

THE MILITANT

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A Negro Shot Dead, Another Is Wounded in Monroe, N.C.

JUNE 6 — Roscoe Funderburk, a 36-year-old Negro of Monroe, N.C., was shot through the back of the head and killed early June 3. He was the father of five children. His killer is Charles S. Outlaw, a 20-year-old white man, also of Monroe. Both men were employed by the city sanitation department.

Negro residents of Monroe state that Outlaw is known to have expressed extreme anti-Negro sentiments in the past. Monroe is a Ku Klux Klan stronghold.

At the preliminary hearing, where he was bound over to the Superior Court and released in \$2,000 bond, Outlaw declared that he had shot Funderburk for being a "Peeping Tom."

Earlier in the week another white man of Monroe, Toby Price, 30, had justified his shooting of James Poston, a Negro, with a

similar "Peeping Tom" charge. Badly wounded in the hips, Poston is in the county jail with his bail set at \$5,000. Price was not jailed.

There is widespread disbelief of the "Peeping Tom" stories in the Negro community of Monroe. Suspicions are voiced that the coincidence could result from previous agreement and briefings in racist circles that night-time shooting of Negroes could be justified with such stories.

The Negro community's suspicions can be well understood in light of Monroe's record on racial matters.

This is the city where in 1958 two Negro boys, aged eight and nine, were thrown in the county jail "for their own protection" and then sent to reform school because one of them had been kissed by a seven-year-old white girl.

It is the city where Robert F. Williams, the militant leader of the Union County branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, fought in vain to get justice in the courts for Negroes assaulted and beaten by whites. These efforts plus his attempts to desegregate lunch counters, recreation facilities and schools, brought a steady flow of KKK threats to Williams and his family. Three attempts were made on his life.

On Aug. 27 thousands of racists were encouraged by Monroe's police to riot against local Negroes and Freedom Riders engaged in anti-segregation picketing. From the ensuing disorders was concocted a framed-up kidnap charge against Williams and four others. Williams fled with his family to safety in Cuba; another defendant, Mrs. Mae Mallory, is fighting extradition from Ohio; and three young men, Richard Crowder, John Lowry and Harold Reape face trial in August.

U. S. 'Aid' Merely Fastened A Dictatorship on Thailand

By Peter Allan

Most Americans know little about Thailand, the Southeast Asian country, except that President Kennedy recently sent 5,000 U.S. Marines there and calls it a bastion of the "free world."

Before Kennedy sent the Marines, the conservative *Christian Science Monitor* (April 20) wrote: "In the effort to build strong anti-Communist regimes the United States has supported unpopular regimes which become steadily more dictatorial and which use American arms to put down legitimate political opposition. . . . The pattern is illustrated by the case of Thailand."

The same paper on April 14, 20 and 27 carried sections of an address to the Association for Asian Studies by a long-time resident of Thailand, Frank C. Darling of the University of Colorado's political science department.

"Since 1951," he said, "the total cost of the American military aid program in Thailand has been approximately \$500,000,000 which is about eight times the amount of American aid devoted to economic, technical and educational assistance. . . . In 15 years," he



Floor of the New York Stock Exchange on Tuesday, May 29, when 14.7 million shares were traded, the busiest day since 1929. It was a day of rally as big investors bought at low prices resulting from the crash the day before. By end of week prices were at pre-crash levels, but took another dive, Monday, June 4. The stock market's wild gyrations are symptomatic of serious trouble in the U.S. economy despite the huge war-preparations expenditures.

A Paraguay Exile Speaks

By Carol Weston

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina — The following is the text of an interview with a student in exile from Paraguay.

Q. Why are so many Paraguayans living in exile here in Argentina?

A. There are various reasons, all leading back to the same cause. First of all the persecutions, outrages, jailings, lack of guaranty of human rights. Second, hunger, lack of work, medical attention, hospitals. Third, they see a solution for these problems by going to Argentina.

At the moment in Argentina there are approximately 500,000 Paraguayans of various political outlooks. Members of the Colorado Party, which is the official government party, have also been persecuted and forced to leave the country.

The majority of the exiles are peasants and workers and there is a big percentage of students.

Likewise in Argentina, at present, they are persecuting Paraguayans. The Argentine police are jailing and torturing them under pretext of fighting communism. A concrete example is a case in which a member of the revolutionary movement was held eight months in jail and they are trying

to condemn him to three years imprisonment. The Paraguayan government is trying to block people from leaving the country now by imposing high fees for documents and creating other obstacles.

Q. What is the current situation in Paraguay?

A. Great latifundia are in the hands of people in government circles; agricultural production has semifeudal characteristics. Industry is practically nonexistent; some of the few plants we do have are shut down, others are really only craft shops. The wage worker is scarcely able to cover 50 per cent of his necessities. The peasant has no land. The few peasants, who do have land, can't work it for lack of machinery and a fair price for the product. The discontent of the people has been rising and in some places land has been occupied. In reply they have been dislodged by force and in some cases by false promises to give them land somewhere else.

There are places where the peasants are organizing guerrilla fighters. They appear in villages, talk with the people and vanish into the woods. Among the places where this has occurred are Itacurusi del Rosario, General Aquino, Barrero Grande and other smaller places.

Q. How do they get arms?

A. In various ways. They seize them from the army itself and they get small arms like revolvers, shotguns and machetes in other ways.

Q. What has "President" Stroessner done to repress them?

A. He utilizes the aid of U.S. technicians, U.S. arms and U.S. money. Some Paraguayan officers receive training in the United States and in U.S. bases in the Caribbean — Panama, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica and other places. The technical mission of the U.S. army in Paraguay aids the Paraguayan army.

The methods which they use are based on terror, mass butchery on mere suspicion. In a place named Fassardi they killed 30 peasants this way on suspicion that they were helping the guerrilla fighters.

