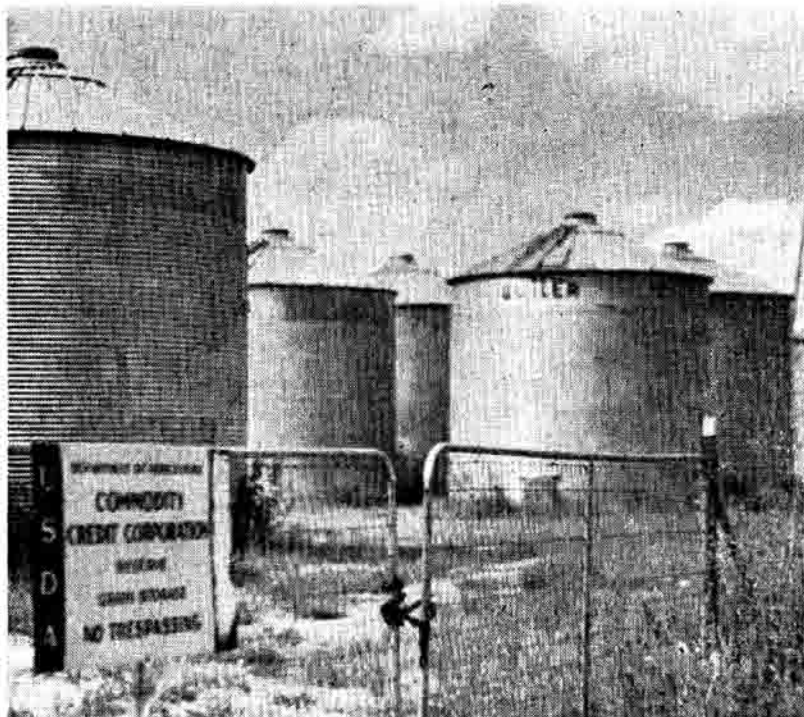
According to the March 24 *New York Times*, the reasons given by a federal review board for denying the company's application was "lack of documentary evidence that its order reflected a request by the governments concerned and that foreign exchange was available to cover the purchases."

Both reasons sound phony. Let us consider the second reason first — namely, "lack of documentary evidence . . . that foreign exchange was available to cover the purchase." This is supposed to be the company's worry. If it wants to take the risk, why in the name of "free enterprise" shouldn't it be allowed to do so?

The Chinese government has been buying grain heavily for the past two years from Canada and Australia. The International Trading Corporation people, who have been grain exporters since 1918, presumably investigated these transactions and are satisfied that China and North Korea can pay. Why shouldn't an old and experienced firm like the ITC be trusted to take care of itself in matters like these?

As to the first reason advanced by the interdepartmental review board in Washington — namely, "lack of documentary evidence that [the ITC's] order reflected a request by the governments concerned . . ." — this is a crass violation of China's and North Korea's freedom to trade. Suppose that for any number of good reasons, these governments prefer to deal with the Seattle company through an intermediary. What's wrong with that? The *New York Times* dispatch tells us exactly what the cold warriors in Washington think is wrong with this procedure: "Foreign policy officials have maintained that . . . an official request and its approval here would have great propaganda value as an admission that Communist China could not feed its population." (My emphasis.)

In other words, the Chinese government itself must come begging for food and confess to "bankrupt-



Bins like these bulging with surplus grain dot America's agricultural areas, but the Kennedy administration refuses to allow U.S. firms to sell grain to China which has only three-fourths as much crop land as the U.S. but three and a half times the U.S. population.

cy" before it can be allowed to buy food in this country for the Chinese people.

Why should the Chinese get down on their knees in order to exchange the products of their labor for the products of American labor? The purchase of a commodity is supposed to be a self-sufficient act. Equivalent is given for equivalent. Neither side need acknowledge anything to the other or even thank the other. Or, if thanks are to be given, then, in the tradition of American retail trade, let the salesman thank the customer.

The total land under cultivation in China today amounts to about three-quarters of U.S. soil sown to crops, and China has no cattle industry. On the other hand, China's population is three and a half times as large as that of the United States. For China to increase its total farm acreage significantly or to develop a cattle industry would require such a huge investment that, for some time to come, Chinese efforts will be far more economically directed in other lines of agricultural or industrial improvement.

