

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 43 Monday, November 26, 1962 Price 10c

Rights Group Scores Kennedy Over Albany

By Edward Slater

The Kennedy administration has done nothing to protect the rights of Negroes in Albany, Ga., according to a report issued Nov. 14 by the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization with headquarters in Atlanta. In an introduction to a study of the Albany situation by Dr. Howard Zinn, professor of history and social science at Spelman College in Atlanta, Leslie W. Dunbar, the council's executive director, declared: "The federal government, represented solely by the Department of Justice, has hovered about Albany from the beginning. Incredibly, in this whole time, it has not acted." Dunbar went on to state that the "record of the federal government in Albany says as clearly as a public announcement" that it will not act except where there is uncontrolled violence. "There has

been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws," he declared.

The situation in Albany, the council statement said, "is the price of eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by the president, of timidity by Southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954."

Recent struggles for civil rights in Albany began in the fall of 1961 with the arrest of freedom riders and local youths testing segregated transportation facilities. Mass arrests of demonstrators followed in December and again last summer. Repeated appeals for federal protection were made. Nonetheless, Albany's Jim-Crow laws remain in effect and Negroes are still harassed and arrested for demanding their constitutional rights.

The Southern Regional Council stressed Albany's "crucial importance for the national interest" since the "twin forces which have produced the crisis also exist in hundreds of places in the South." The report went on, "These are, on the one hand, Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other hand, the willful inert resistance of white persons and their institutions."

Dr. Zinn's study noted that Police Chief Laurie Pritchett had earned praise in some quarters for his actions in enforcing the law. "He has done this," the professor said, "by simply putting into prison every man, woman, or child who dared protest in any way the infringement of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution . . . Pritchett has run the city of Albany in the silent, sure manner of an efficient police state."

As to the action of the federal administration in this situation, Zinn said, "The FBI dutifully sat in its office in Albany and took dozens upon dozens of affidavits from Negro citizens complaining that Constitutional rights had been violated by city and county

(Continued on Page 6)

7 Friendly To Meredith Victimized

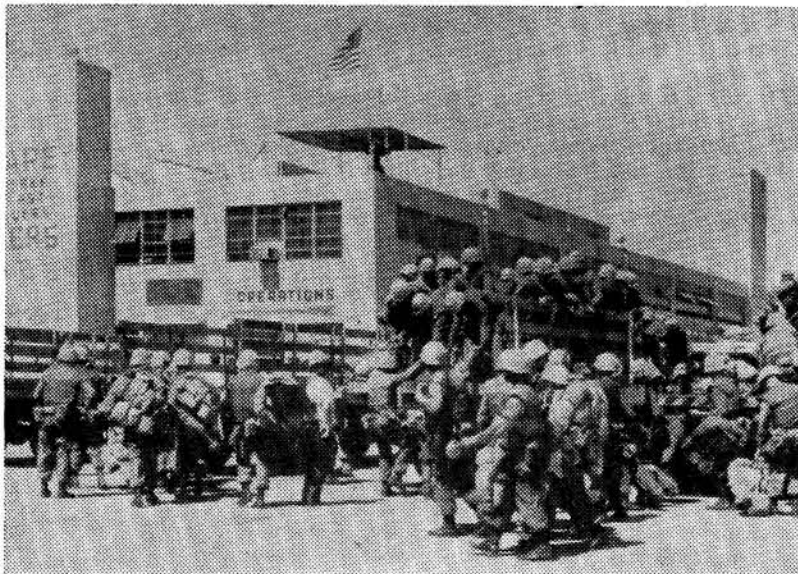
A Mississippi-born white freshman, Craig Knobles, has been driven from the University of Mississippi by racist threats and harassment. He was one of seven white students who sat with James Meredith, the only Negro student, in the cafeteria. Knobles and his roommate later found their room broken into and wrecked. Subsequently they and others, who befriended Meredith, were ostracized, taunted, and spat upon. A racist student explained, "Such warfare was used by the South during Reconstruction and the South eventually triumphed."

On Nov. 20, Knobles, absent from classes since the previous Friday, telephoned his roommate asking that his belongings be packed. A relative said, "He's probably not coming back." His roommate, William Temple, however, told reporters, "They're not going to chase me out just because I had dinner with Meredith."