Guerrilla fighters who are taken prisoner are savagely tortured; they cut out their tongues, puncture their eyeballs, cut off their ears. Three women guerrilla fighters, Juana Peralta, Julia Salalinda and Blanca Peruchino, were taken prisoner and after being maltreated were killed on order of President Stroessner himself.

Despite this persecution the struggle is intensifying and the government finds itself incapable of finishing it off.

Q. Are these facts known in the
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Trillion Dollars Fails to Steady U. S. Economy

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, June 4 — "The economy is rising, unemployment is down, the prospects in this month are good — I think that the stock market will follow the economy."

President Kennedy made this statement at his press conference on Wednesday, May 23. Five days later, on May 28, stock prices plummeted for the biggest single day's loss — \$20.8 billion — in stock-market history. This climaxed a six-months' decline in the Dow Jones industrial stocks index from 734 last Dec. 13 to 576 at the close of the New York Stock Exchange a week ago today. The loss in stock values since last December totaled more than \$100 billion.

Did the market follow the economy? If so, Kennedy must have been misrepresenting the situation when he said the economy "is rising." If not, then Kennedy showed an appalling lack of knowledge and judgment about the influences of the economy on the trend of the stock market.

The fact is that, for political reasons, he did not dare forecast anything but "fair and warmer" economic weather. In this, he and his advisers were able to point to certain economic data which, on a limited month-to-month or even a year-to-year basis, seem to offer favorable signs.

Unemployment receded "just a shade" more than normal for the month to mid-May, according to the Labor Department, down to 5.4 per cent of the total labor force for the first time since July 1960, from a 7 per cent peak the previous May. The gross national product, the total of all transactions for goods and services, last week was running at an annual rate of \$550 billion compared to \$500 billion when Kennedy took office. Domestic car production enjoyed its highest May output since 1955.

There is far from unanimity,
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NALC Endorsed By Retail Union

The recent convention in Miami of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union passed a resolution officially endorsing the Negro American Labor Council. This is the first international union in the AFL-CIO to take such action. From President Meany to Reuther, most top AFL-CIO leaders have expressed opposition to the NALC ranging from open hostility to demonstrative coolness.

N. Y. Hospital Strike Becomes Big Fight

NEW YORK, June 4 — A relatively small strike — involving 360 non-professional workers at the Beth-El Hospital in Brooklyn on the simple issue of union recognition for Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union, AFL-CIO — has developed into a bitter and significant struggle. It is throwing light on hypocrisy in high places and setting important precedents in the struggle to win better conditions for the city's Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

Faced with a union-busting campaign by the hospital's board of trustees — composed of wealthy businessmen and prominent liberal politicians including Brooklyn Boro president Abe Stark — the local has appealed to other unions and to youth active in civil rights and student movements, to help man its picket lines.

The workers involved are maids, orderlies, porters, nurses aides, dietary and laundry workers. Almost all are Negroes and Puerto Ricans whose average wage is about \$50 a week, with many taking home less than \$40. They have no seniority or other job rights, and as hospital workers are excluded from coverage by unemployment insurance and federal minimum-wage and labor-relations laws.

After more than six months of futile attempts to get the trustees to negotiate, the union struck May 23 and set up militant picket lines. The hospital hired professional strikebreakers and had the building surrounded by police.

On May 28, following the arrest of a number of pickets, Theodore Shapiro, one of the hospital's most prominent benefactors, resigned from the board of trustees in protest against the refusal to recognize the union. He said: "The unprecedented sight of police — on foot and mounted, uniformed and plainclothes — who surround the hospital make it appear more like a prison in revolt than an institution for the sick. The expenditure of thousands of dollars for the hiring of strikebreakers and private detectives and for feeding them in the hospital violates my conscience."

On May 29, the president of the
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... Trillion Fails to Steady U. S. Economy

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however, about either the accuracy or significance of the selected statistics Kennedy's economic advisers have chosen to emphasize and publicize. Back on March 27, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges told a news conference that Kennedy's budget estimate of a \$570 billion gross national product for 1962 would have to be revised downward. It is now running at a rate \$20 billion less. While the official unemployment figures are given as slightly under four million, not only are these figures probably underestimated, as I showed in my article last week, but this month will see an additional 1,500,000 new job-seekers when the school term ends. This morning's *Wall Street Journal* reported:

"Steel production declines since late March have generated widespread layoffs and short work weeks at the nation's steel plants and more job cutbacks are in prospect. Steel operations are running at 55 per cent of capacity . . . A United Steelworkers' estimate puts industry employment currently at 415,000, down from about 455,000 in March and April. If output falls to around 50 per cent, as many steel men expect, the work force would be trimmed to between 365,000 and 375,000, according to union sources."

A careful reading of more than the headlines indicates that much of the statistical "good cheer" poured out by the Kennedy ad-

ministration is watered — and maybe even a bit adulterated in other ways. Economic commentators and analysts of every political hue — except for the administration's own hired hands — have been taking pot shots at various aspects of Kennedy's rose-colored data. But they are in almost unanimous agreement that we do not face "another 1929." Conservative and liberal, Republican and Democratic, newspapers vehemently insist in unison, in the words of the ultra-conservative *New York World-Telegram* of May 29, that "comparisons with 1929 are completely unwarranted" and that "the federal government stands ready to intervene, by major spending if necessary, to prevent any big crash." Identical sentiments have been voiced by the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Post*.