Socialists have always acknowledged that one of the capitalist system's progressive achievements was the creation of a pervasive world market and an all-embracing, world-wide division of labor. But during the last 75 years, this development has taken an extremely perverted form. The ad-

vanced capitalist countries, now dominated by huge trusts instead of by smaller competing enterprises, have overwhelmed the underdeveloped countries. They have subjected these lands to the fiercest and bloodiest kind of colonial exploitation, which in most essential respects perpetuates their economic backwardness and renders them helpless to participate on an equal basis in the world-wide division of labor.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was fought to change all that. It aimed at lifting the Chinese people out of their degraded position and at winning for them an equal status in the global division of labor.

American imperialism was the biggest loser in the revolution and has sought by all means at its command, including economic blockade, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving their economic liberation. The big business rulers of America — liberal and conservative, Republican and Democrat alike — want to strangle China economically, demoralize the Chinese people and force them once again to submit to imperialist exploitation.

It is this reactionary scheme — which the American working people must resolutely oppose as contrary to their own interests — that really motivated the Kennedy administration in its refusal to allow the International Trading Corporation to sell grain to China.

Letters From Our Readers

To C. Wright Mills

Detroit, Mich.

In memory of the recent death of Professor C. Wright Mills whose brilliant literary efforts produced such works as *Listen, Yankee* and, most recently, *The Marxists*, and many others of equal value, I want to dedicate this letter as an appeal for someone who is prepared to pick up the pen laid down by Professor Mills in his hour of untimely death.

This day and age calls for writers of principle who can accept great challenges. Professor Mills' classic works had an appeal to ethics and principles that was becoming popular. The world needs a contemporary replacement of such a combination of brilliance, strength, and fortitude of purpose, sincere love for the dignity of mankind and courage to expose unethical practices while upholding principles.

It is evident that Mr. Mills' health was of secondary concern to him, for he must have enjoyed his studies disregarding the time element. Therefore we may be justified to say "he has lived a full life." Though we will miss him, "his life was purposeful."

When a soldier falls in the battlefield of honor, another must take his place or the enemies of society will continue to plunder. Prof. C. Wright Mills will never be forgotten. He will live in posterity through his collective works.

A.K.

"Brilliant Polemic"

Tampa, Fla.

You are the only ones I know who have published *The Second Declaration of Havana*. Thank you.

Enclosed find 50 cents for two copies of that brilliant polemic and an additional \$3 to extend my sub for one year.

Reader

John Glenn and N.Y. Times

Glens Falls, N.Y.

After the John Glenn flight I wrote the *New York Times* calling their attention to their editorial of Aug. 7, 1961, which said:

"It is difficult not to be impressed by the supreme irony of Major Titov's feat. He and his vehicle are the products of a society which is still unable to give its citizens a standard of living — food, housing, clothing and the like — even equal to that of Western Europe, let alone the United States. The billions of dollars worth of effort that have been poured unstintingly these past years into making this feat possible could have been used to ease the terrible Soviet housing, to provide Soviet citizens with more adequate health care and for numerous other worthwhile, literally mundane, purposes . . ."

"However spectacular it may be, Major Titov's flight does not change the fact that our real problems are right here on earth . . ."

Just how far, I would like to know, would these comments, generally speaking, apply to Mr. Glenn's flight? (I understand it cost \$400 million.) I believe it is a fact that the United States has not wholly or to an appreciable extent, possibly, conquered its housing shortage or so arranged it that all its citizens are provided with sufficient food, proper health care and other numerous worthwhile, literally mundane, necessities.

K.M.G.

A Brazen Hoax

Elmhurst, N.Y.

In a letter to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, I said:

"I am writing to you as an individual and author interested in preserving the constitutional liberties of all citizens. Your use of

the McCarran Act against the Communist Party represents not only an injustice but a brazen hoax. Therefore I can only conclude that your use of this fascistic act is merely based on your desire (and the desire of the rabid right) to silence opposition to the war-profiteering policies and machinations of American monopoly capital — and to silence opposition to the acts of subversion being committed by agents of U.S. imperialism against the patriotic forces seeking self-determination in South Vietnam and elsewhere . . ."

"I repeat, Mr. Kennedy: Hands off the American Communist Party. Hands off *The Worker* and *Midweek Worker*. Investigate the real subversives — the merchants of death and the enemies of peace and reason."

Robert J. Burros

A Live Rebel

Minneapolis, Minn.