Meredith himself continues under heavy pressure and is reported behind in his studies, primarily due to harassment which has prevented him from studying and getting adequate sleep. Until recently, for instance, racist students took turns banging on his door and shouting under his window all night.

A U.S. Appeals Court Nov. 15 ordered criminal contempt charges against Gov. Ross Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson for their part in resisting Meredith's admission and inciting racist violence. Next day, a Mississippi grand jury blamed the Sept. 30 violence on the federal marshals who protected the 29-year-old Negro student, and reportedly brought secret indictments against Chief U.S. Marshal James McShane and a soldier, Pfc. Dominique Niglia. Earlier, a state legislative committee demanded \$340,000 in damages from the federal government. Among items listed was one of \$300 for concrete benches broken into chunks by racists to throw at U.S. marshals.

President Sidesteps 'No-Invasion' Pledge



NEWLY-ARRIVED Marine reinforcements at Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba pile supplies on trucks. Bristling with arms, the base constitutes a constant threat to Cuba's security.

Will Continue Airspace Provocations

By Fred Halstead

NOV. 20 — While the lifting of the U.S. blockade of Cuba, announced yesterday by President Kennedy, eases for the time being the critical situation in the Caribbean, efforts by the U.S. government to strangle the Cuban Revolution continue.

The immediate danger of invasion or of a tightened blockade appears to be averted. To this degree the Cuban Revolution gains a valuable respite. But Kennedy still withholds any pledge not to invade Cuba and bluntly stated at his press conference that: "We will not, of course, abandon the political, economic and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from Cuba."

This leaves the situation close to what it was before the present crisis began — with the U.S. still maintaining an embargo against Cuba, still moving to isolate the island economically and diplomatically from Latin America and other parts of the world, still financing and organizing counter-revolutionary harassment and sabotage, still violating Cuban airspace, and still whipping up anti-Cuba hysteria in the U.S. press.

Kennedy made no promise not to invade Cuba. He simply said that if his conditions on "verification and safeguards" are met and "if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive Communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean. And as I said in September, 'we shall neither initiate nor permit aggressions in this hemisphere.'"

A reporter specifically asked if this meant there would be no invasion of Cuba from another Latin American country. Kennedy dodged, referring the question back to his original statement.

Khrushchev's promise to remove the 30 or so IL-28 bombers from Cuba was cited by Kennedy as his reason for lifting the blockade. Actually, Kennedy's making the bombers the crux of the "settlement" is farcical. His claim that 30 obsolete bombers in the hands of tiny Cuba could be an aggressive threat to the U.S. — which has many thousands of the latest planes and anti-aircraft missiles on its east coast — is ridiculous.

Even if the planes were good (Continued on Page 7)

FBI Seeks to Deepen Anti-Cuba Hysteria

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Nov. 21 — The FBI round-up of Cubans here on charges of conspiring to commit sabotage is a deliberate hoax designed to deepen anti-Cuban hysteria.

The witch-hunting character of the Justice Department move is apparent from the few hard facts that can be sifted from the screaming headlines and lurid stories of plans to destroy department stores and oil refineries in the New York area and to unleash a reign of terror in the city.

Almost simultaneously with the Nov. 17 arrests, newsmen were summoned to an FBI press conference. A typical result was the Nov. 17 *New York World Telegram* story stating: "FBI sources said the conspirators planned to plant the explosives in air-conditioning systems and other areas of New York department stores and in gasoline and oil refineries in New Jersey."

The FBI Story

An FBI "source" explained that the material to carry out this impressive plan had been found in the business place of José Garcia, a Cuban-American, and that they had been furnished by members

of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

Agents arrested Garcia and Antonio Sueiro, also a Cuban-American and a part-time employe of Garcia's. Held as a material witness was Ada Dritsas, a friend of Sueiro's who happened to be standing on a street corner with him when he was picked up.