It is true that we do not face "another 1929." But not for the reasons given by the capitalist press. It is because the United States has never really recovered, in a healthy and "normal" economic sense, from the 1929 crash. The Roosevelt administration, from 1933 to 1940, sought to resolve the great depression of the 1930's precisely through "major spending." Physical volume of industrial production — a far more trustworthy measure of economic health than the more recently emphasized "gross national product" — had fallen from 110 points on the Federal Reserve

Board index in 1929 to 58 points in 1932. By increasing federal spending from \$4.6 billion in 1932 to \$9.7 billion in 1935 and by inflating the government debt from \$36 billion to \$50 billion in the same brief period, Roosevelt was able to jack up industrial production to 87 points in 1935; 103 in 1936; and 113 in August 1937 — higher than in 1929.

Then, within three months, the industrial index dropped 27 per cent. In fact, this Roosevelt depression was the most precipitous ever known — the decline was three times as great as the drop during the first five months after the Oct. 1929 stock-market crash. Moreover, unemployment never fell below eight million during the entire "New Deal." In 1940, a year after the war started in Europe, the CIO reported more than ten million unemployed, while the more conservative AFL estimated the jobless at over nine million.

Military Spending

Military spending, which raised annual federal expenditures ten times — from \$9,062,000,000 in 1940 to \$98,416,000,000 in 1945 — pulled industrial production from 109 points in 1939 to a peak of 239 in 1943, although civilian consumer goods production was reduced to the lowest point in the Twentieth Century. The federal debt was simultaneously increased from \$61.3 billion in 1940 to \$266.4 billion in 1945.

From the 1943 high of 239 points, the industrial production index fell in 1946, after the war, to 170 — although federal expenditures in that year were still \$60.4 billion, or almost seven times greater than in 1940. When the Truman administration tried to operate the government without a deficit, by reducing the federal budget to below \$40 billion annually, the industrial production index, which had been notched up from 170 points in 1946 to 192 in 1948, slipped back to 176 in 1949. Unemployment rose in Feb. 1950 to more than 4,800,000, a rate of 7.8 per cent of the civilian labor force and the highest rate since Dec. 7, 1941, the date of U.S. entry into World War II.

Truman's military intervention in the Korean civil war in June 1950 once more sent military expenditure soaring. This reversed the downward economic trend, in the same way Roosevelt had done in World War II. Industrial production rose from 170 points in 1949 to 235 by 1953, the year the Korean War ended.

The reduction of the \$74.2 billion peak wartime spending in 1953 to \$67.7 billion in 1954 was accompanied by a "recession" that same year. Thereafter, the Eisenhower administration's expenditures never fell below the low of \$64.5 billion in 1955, stepped up to a high of \$80.7 billion in 1959, or more than double the annual average peacetime federal spending in 1947-1950 under Truman. The average annual military spending in the years 1954 through 1960 — in peacetime — was nearly \$43 billion, more than triple the sum in the previous non-war period. Nevertheless, by 1958 another "recession" set in.

Kennedy has upped the budget in fiscal 1962 to nearly \$93 billion, including \$52 billion in military expenditures. The promised surplus in his original budget has already turned to an \$8 billion deficit before the 1962 fiscal year ends on June 30. Kennedy is even now begging Congress for a temporary \$8 billion increase in the debt limit as the federal debt surges toward the \$300 billion mark and the government is strapped to pay its current bills. It is at this point that the stock market experiences its worst seizure since Oct. 1929.

It would seem that after more than 1,000 billion (a trillion) dollars of federal spending since the end of World War II, the ruling class of this country has still not succeeded in stabilizing the capitalist profit-system.

Our Editor on Tour Journey's End - Spoke at 31 Colleges

BALTIMORE — While here on his coast-to-coast tour Joseph Hansen spoke at two meetings, one a public lecture sponsored by the History Club of Goucher College, the other a public meeting under the auspices of the Young Socialist Alliance.

At Goucher, an audience of approximately 150 students, many of whom expected to hear a fire-breathing, wild-eyed radical oration, heard instead a cool and methodical presentation of documented fact and informed opinion about the explosive situations in Latin America.

At the YSA meeting several questioners wanted clarification on the present role of the Communist Party in Latin America. Three high school students inquired about Trotsky's position compared to Stalin's, and how Marxist theory could be reconciled with the fact that the first proletarian revolutions occurred in agricultural, semifeudal countries such as Russia, China and Cuba.

After a brief explanation of the differences between Trotsky and Stalin, Hansen recommended Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky as a good current reference. On the other question he indicated the main reasons for the course history took and referred the students to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution for more material.

The audience was favorably impressed by Hansen's wealth of information on Latin-American problems, and by the vivid account of the sights he witnessed on his Latin-American tour.

America." Hansen based the case for the affirmative on the actual course of events in Latin America, explaining why they were taking this, and not a different, course such as gradual reforms.

Prof. Davis opened the negative side with the statement: "Communist Cuba is a failure." He insisted that social reform has been and will continue to be accomplished in Latin America without "Marxian ideology."

The audience of 50 students was highly amused by the offhand way in which Prof. Davis conceded nearly every point on which he was challenged by Hansen.

Utahan to a Texan

For instance, Davis, who made much of his Texas origin, said that in Cuba after the revolution they had killed their cattle and eaten them up, including prize breeding stock.

"In cases of dire necessity they might eat some of their cattle," Hansen responded, "but as a Utahan to a Texan, you know very well that no cowhand is going to eat his breeding stock. This is just as true of Cuban cowhands as any others." Hansen rounded out this point with statistics on how many cattle Cuba has and how they are trying to build up their cattle industry.

On another point, Davis claimed that "milk deliveries have broken down in Havana."

This, the editor of *The Militant* said, was a good example of how an American tends to project his own way of life into other countries. How many lands have a milk-delivery system like New York's? The fact is, Hansen contended, that in Cuba before the revolution whole sectors of the population had never tasted milk since they were infants. Hence there was little in the way of "milk deliveries" to break down.