I've got so much to say and so little space to say it in. I want that space used for your superb news reporting. I only wish it could cover more territory, on paper and across the land. I hope my contribution [A very welcome \$12. Ed.] can help realize that goal. I just read your editorial on "Let the People Decide on Tests" (March 12). Excellent! If only there were some way that one piece could be distributed in leaflet form all over the country.

I talked to people in Hiroshima in 1957 and learned a great deal from their viewpoint that I couldn't have otherwise known.

The merciless slaughter of women and children in that onslaught can only be visualized by seeing the effect left on people several years later. What happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not only futile from a capitalist vantage point but barbarian from a "human" viewpoint, to say nothing of America's pseudo-Christian ethics. This was Truman's policy of making the world "safe for democracy." No animal would have stooped so low. It will now be Kennedy's policy unless we stop him. True, there are others in the big-bomb race, but first things first.

If only people would take the time to stop and think. It's no longer necessary for every man to delve into painstaking research, because the key issue today is plainly survival of the human race — and this is no exaggeration. When highly educated but thoroughly perplexed scientists suggest storing human spermatozoa to "preserve humanity," we should begin to question their sanity. Such madness is clear evidence that there is no solution outside Marxist principles.

If many reactionary Americans must resolve their difficulties by the use of clichés, I'll have to answer with: "I'd rather be a live rebel than dead rubble."

D.A.S.

An Old Game

Filmore, Utah

Attorney General Robert Kennedy said in Los Angeles that the Communist Party is "doubly dangerous" because it is allegedly financed by Russia. To which I say, Bull! Long before Russia was Communist what did U.S. imperialism do with socialist Eugene V. Debs? If I recall rightly he was thrown purposely into a filthy damp cell where he contracted pneumonia, so don't let such rabble-rousers scare your pants off with what they label as present dangers.

Competitive action they dread. By that I mean competition which capitalism can't control or make deals with.

A. C. Gregerson

Thought for the Week

"As for the offer of the Houston homes, he said he delved into it at length and decided it was a bonafide, non-promotional offer by 'hero worshippers.' 'In this country,' he said, 'we don't want to outlaw hero worshipping.'—Attorney C. Leo de Orsey, as quoted in the April 3 *New York Post* on why his clients, the seven astronauts, had each accepted a \$24,000 furnished home from the Houston Builders Ass'n.

It Was Reported in the Press

Our "Free World" Ally — "Prospects appear slight for the emergence in the near future of a real political opposition to President Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist regime . . . For all practical purposes any real criticism of government leaders or the ruling Kuomintang party is forbidden. An effort to enlist popular support for an opposition movement, no matter how anti-Communist its line, is regarded by the regime as providing aid and comfort to the Communists" — A Taiwan dispatch in the March 31 *New York Times*.

Evolution — "Not too long ago, Madison Avenue was commonly used by advertising men to describe their industry. It conjured up a lively image of the excitement and glamor of the advertising business. Of late, however, critics of advertising have increasingly appropriated the term. According to their usage, Madison Avenue has become synonymous with propaganda, flagrant press

agency, deceptive promotions . . . They have made such extensive use of the term, in fact, that some agency executives have renounced the use of Madison Avenue." — The March 30 *New York Times*.

The Free Market — "The Moulin Rouge in San Francisco is resorting to amateur strip-tease shows on Friday nights, with housewives, co-eds and stenographers doing the peeling, in an effort to get the cash register ringing." — The March 29 *Wall Street Journal*.

Civics Lesson — "A man who has a job is expected to take care of all his relatives who do not have jobs. So you can see that when a man gets a job in the government or is elected, well, he is expected to take care of his relatives and friends, that sort of thing." — A Manila politician explained to a *New York Times* correspondent some of the facts of life about widespread corruption in the Philippines.

March of Civilization — "The Army plans a major step-up in research and development in chemical and biological warfare next year. Congressional testimony by Army officials, released last week, shows that the new budget earmarks \$85.1 million for the program, a 67 per cent boost over the current level of spending." — March 31 *Business Week*.

Key to Survival — "In secret underground hideouts, officials have cached for emergency use both old dollar bills that normally would have gone up in smoke and plates for printing new bills; it's considered vital to keep a money economy going, rather than turn to barter." — From a March 29 *Wall Street Journal* report on federal plans for surviving a nuclear war.

Royal Departure — "BUENOS AIRES, March 21 (Reuters) — Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, decided today to cut short his Argentine visit because of the upset of the government here."