Also arrested, in flagrant violation of his diplomatic status, was Roberto Santiestebán, of the Cuban Mission. He was held on \$250,000 bail, despite vigorous protests of Carlos Lechuga, Cuban ambassador to the UN, who also charged that Santiestebán was brutally beaten when arrested. The FBI claimed that Santiestebán's diplomatic status had not been completely "processed" at the time of his arrest. He had been admitted to this country on a diplomatic passport six weeks previously.

Garcia and Sueiro were held in \$100,000 bail each and Miss Dritsas in \$25,000 bail. The three men were accused of "conspiring" to gather military information about the U.S. and "conspiring" to "obtain and possess incendiary

(Continued on Page 4)

More Profits, Less Sharing

By Evelyn Sell

Those American Motors workers who last year voted against the profit-sharing plan can now say "I told you so!" with a vengeance.

Figures were released Nov. 16 on the results of the first year of profit-sharing. Here's how the plan works and here's what the workers got:

At the end of its fiscal year, Sept. 30, American Motors had a net profit before taxes of \$73,140,621. From this the company subtracted: 10 per cent to cover stockholders' investments; all profits from Redisco, Inc., its subsidiary financing company; all profits from its foreign operations; and all profits from investments in the last two categories.

What was left was called the profit-sharing-fund base. Fifteen per cent of this base, \$9,766,907, was divided up so that \$6,511,271 goes to pay for employe fringe benefits (pensions, insurance) and

\$3,255,636 is used to purchase stock for the employes.

Here's how the stock share is figured: The 27,000 hourly employes were credited with 197,311 shares. Each employe's share depends on hours worked and wage rate. The average amount would be 7.3 shares per worker, with each share worth \$17.62½ at this date. That means the average worker got about \$128.66 worth of shares. Divide \$128.66 into the hours worked during one year of 40-hour weeks and you get the magnificent sum of almost 6.2¢ per hour per average worker, or almost \$2.48 per week.

But the clincher to this stock deal is that the workers are not allowed to cash in their stocks. Oh no, the stocks are held in trust and can be cashed only with company approval and under such circumstances as retirement, death, layoff, illness or disability. Even if you took the rosier view

possible of the profit-sharing and divided the number of workers into the full \$9,766,907, you would get only \$361.07 per worker per year or about 17.3¢ per hour. This includes pensions, insurance, stocks, everything. How much of this actually turns up in the weekly paycheck has not been revealed in the figures released so far.

How does this compare with what other auto workers get? The Nov. 17 *Detroit Free Press* points out that Ford, GM and Chrysler workers now draw 14¢ an hour more in direct wages plus another 7 or 8¢ an hour in Blue Cross health-insurance payments as a result of their 1961 contracts.

What did American Motors get out of this profit-sharing? The company boasts that it got a \$5 million annual boost in the efficiency of its plant workers. In plain English that means the com-

(Continued on Page 2)

To Send Goodwill Ship to Cuba

The Committee for Nonviolent Action, a pacifist group which sponsored the three Everyman voyages protesting nuclear testing, has announced plans for a "Cuban action project." As a part of this project, a CNVA team will take a boat to Cuba, carrying with them food and medical supplies as a gesture of goodwill. Although there is at present no official U.S. embargo on certain foods and medical supplies, there is increasing pressure against the carrying of any goods to Cuba. In undertaking this trip, moreover, the CNVA team will be defying the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba. In conjunction with the project, the group hopes to conduct actions in places like Key West and other possible staging areas for an invasion.

Who Is Betraying Whom?

By Tom Kerry

If you want the real lowdown on the current Cuban crisis, stripped of all its complexities and complications, listen to the siren song of the professional "democrats." Castro, you see, has "betrayed" the revolution and must be removed!

From John F. Kennedy to the Norman Thomas "socialists" — infinite variations are played on this theme. A front-page editorial



John F. Kennedy

in the Oct. 15 issue of *New America*, official organ of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, tips its hat to the "courageous struggle led by Castro," against Batista, and then proceeds to outline SP-SDF policy:

"Momentarily," it continues, "the Cubans were liberated not only from Batista's brutal tyranny, but also from Cuba's degrading status as a kind of economic and tourist colony of the United States. But the very nature of a genuine revolution set down suddenly in the tinder box of Latin American politics and American economic interests meant the United States would respond with increasingly hostile actions."