The reasons for poverty in Latin America and the role of imperialism came up. Hansen said that Prof. Davis as a Texan probably was aware that one of the explanations the Mexicans give for their poverty is that the United States stole some of the best parts of their country, including Texas; and that when an American says Mexico should follow the U.S. example to win prosperity, a Mexican may likely respond, "Should we begin by taking back Texas?" To be honest, an American should at least agree that these territories should not have been seized.

"But then I would have been a Mexican," the professor said.

"Why not?" replied Hansen.

The laughter over this exchange ended in applause in which Davis joined when he realized the implication of his remark.

NEW YORK CITY — Hansen's speaking tour ended here with meetings at Hunter College and City College of New York. This made a total of 31 campuses on which the editor of *The Militant* defended the Cuban Revolution and explained its impact on the peoples of Latin America.

At Hunter, Hansen debated Prof. Thomas B. Davis of the History Department. The debate, sponsored by the Young Democrats, was: "Resolved: That the Cuban Revolution points the way toward the future development of Latin

... N.Y. Hospital

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local, Leon Davis, was threatened with 30 days in jail for refusing to order the strikers back to work in compliance with an injunction obtained by the hospital. He was picked up on the picket line the next day, and is still in jail.

On May 31 a leaflet was distributed at several college and high school campuses in the area by the Youth Committee for Justice for Hospital Workers, headed by Ken Shilman, one of a group of Freedom Riders who helped Local 1199 win a strike at the Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital in Manhattan last winter.

The leaflet called for aid on the Beth-El picket line saying: "Students, young people of conscience, come to the picket line and see for yourselves . . . The low wages and poor conditions of hundreds of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York City is a well publicized scandal. This is our chance to do something constructive about it. Let it be known that police brutality, official indifference and cynicism will not defeat this fight for justice."

Five youths were arrested on the picket line Sunday, June 3, during a demonstration by over 500 sympathizers of the strike. The next day, officials of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union — to which Local 1199 is affiliated — also appeared on the line. Contingents from the important District 65 of the RWDSU are scheduled to join the picketing.

Cuba Points the Way

By the end of the debate the audience was about 75 per cent in agreement with Hansen, the other students remaining silent. The verdict was clearly a hands-down victory for the view that Cuba points the way.

At CCNY the professor scheduled to debate Hansen — Alfred Cave — was unable to keep the date due to illness. The Eugene V. Debs Club, which sponsored the CCNY meeting, therefore hopes to organize a similar type meeting in the future. But *The Militant* editor's speaking engagement was not canceled because his opponent could not appear. Hansen filled in the extra time by extending his observations on what is occurring in Latin America.

While the audience was in its majority friendly to Hansen's point of view, one student took sharp issue. "You don't really think the U.S. government tried to overthrow Castro?" he asked. When the laughter had subsided, a very fruitful discussion took place on the development of the Cuban Revolution and where it stands today.

8-Page Militant Fund Four Break Through 100% Barrier

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

As we go to press, the national fund stands at only 66 per cent — but look where *The General* is! Right on top of the list!

It happened like this: Yesterday there were three letters in the general mail. One from our friend in the Deep South with \$10 collected in his door-to-door campaign to make certain that *The Militant* is known in his town; the second from E.K. of Detroit, Mich.

The third letter was from a close friend, formerly from Bloomington, Ind., now in Indianapolis "working in civil rights . . . The corn belt is still not on fire, but we are searching and attempting to help build sparks!" A check fell out of the letter and I looked at it quickly — then I looked again. It was for \$200!

So *The General* went over the top in one fell swoop!

But in addition to the three contributions mentioned above we also received money and letters from the following: Miss K.M.G., Glen Falls, N.Y.; L.L., Long Beach, Calif.; J.E.G., E. Lansing, Mich.; A.A.M., Willmar, Minn.; H.W., Outlook, Mont. and H.M. of New York City who sent in a second \$10 "to celebrate the victory of William Price and others in behalf of freedom of the press."

So now there are four 100 per-centers, *Militant* supporters in Pittsburgh, Detroit and San Francisco have paid up in full. Berkeley-Oakland is also right up there on schedule and expects to go over the top by about 20 per cent! This morning, after the scoreboard had gone to press, Denver sent in a payment which will show that they are at 80 per cent. Every city, with one exception, has assured us that they expect to be all paid up by the deadline, June 15. And that exception, we are sure, will also come in with their full quota.

Increasing the size of *The Militant* is far too important a project to allow anything to stand in its way. Individual readers throughout the country have proved with their contributions to "general" that they want and need more coverage, more truth. Most of the cities listed on the scoreboard report that they too have had good response from *Militant* readers in their cities — San Francisco, for instance, collected \$154 from 13 people — as contrasted to \$36 from three people during the fund campaign last winter!

Send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

See scoreboard on page 3.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

The Moscow-Peking Debate. Speaker, Frank Lovell. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEWARK

LATIN AMERICA: A Continent in Ferment. Speaker, Richard Gibson, Acting Executive Secretary, Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Sat., June 16, 8:30 p.m. L and G Bldg., 108 Clinton Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). Aisp. Newark Chapter, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

NEW YORK

ERNEST HEMINGWAY and His Return to Cuba. An appraisal by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, lecturer and literary critic. Mon., June 11, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). Aisp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

OPERATION CORRECTION.

A special showing of the film which refutes the lies in *Operation Abolition*, the House Un-American Activities Committee's doctored version of what happened during its vigorously opposed hearings in San Francisco in 1960. One showing, Fri., June 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

MILWAUKEE

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. First Milwaukee showing of Cuban films with English sound track, including one of the April invasion. Plus a report on recent economic and political developments in Cuba by Edward Heisler, Milwaukee Young Socialist Alliance organizer. Discussion, refreshments. Sun., June 17, 8 p.m. Stacy Hall, 150 E. Juneau. Contrib. 50c. Sunday Night Socialist Lyceum.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 11, 1962

The Djilas Case

Milovan Djilas, a former leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party, was sentenced in Belgrade May 14 to nine years in prison — five years for the "crime" of publishing a book of memoirs, entitled *Conversations With Stalin*, and the balance for violating parole on a 1957 sentence for publishing his book, *The New Class*.