"The steady deterioration of U.S.-Cuban relations strengthened the anti-democratic and pro-Communist elements in the Castro leadership, helping to force Castro into the Soviet Bloc. It sped the extraordinary process by which the Communists, who had begun by opposing Castro as a romantic, ended by gaining the dominant role in the Cuban regime."

"For the Cuban people," the editorial continues, "these de-

velopments have meant trading the repression of Batista for the repression of Castro, and domination by the United States for a dependence on the Russians. These developments have occurred and those of us who originally gave our full support to the Cuban Revolution cannot blink these facts away."

Having thus summed up their indictment they proceed immediately, without "blinking" to render their verdict: "We must condemn the present Castro regime." It would appear that on the basis of the "bald facts," even as tentatively presented, the obvious conclusion, especially for "socialists," would be to "condemn" the Kennedy regime!

But, no — it is Castro who stands condemned of "betraying" the revolution, for the "crime" of "trading" the "domination of the United States for a dependence on the Russians."

As the historical function of the social-democrats is to provide a left cover for the imperialist adventures of their "own" capitalist class, the SP-SDF cloaks its counter-revolutionary policy in the shibboleths of "democracy." They oppose, they say, the outright invasion of Cuba by the U.S., but they add, "we wholeheartedly support the Cuban democratic underground. All reports," they say, "indicate it is opposed to Castro and to any attempted restoration of a U.S. stooge regime."

Some ten days later, with Cuba ringed by American warships and in anticipation of an imminent invasion, the "democratic underground" stated its views in a telegram to Kennedy. As recorded in the Oct. 26, *New York Times*, the "underground organizations in Cuba," declared, "they will not accept any government 'imposed' by the United States when Fidel Castro is overthrown." It seems that they had already elected, somewhat prematurely it is true, "a provisional president of the Cuban Government in arms in exile." What price "free elections?"

In its Nov. 10 issue *New America* devotes over one full page of type to an analysis of the crisis, by Antonio de La Carrera, a representative of the Cuban "democratic underground." The burden of his "analysis" is that the "pro-invasion" Cuban exiles "will be left without a strategy to resort to in view of the Kennedy pledge not to invade"; that the only realistic alternative is to give all-out support to the "democratic underground" in its efforts to destroy Castro.

The "Kennedy pledge not to invade" is nothing but boob-bait. It is hedged about with so many conditions as to make it meaningless. To be considered seriously there is a conclusive test which it must meet — the five-point program of democratic rights presented by the Castro regime.

But Carrera, the underground "democrat," snickers at Castro's five-point program. "Trying desperately to be heard," Carrera sneers, Castro "issued a five-point program without which, he said,

'the guarantees of President Kennedy against an invasion of Cuba will not exist.' His five measures," chortles Carrera, "will be ignored, not only by President Kennedy, but also by Premier Khrushchev."

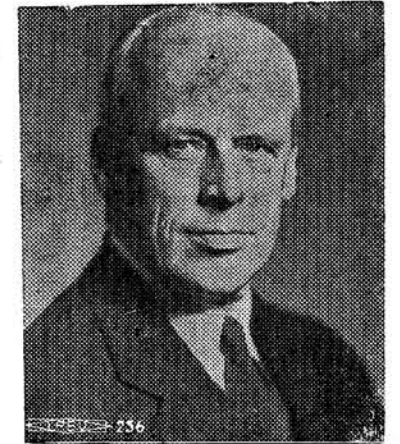
Castro's five-point program constitutes a statement of the most elementary rights which should lawfully govern relations between sovereign states. Any "democrat," either under or above ground, who contemptuously or arrogantly dismisses these demands isn't worth the powder to blow him to hell!

Oh, yes! Carrera relates how pleased the "underground democrats" were with that part of Kennedy's Oct. 22 speech, "where he said he had 'watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed.'"

Just to put the frosting on the cake, *New America* turns another full page over to a spokesman for a minority tendency whose point of view, expressed by SP-SDF national committee member, Robert J. Alexander, can be compressed into one sentence, to wit:

"I for one," Alexander proudly declares, "supported the Kennedy position during the week of the crisis, and I support it now, when the danger of the situation apparently has passed."