On Oct. 14, 1957, we printed an editorial condemning the imprisonment of Djilas at the same time that we pointed out our disagreement with his theories.

Unfortunately, instead of subjecting Djilas' newly advanced theories, such as those in *The New Class*, to refutation in debate, the Tito regime imprisoned him. This not only violated the principles of workers' democracy but surrounded a theoretically weak, superficial and, in places, factually inaccurate book with an unmerited aura — the aura of Djilas' personal courage in standing up for his views and the right to free discussion.

Yugoslavia, which has prided itself on setting examples in a number of fields for the other workers' states, could have set an important example in the Djilas affair. It could have pointed the way back to the workers' democracy of the Soviet Union in the days of Lenin and Trotsky by not only permitting publication of Djilas' books but by encouraging the widest and freest discussion and polemics about them.

Instead, the Tito regime, by jailing Djilas again, is perpetuating the odious methods of Stalin and aping the thought-control efforts of the U.S. witch hunters.

... Interview with Paraguay Exile

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rest of Latin America and the world in general?

A. They are very little known because the Stroessner government blocks discussion of this news through total censorship of the press. He wants to make it look like Paraguay is a country of tranquility.

In accordance with this, Adlai Stevenson came to Paraguay to press the policy of the U.S. Department of State which consists in creating conditions for the application of the Alliance for Progress plan. He ordered the puppet Stroessner government to call "elections."

Stevenson also talked with conciliatory leaders of the "opposition" and promised them guarantees on the part of the U.S. government if they would participate in the elections. This was one of the many maneuvers which the U.S. government and the Paraguayan government have resorted to in order to contain the democratic revolution in Paraguay.

Q. What did the Paraguayan government do in regard to the elections?

A. At present Paraguay is ruled under a "state of siege." There is

no freedom of assembly or expression. One-fourth of the population is abroad. There are prisoners held in concentration camps or deported. The conciliatory leaders of the "opposition" (Partido Liberal, Partido Febrerista, Partido Democrata Cristiano) have sent a petition begging the government to give guarantees for the elections, including lifting the state of siege, general amnesty, freedom for the prisoners, freedom of assembly and organization.

Dictator Stroessner has refused to grant these freedoms, claiming that this is no obstacle to elections and alleging that such measures are aimed at suppressing totalitarian subversives. In addition fresh imprisonments occurred. Stroessner is going to present himself once again as the sole candidate for the presidency. During this whole period Stroessner has been receiving aid from the U.S. government and this is increasing.

This maneuver, dictated and directed by the Department of State through Stevenson, is going to fail because the people will refuse to participate in this farce. They will form united committees to struggle against the dictatorship. The Paraguayan people no longer believe in the promises of either the Yankees or the dictator.

Memorial Meeting For Daniel Roberts Held in New York



Daniel Roberts

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting was held at the Militant Labor Forum hall here May 31 for Daniel Roberts, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and former editor of *The Militant*, who died of cancer May 24 at the age of 44.

Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary, chaired the meeting. Messages were read from Dan's co-workers and comrades across the country and from SWP branches which he had helped build. "From the time he joined the party in his young manhood he was a full time revolutionist who gave himself totally to the cause. The newer and younger members will not find a better model of a socialist militant than that represented by the life of Dan Roberts," said a message from James P. Cannon, SWP national chairman, and Rose Karsner.

Murry Weiss, editor of the *International Socialist Review*, who had recruited Dan to the SWP in 1941, spoke giving a warm personal and political appreciation of his life.

... Thailand 'Aid'

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ousted the royalist-conservatives from the Thai government. The old 1932 constitution was restored, "reducing the legislature to a rubber-stamp body . . . From 1952 until 1957 the facade of constitutional government was maintained while the Thai militarists elevated graft, corruption and nepotism within the Thai political system to unprecedented levels."

"The second consolidating development in Thailand's political system," continues Darling, "took place in October 1958 when Marshal Sarit Thanarat took over direct control in the Thai government . . . He has imprisoned former Assembly representatives, newspaper editors, writers, labor leaders, teachers, students and businessmen . . . who are inevitably labeled as 'Communists' . . . An interim constitution was promulgated in 1959 . . . which provides unlimited powers to Sarit and is similar to the Enabling Act passed by the Bundestag in 1933 which made Hitler the dictator of Germany."

Darling argues for supporting Thailand's "liberal civilian leaders" and raising living standards, otherwise the country will become more "susceptible" to "Communist subversion." But his program would not fit in with Washington's cold-war plans or Wall Street's demands for safety of investments.

The Thai dictatorship is a model of what Kennedy means when he talks about preserving "freedom" in Laos and South Vietnam. American soldiers are dying now in the latter country to stop the people from overthrowing that very kind of "free-world" regime. And Kennedy is poised to give the same order to U.S. troops in Thailand and Laos.

N. Y. Demonstrators Demand \$1.50 Hourly Minimum Wage

By Lillian Kiezel

NEW YORK, June 5 — "Do you really think that \$1.50 an hour is too much for Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York City?" This and many other slogans on placards were addressed to Mayor Robert F. Wagner and New York's City Council today by a picket line in City Hall Park. About 250 people participated in the picketing, organized by the Citizens Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York City. The Citizens Committee is headed by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Pickets demonstrated from noon to one o'clock to protest the City Council's failure to pass the \$1.50 minimum hourly wage bill which has been pigeonholed since Jan. 9. Many of the pickets were low-paid workers, sacrificing their lunch hour in order to demonstrate. The picket line also included representatives from the National Maritime Union, the Seafarers International Union, the International Union of Electrical Workers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, Negro American Labor Council, Federation of Spanish Societies, Reform Democratic Clubs and others.