Which poses the question: Who is betraying whom?



Norman Thomas

...Am. Motors Profit Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

pany squeezed \$5 million out of the workers through increased speed-up. In addition, under the terms of the 1961 contract, the company saved \$1½ million in annual labor costs by cutting out a paid five-minute wash-up period and \$500,000 a year by cutting out a 1¢ hourly cost-of-living raise.

"We are delighted that most of our employes are now shareholders in the growing company for which they work," declared company officials Richard E. Cross and Roy Abernathy. "We are also pleased," they continued, "that sufficient profit was generated in our 1962 fiscal year so that, for 1963, the progress-sharing fund can finance all the improvements in employes' benefits provided for in the contract negotiated with the UAW in 1961."

The UAW officials are pleased, too. "Naturally, we are pleased that the first year's experience has proven so favorable," said Douglas Fraser, director of the UAW's AMC department. Jack Beni, president of Local 72 at Kenosha, Wis., was "highly elated"; and Roy Speth, president of Local 75 in Milwaukee, predicted that Rambler quality would go up now that the workers were stockholders.

When the company is "delighted" and the union bureaucrats are "highly elated" — the workers better watch out!

The results of the first profit-sharing plans are now down in black and white for all to study and learn what Reuther's big talk boiled down to in actuality.



A raid against the Teamsters Union in Philadelphia was defeated Nov. 18 by a narrow vote of 3,870 to 3,274 in a National Labor Relations Board election. The vote involved truck drivers working for firms in one employers' bargaining group. About half the 13,000 members of Teamsters Local 107 were involved as well as some drivers in Locals 470 of Philadelphia, 312 of Chester, Pa., and 331 of Atlantic City.

This was the first attempt to raid an over-the-road and cartage section of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters since the IBT was expelled from the AFL-CIO in 1957 after being "investigated" by a Senate committee. Chief counsel for that committee which began the witch-hunt against the Teamsters — that split the labor movement and resulted in the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law — was Robert F. Kennedy, now U.S. Attorney General.

Kennedy was heavily involved in the Philadelphia raid. He publicly supported the group — called "Voice" — which challenged the jurisdiction of the IBT. "Voice" was formed last year after a number of rank-and-file Philadelphia Teamsters were persuaded to abandon their fight to reform the IBT and instead to devote their energies to splitting it. Behind this development were the Attorney General, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union.

For several years, organized rank-and-file opposition had been growing in Philadelphia against the heavy-handed bureaucracy of Ray Cohen, president of Local 107. The oppositionists sought internal union democracy and a more militant bargaining policy. This promising movement was partially sidetracked by the "Voice" development. But some of the oppositionists continued to attempt to reform the IBT from within and Cohen faces an organized opposition inside his local.

The unity of the IBT has been saved, and the closeness of the vote is not an indication of the weakness of the union. The "Voice" group, despite its sinister backers, attracted many sincere militants. If these now concentrate their energies within the IBT, the result of the whole affair can be to strengthen the union against the bosses. And Robert Kennedy can gnash his teeth.

The Bethlehem Steel Company at Sparrows Point, Baltimore, announced last week that 10,000 workers would be laid off. This is in addition to the 10,000 laid off last summer after the contract settlement with Steelworkers Locals 2609 and 2610. There were 30,000 workers employed at Spar-

rows Point when the year began. The layoffs are particularly hard on Baltimore-area workers because of a referendum which passed in the election Nov. 6. The measure, which was supported by heavy advertising by Bethlehem, stipulates that no unemployed worker can collect unemployment insurance if he turns down any available job, even one outside his regular industry or trade at lower than his usual rate of pay.

This means that the laid-off steelworkers will have to accept lower-paying jobs outside the industry, putting pressure on the wages and conditions of most Baltimore workers.

The referendum was opposed by the unions, but no effective publicity campaign was carried out. The measure contained a \$3 weekly increase in benefit rates as bait. The company campaign cleverly emphasized this aspect, playing down the overall intent of the measure and, with the lack of an effective counter-campaign, many workers were confused and voted for the measure, which was also supported by both Democrats and Republicans.