Where's the ILGWU?

Gus Sedares, the Citizens Committee coordinator and organizer of the picket line, declared that there are "not enough unions supporting this effort although many of them are. If, for example, we had the wholehearted support of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union this picket line would not have been necessary. We would have won by now."

The ILGWU has refused to support the struggle for a municipal minimum-wage law even though 15.5 per cent of its members in New York receive less than \$1.50 per hour. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has also declined to support the effort despite the fact that 77.1 per cent of its laundry worker members are in this low-paid bracket.

Sedares pointed out that the pickets were also protesting a possible watering-down of the minimum-wage proposal. He said that Mayor Wagner's Commission on

City Economy will probably recommend to the City Council a \$1.25 minimum wage law which furthermore would exclude from its coverage many sections of the lower paid workers in this city.

In a statement to the press, released at the picket line, A. Philip Randolph expressed keen disappointment over the mayor's refusal to keep his campaign promise of an "all-out attack against the sweatshop." Randolph declared, "The exploited Negro and Puerto Rican worker will not wait forever in silence for the small measure of economic and social justice which the \$1.50 minimum hourly wage law would provide. The need is too urgent for the interminable and unnecessary delays to be accepted without protest."

Franco Threatens But Strikes Persist

By Hedda Grant

Although reports of back-to-work movements in Spain increased this week, there was no conclusive end to the strikes that have swept that country for over seven weeks. Major newspapers contradicted each others' reports, indicating a far from settled condition.

On Wednesday, May 29, the *New York Times* reported that the strikes were "all but ended," with the Asturian miners returning in mass and sympathy strikers in other areas rapidly taking up their tools. But the *New York Herald Tribune* of the same date headlined a story of 18 Spanish workers arrested as "strike inciters" and reported a new strike from an unexpected quarter.

Agricultural workers in the south of Spain did not show up for work last week on the huge wine-growing estates. Construction workers of the area also stayed away from their jobs, bringing the total number of strikers to over 6,000. The rural workers, who own neither homes nor land, have been increasingly enthusiastic over Fidel Castro and the land reform of the Cuban Revolution. Spain's rural security troops, the Guardia Civil, heavily patrol the area.

On June 3, General Franco, who a week before called strikers' demands "dreams," reviewed a huge armed force and police parade in Madrid in celebration of his twenty-third year in power. Sixteen thousand young troops filed past the reviewing stand showing off U.S.-made modern weapons while U.S.-donated jet planes flew overhead.

The *Times* reporter described a cheering crowd, but the man on the *Tribune* remarked on the poor turnout and noted loud whistles from the onlookers particularly when the hated armed police went past. In Europe, whistling is not a form of applause but more closely resembles booing or the Bronx cheer.

Students Fined for Free Speech Stand

DETROIT — Ten members of a Michigan State University fraternity, Delta Sigma Phi, which permitted Communist speaker Robert Thompson to use its back yard for a speech on May 23, have been fined a total of \$500 by the fraternity's local alumni control board.

As reported in last week's *Militant*, Thompson was barred from speaking, after the University president and administration had failed to pressure the Young Socialist Club, which had scheduled the meeting, into calling it off. In the interests of upholding free speech and the students' freedom of inquiry, the fraternity offered the use of its facilities for the meeting. Approximately 1,000 attended the meeting.

In permitting Thompson to speak, the fraternity was disregarding an order by the alumni to keep the Communist speaker off Delta Sigma Phi property. For this the fraternity president and nine members of the chapter's executive board were fined \$50 each, and the chapter president was asked to resign.

A campus drive is currently underway to raise money to pay the fines. The money is being raised by the Young Socialist Club, sponsor of the Thompson speech. To date \$63 has been collected.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
General	\$ 530	\$ 549	103
Pittsburgh	20	20	100
Detroit	800	800	100
San Francisco	720	720	100
Berkeley-Oakland	635	576	91
Milwaukee	320	285	89
Connecticut	200	172	86
St. Louis	100	85	85
Boston	750	609	81
New York	5,700	4,544	80
Twin Cities	1,500	1,065	71
Newark	190	132	69
Chicago	1,000	650	65
Allentown	155	92	59
Cleveland	600	340	57
San Diego	360	180	50
Seattle	600	255	43
Los Angeles	6,300	2,667	42
Philadelphia	320	127	40
Denver	200	70	35
Totals through June 6	\$21,000	\$13,938	66

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BOOK REVIEW

An Unforgettable Horror

THE TRIANGLE FIRE. By Leon Stein.
New York: Lippincott, 1962, 220 pp., \$4.50.

Fifty-one years ago, on March 25, 1911, New York children gleefully followed the sound of sirens and the horse-drawn fire trucks to the Asch Building at the corner of Greene Street and Washington Place, a block east of Washington Square and a few minutes' walk from where *The Militant's* office is today.

The top three floors of the ten-story Asch Building were then occupied by the Triangle Shirtwaist Co., the largest enterprise of its kind. The girls who operated the machines had been preparing to leave for home at 4:45. Actually the clock read 4:30 p.m.; the sweatshop owners often set the clock back so they could cheat more work from their employees.

Just as some of the girls had begun to put on their coats, a fire suddenly broke out near a machine on the eighth floor. Samuel Bernstein, a foreman, began to beat out the flames. He calmed the girls as best he could, told them to take the elevator or go down the stairs. When, seconds later, he came back from the hall, pulling a fire hose, the fire had reached such proportions that the women were hysterical, pushing and shoving to get out. The hose wouldn't work. Flames were blocking the stairway and women rushed to the windows. One of the doors leading to a fire escape in the back was locked — the employers feared that employees might use the fire escape to sneak out material. This was only one of innumerable violations of fire regulations in the sweatshop.