Plans for the united Los Angeles organizing drive have been approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. The plans cover financial staff and jurisdictional aspects of the drive scheduled to begin in 1963 by most AFL-CIO unions in the area.

Edenton, North Carolina, last month joined the growing list of southern towns where anti-picketing laws have been enacted. The ordinance in Edenton — like most of the others — is aimed directly at anti-segregation demonstrators, but can also be applied against unions. It states that no one can picket without applying to the town clerk for a permit 24 hours in advance. If the clerk grants it, the permit costs \$10. Edenton's much-arrested civil-rights leader Golden Frinks said he would not obey the ordinance.

The November issue of Steel Labor, official organ of the United Steelworkers of America whose president is David J. McDonald, printed the following piece of news:

"Only a few moments after President Kennedy completed his address to the nation Oct. 22, dealing with the explosive Cuban situation, President McDonald dispatched this message to the White House:

"The United Steelworkers of America supports you to a man." The article fails to explain how McDonald was able to poll the union's membership "to a man" in a few moments.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

"Seven Days That Shook the World"—Cuba and the Cold War. Speaker, R. Fink. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

HOLD THIS DATE! Annual Xmas Bazaar, Dec. 7 & 8. Doors open Fri., Dec. 7, 4 p.m. Sat., Dec. 8, 12 noon. At 116 University Place.

HOLIDAY OPEN HOUSE. Dave Van Ronk, folk singer. Dancing, Sat., Dec. 1, 9 p.m. at 116 University Pl. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Contrib. 99c.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



A Four-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

The First Ten Years Of American Communism Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

344 pp. — \$6.00

Order through

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Castro's Letter to U Thant on Air Violations

[The following is a translation of the complete text of the letter sent Nov. 15 by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the United Nations.]

The conciliatory action which you are conducting as Acting Secretary General of this world organization is very closely linked with the latest world events concerning the crisis in the Caribbean.

There is no need, therefore, to dwell upon each and every one of the events, circumstances and incidents which have occurred in these weeks of extreme tension.

I should like to refer solely to the following matter: we have given you — and we have also given it publicly and repeatedly — our refusal to allow unilateral inspection by any body, national or international, on Cuban territory. In doing so we have exercised the inalienable right of every sovereign nation to settle all problems within its own territory in accordance with the will of its government and its people.

Self Defense

The Soviet Government carrying out its promise to Mr. Kennedy, has withdrawn its strategic missiles, an action which was verified by United States officials on the high seas.

We should like to repeat once more that the installation of these weapons was nothing other than an act of legitimate self-defense on the part of the Republic of Cuba against the aggressive policy which the United States has been pursuing against our country since the very triumph of the Revolution. This did not confer any right upon the Government of the United States with respect to Cuba, since all our actions have been effected within the framework of international law and in exercise of the sovereign

prerogatives of our state. It was, however, the pretext used to perpetrate acts of force which brought the world to the edge of war. The pretext has now disappeared. Nevertheless officials of the United States Government declare that they do not consider themselves bound by any promise, among other reasons because Cuba has not permitted the inspection of its territory.

The United States, resorting to the law of force, is constantly violating our territory through the use of air forces based in various parts of the Caribbean and on aircraft carriers which it is employing against us.

We have given proof that we are ready for a worthy peace. We have put forward five points as guarantees, the minimum which any sovereign nation can ask for. We have handed over the body of Major Anderson who died while carrying out an illegal flight over Cuban soil. We have warned the government of the United States that it must stop these acts of violation of our sovereignty and at the same time we have done everything possible to prevent the occurrence of any incidents in connection with these acts.

What have we obtained in exchange? The violations have increased in number; every day the incursions of war planes over our territory become more alarming; military aircraft harass our air bases, make low-level flights over our military defenses and photograph not only the dismantled strategic missile installations but, in fact, our entire territory foot by foot and inch by inch.

Photos Used by CIA

The capture of the leader of a group of spies trained by the CIA and directed by it, here in Cuba, has shown us how the photographs taken by the spying planes serve for guidance in sabotage and in their operations and has also revealed, among other things, a design to cause chaos by provoking the deaths of 400 workers in one of our industries.