Within minutes the fire spread to the ninth and tenth floors. Fortunately the workers on the tenth floor were able to get onto the roof and from there across to another building.

But the girls on the eighth and ninth floors were trapped. Their only hope, for a few minutes, was the elevator. The courageous elevator boy took his car up to the eighth floor where screaming girls, flames licking their backs, pushed into the car. But this exit quickly became impossible. Several women jumped down onto the top of the descending elevator. Others leaped to grab the steel cable. Many, leaping, fell to their deaths. One girl was knocked unconscious by a falling body as she sat on top of the elevator. When she awoke, the elevator was ascending again into a solid ceiling of flame, and she had to pound on the elevator roof to make the operator descend.

That girl was rescued, but bodies, falling down the shaft from a great height, wrecked the elevator.

Many girls by the windows were



cut off by flames. Fire ladders could not then reach eight stories and the nets were not effective. As people in the streets watched, petrified with horror, girls jumped to their deaths, their hair and clothing on fire. At other windows, girls were preparing to climb out onto the window ledges as the fire pressed closer.

A newspaper reporter was able to watch a young man on the ninth floor who was performing a ghastly act of chivalry, helping girls onto the ledge and then holding them away from the building and dropping them to their deaths. When his own girl friend came onto the ledge, he embraced and kissed her and they both jumped together.

Another girl climbed out, calmly sailed her hat down to the street. Then she emptied her handbag of what little money she had and finally jumped. On the one fire escape from the ninth floor, girls were inching their way down, when it broke, plunging almost fifty to their deaths.

Within half an hour the fire, now under control, had burned out the shirtwaist factory and taken the lives of 146, mostly young men and women.

Relatives of these youngsters and unionized garment workers were understandably enraged when the two owners of the factory came to trial. The newspapers had reported the fire hazards and sweatshop conditions in the factory as well as the fact that the girls had gone on strike the previous year and the police had co-operated with the employers in smashing their picket line.

It was amply proven that the employees' deaths had resulted from the terrible fire hazards in the building. But the owners were acquitted and the next year the same men built another factory with the same kind of fire hazards — including the locked doors. An

investigating committee duly reported this fact — and the owners were fined \$20! This was the extent of their punishment. They collected large sums of insurance for their ruined property — more than it deserved.

The author, who is an editor of *Justice*, the publication of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, does not dwell overlong on the backgrounds of the people who died in the fire or the owners of the factory, but re-creates the 30-minute scene of horror with vivid writing, sustaining suspense with the ghastly facts of the fire. It is as though the reader were there, shrinking against a wall across the street watching the bodies hurtle down.

That death by fire is still a work hazard in New York was tragically illustrated in 1958 by two terrible fires within five blocks of the scene of the Triangle holocaust. Again people jumped to their deaths, again there was a faulty fire door, again victims included low-paid immigrant workers — this time Puerto Rican.

The horror of the Triangle fire caused a wave of revulsion against sweatshop conditions in the second decade of this century. But fire hazard is but one of many conditions resulting from the sweatshop system — whose salient features are extremely low wage rates and lack of control by the workers of their working conditions. Lack of financial reserves force the workers to continue in such miserable jobs, and lack of control in the shop forces them to submit to all sorts of wretched conditions of which violation of safety measures is but one — and seemingly far from the most pressing item.

It is ironic that the leaders of the very garment unions whose organizing drives of the past had great public sympathy, in no small measure due to the martyrdom of the Triangle girls, are today in large measure responsible for the resurgence of sweatshops in New York. The leaders of these "progressive" unions have tolerated wage scales so low that large numbers of workers, mainly Negro and Puerto Rican, are forced to a subsistence level — as poor or poorer than that of the immigrant girls of the Triangle Co. back in 1911. ILGWU and Amalgamated Clothing Workers' contracts in many shops merely "legitimize" sweatshop wages. From the starvation wage all the other evils of the sweatshop inevitably began to flourish.

Though it would jeopardize his position as editor of the ILGWU magazine *Justice*, the author could well employ his considerable writing talents on a book about sweatshops in the New York of 1962.

Lewis Martin

Letters From Our Readers

Need for Solidarity

Fond du Lac, Mich.

Enclosed find \$2 as a contribution.

I was encouraged by the article in *The Militant* on the Worker's right to print news as they see it. The forces that would strangle the Worker today would strangle *The Militant* tomorrow.

Charles Taplin

From Guatemala

Guatemala City, Guatemala

Today, May 25, 1962, I talked to an American from Kentucky, in the lobby of the Hotel Colonial where I am staying in Guatemala City. He has spent one year in Caracas, Venezuela, and has all the answers to the failures of Latins to govern themselves. He has been doing missionary work for the Lutheran Church.

This American from Kentucky says that the one major problem that most Americans don't take into consideration when they talk of democracy in the Latin countries is that they have had about four hundred years of inbreeding among Negroes, Spaniards, and Indians, and as a direct result of this ungodly match, have a people who have no ambition, too much pride, and are essentially ignorant. He hopes to bring Christianity and serenity to the poor people of South America when he graduates from the Lutheran Seminary in Kentucky. If he works diligently, he thinks, perhaps in 200 years the people of Latin countries will be able to govern themselves. He should live so long!

I talked to the director of the Chamber of Industry, today, to try to get an idea of the gross national product, the cost of living, and the average annual wage. Other than an open admission that the cost of living in Guatemala was the second highest in the world, and that the people could not afford it, he passed the buck to the statistics department of the Chamber.

About one month ago, the police in Guatemala City, and the members of the Associated Students Union had an open pitched battle. The police had machine guns, and the students had nothing other than what rocks and sticks they could gather. The police won. I stood on the hill where this battle took place and read the only remaining sign that there was ever a battle took place. AEU for Associated Students Union was written in brown on one of the walls. A small warning that resistance still exists.

I walked past the police station, one block from the National Palace, and the police were still carrying submachine guns. I stopped one policeman and asked the way to the National Palace, and then asked him why so many carried machine guns. He said that the Communists and Cubans who have infiltrated might cause a demonstration. My Guatemalan friends of working-class stock, who make about \$60 per month, laughed out loud when I told them what the policeman had said. They pointed out that the same story was told when the students were attacked. One of my Guatemalan friends saw the attack on the students, and shed bitter tears, because of the helpless feeling of watching the senseless slaughter of young people whose sole crime was to demonstrate for a better way of life.

The Christian American from Kentucky has a simple answer. He says that the Communists pay the people down here to demonstrate. In Venezuela, he says, the Communists pay three bolivars [\$67] per day for demonstrating, and in Guatemala they pay two or possibly three quetzal [\$2.70] per day.

Thought for the Week

"I feel that we should recognize the possibility that damage done through radiation fallout may be ten or even fifty times as much as estimated in the report."—Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner, on the Federal Radiation Council's report on effects of fallout from all nuclear tests through 1961.

A working man on the bus last night, while we were discussing the problems of living in Guatemala, said: "I may not have much money, but by God, I have a mind."

Gadfly

A Staunch Friend

Anaheim, Calif.

I would like so much to have a larger paper and hope you will soon accomplish just that. I am enclosing another \$5 to help a little. I only wish it could be more but I am on a small fixed income and in my seventies, so anything may happen, especially with the generous medical setup we have. Here in California a hospital is \$35 a day.

I pay \$13 for 35 tiny tablets of cortisone for my arthritis.

I receive most glowing accounts from my relatives in Britain of the Socialist medical system. Why can't we have something similar?

Good luck to *The Militant*.

B.M.

Recollections of Cuba

Detroit, Mich.

When the Spaniards were defeated in Cuba I was a member of the U.S. Infantry stationed at Columbia Barracks in Cuba. Our department was part of the army of occupation. Our regimental colonel was delegated by the armed forces to distribute some \$3 million among the Cuban *reconcentrados* [those driven from their homes by the Spaniards] who had taken a part with our forces in the war with Spain, commonly called the Spanish-American War.

This writer was the sergeant in charge of the detail which protected this money. The contingent covered virtually every part of rural Cuba and all of us were horrified to see the pitiful conditions under which the Cuban poor existed.

When Weyler, the Spanish general, stormed through the country, it was a common practice of his troops, whenever they came upon youngsters over 12 and therefore old enough to carry a gun, to break the youngster's arm.

The policy of Washington was to assemble the *reconcentrados* and pay them off at the rate of \$13 for every month of service. One veteran would turn in the stock of a gun, another a ramrod, and a third would surrender the barrel of a gun.

There was very little vegetation and practically no food available and the people were so starved they would go to any length to acquire a hardtack — a very hard cracker that was part of our travel ration.

Many of the boys took advantage of this hunger to seduce the women. So even at that time our troops were hated by the Cubans and we were warned while in Havana to walk in the middle of the streets as several of our forces had been blinded by someone throwing chloride of lime in their faces.

In the Philippines, in the search for the freedom-fighter Aguinaldo, anyone caught and suspected of having knowledge of the patriot's whereabouts was subjected to the terrible "water cure." The suspect was staked to the ground, a funnel inserted in his mouth and water poured down his throat until his stomach would be distended almost to bursting, and in some cases his stomach actually would burst. All of this was done at the command of the officer in charge of the invasion forces.

While in the Marines, I told some newsmen of this cruel and inhuman practice and narrowly escaped a court martial for "talking out of turn."

Paul Dennie

It Was Reported in the Press

Easy Answer — The United States Information Agency in South Vietnam is sponsoring a contest for a new name for the Viet Cong guerrillas. The name, given the South Vietnamese freedom fighters, supposedly is a contraction of "Vietnamese Communists." The USIA now feels the name does not arouse hatred and contempt in the local citizenry. It is asking Vietnamese contestants to come up with "a colloquial peasant term implying disgust or ridicule." A prize of \$47 will be awarded. If the contest isn't fixed, the name that most obviously fits the specification, and should therefore win hands down, is quite obvious — "Yankee Imperialists."

Pass the Powder, Please — The amount of radioactive iodine in milk jumped considerably in eleven states during the month of May, according to the U.S. Public Health Service. In Wi-

chita, Kansas, the amount of cancer-breeding iodine from nuclear-test fallout increased by 330 per cent. Federal officials assured that the new levels "appear" temporary and are not dangerous unless sustained over a long period.

U.S. Retreat in Vietnam — Last week we reported that U.S. policymakers were considering defying a new law in South Vietnam which bans social dancing. The U.S. Embassy had asked the mayor of Saigon to rule whether or not its weekly square dance came under the new "morality" law. The mayor didn't bother to answer the letter so the U.S. ambassador decided not to fight city hall and called off the square dances.

Less Taxes? — The Associated Press reported June 2 that the Greek government has raised minimum wages ten per cent. The report said the minimum wage

for men will rise from \$1.79 a day to \$1.90 and the minimum for women will go from \$1.37 a day to \$1.47. According to our rudimentary arithmetic, the increase for men comes to slightly more than six per cent and the one for women to just over seven per cent.

Blank Key — "The culture-conscious Kennedys heard other grumbles over the week end. It was noticed that although Duke Ellington had received a key to the city at the start of the first International Jazz Festival here, no doors had opened for him at the White House." — Random Notes in Washington, June 4, the *New York Times*.

Shook-Up Generation? — Emotional problems rank third behind respiratory and skin diseases among U.S. university students, according to findings published by the American Medical Association.