This impairs in its essence the security of our nation and outrages the dignity of our people. The object has been not only to secure advantages for military and subversive purposes through information and detailed knowledge of our industrial installations and defense arrangements, but also in addition to humiliate and demoralize the Cuban people.

These are typically Hitlerite methods for softening the resistance of peoples.

Mr. Acting Secretary General, no sovereign state can allow its air space to be violated in this manner without feeling an impairment of its dignity. If in addition this violation is perpetrated by the reconnaissance aircraft of an enemy which openly threatens our country, tolerating it means, more than a lack of dignity, a shameful submission to the enemy. We



CUBAN PREMIER FIDEL CASTRO greets UN Secretary General U Thant in Havana last month. Thant presented without success proposals to the Cuban Premier for UN inspection teams in Cuba. Castro proposed the U.S. stop violating international law.

cannot be asked to accept this by virtue of the discussions which are taking place with regard to the crisis, for the integrity of our physical space and the sovereignty of Cuba will never be negotiable.

We for our part have not failed to give constant warnings to the aggressors.

On Oct. 27, in the midst of the crisis, the Cuban Government declared that it would never acknowledge the vandal and piratical privilege of any warplane to violate our air space since this was essentially a threat to our security and facilitated the conditions for a surprise attack. Cuba's right to resist such violations can never be renounced.

Today again through this communication which we are sending you as Secretary General of the United Nations, we wish to give warning that to the extent of the fire power of our anti-aircraft weapons, any warplane which violates the sovereignty of Cuba,

by invading our air space, can only do so at the risk of being destroyed.

If the United States sincerely desires — as we ourselves desire — to take steps toward the solution of the present problems, it should begin by respecting these elementary rights of our country.

In the history of our Republic, the United States has more than once intervened in our domestic affairs, with the use of force. It secured this right in the first constitution of our Republic, by virtue of a law adopted by the United States Congress, and supported by an army of occupation. The present action of the United States is designed to reinstate, in fact, these militaristic and imperialist privileges.

The long history of struggle of our country, culminating in full sovereignty and national dignity after a century-long fight written in blood and heroism, cannot be reversed. A powerful military

force could annihilate us, but it could never make us yield and we should first demand a very high price of the pirates who dared to invade the soil of the Cuban nation. And even if we should die, our banner would fly victoriously because we are defending something even more sacred than our right as a sovereign nation in the concert of free nations of the earth.

We are sounding the necessary alarm for the defense of world peace, we are defending the right of the small countries to be considered on a footing of equality, we are telling all the peoples of the earth that before the imperialist enemy there can be no weakening. The path of calm and stern vigilance, strong in the security of a response commensurate with the magnitude of the aggression, is the only way to the salvation of peace.

Our right to live is something which cannot be discussed by anyone.

But if our right to live is made conditional upon an obligation to fall to our knees, our reply once again is that we will not accept it.

We believe in the right to defend the liberty, the sovereignty and the dignity of this country, and we shall continue to exercise that right to the last man, woman or child capable of holding a weapon in this territory.

May I reiterate to you the expression of my highest consideration.

Plane Fired On

An Associated Press dispatch from Havana reports that Cuban anti-aircraft batteries fired on a low-flying plane over a Havana suburb Nov. 21.

The aircraft identified by eyewitnesses as a U.S. Navy Neptune-type patrol plane returned the fire. There were no reports of anyone on the ground or aboard the plane being hit.

This is the first reported anti-aircraft action since Cuban Premier Fidel Castro issued a warning Nov. 15 that Cuba would exercise its right to defend its airspace and that any warplanes flying over it would do so at the risk of being destroyed.

China Prints Book About Cuba Crisis

A book entitled *No One Can Stop the Cuban People From Advancing* was published in Peking on Nov. 3 and is reported by *Hsinhua*, the Chinese news agency, to be on sale in all Chinese cities.

The book consists of three parts. The first part includes statements in support of Cuba by the Chinese government and by officials of the Chinese Communist Party.

The second part consists of relevant material from the Soviet Union, the United States and other sources for the period between Oct. 12 and 23, including the letters exchanged by Khrushchev and Kennedy.

Contained in the book's third section are communiques of the Cuban government, important statements and speeches by Fidel Castro, and the Oct. 28 speech of Vice Premier Raul Castro.

World Events

China Prints Castro Speech

Hsinhua, the official Chinese news agency, reports that major Chinese newspapers Nov. 3 carried the full text of Fidel Castro's Nov. 1 speech on UN inspection. "Castro's speech," the news agency says, "which reflects the heroic Cuban people's determination to defend their national sovereignty, has become the topic of the day throughout China." Mass demonstrations were held in Peking, Shanghai, Canton, Shenyang, and other cities. The demonstrators, singing the *Internationale* and the anthem of the 26th of July Movement, converged on Cuban embassies to express "their most strong support for Premier Fidel Castro's television speech." *Hsinhua* also reports that the speech has been published in booklet form and circulated throughout the country.

British Bases in Kenya

Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya African National Union Party, demanded Nov. 13 that Britain withdraw from its military bases in Kenya. The African leader made this demand in a cable to the Saudi Arabian delegation at the United Nations. The delegation charged last week that Britain is stockpiling nuclear weapons at an air base in Kawaha. On the same day, Kenyatta also demanded that the British colony be granted full independence by the end

of next year. Otherwise, he said, his party would "seriously consider" withdrawing from the government.

Police Wound 3 in Raid

Dominican Republic police wounded three persons Nov. 13 in a raid on the headquarters of the "14th of June" group, a political organization accused of being patterned after the 26th of July Movement in Cuba. Police claimed that someone from inside had fired on them. Documents and leaflets were seized, but most of the occupants of the headquarters escaped over rooftops.

Venezuela Treason Trial

A group of 124 persons, charged with conducting guerrilla activity in Venezuela, were arraigned on charges of treason by a military court in Caracas Nov. 15. Among the prisoners is Fabrico Ojeda, a Congressman who resigned early this year and thereby lost his parliamentary immunity. Most of the others are students. The arraignments resulted from "clean-up operations" which began in February when the Betancourt government suspended constitutional liberties and began a crack-down on political opposition to its repressive regime.

Former CP Leader Jailed

The Federal High Court of West Germany on Nov. 15 sentenced

Otto Huberth, a former official of the Communist Party, to three years imprisonment. The Communist Party is outlawed in West Germany. Huberth was found guilty of "organizing the distribution of Communist propaganda material" in West Germany from 1956 until his arrest last January.

Algerian Co-operatives

The government of Algeria Nov. 14 and 15 converted 2 farms, abandoned by the French, into peasant cooperatives. This is part of a program designed to get back into production 2,500,000 acres of land left fallow during the struggle for independence from France. A broader program, slated for next year, involves cutting up large farms still held by European owners. According to 1957 French figures, Europeans in Algeria owned a total of 6,750,000 acres of farm land. At least half of this land is believed to be vacant at the present time.

South African Arrested

A 57-year-old African, Moses Kotane, former secretary of the outlawed South African Communist Party, was placed under house arrest for five years Nov. 14. This brings to 12 the number of South Africans placed under house arrest on political charges by the racist government.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 303 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEMple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum. Temporarily c/o Oakland-Berkeley (see above).

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1531, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, 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.

Vol. 26 - No. 43 345 Monday, November 26, 1962

Slow-Motion Penmanship

At his Nov. 20 press conference, President Kennedy announced that he had signed an executive order banning racial discrimination in federally assisted housing. In his campaign speeches two years ago, Kennedy sharply berated Eisenhower for tolerating such discrimination and said that the signing of such an order was "an important immediate contribution that could be made by the stroke of a Presidential pen." After taking office it took Kennedy 22 months, during which heavy pressure was exerted by civil-rights forces demanding that he live up to his election oratory, to make that pen-stroke.

In answer to a reporter's question, Kennedy said he had waited for "the time when [he] thought it was in the public interest" to sign the order. Can those denied access to federally assisted housing by federally condoned race prejudice for the last 22 months believe this statement of Kennedy?

Undoubtedly, the order was signed at an opportune time for a Democratic administration, coming just after the elections and before the opening of the new legislative season, a lull in which the minimum of repercussions from racist segments of the party can be expected. Obviously, a consideration mentioned by Kennedy later in the same conference — the need to "maintain a good deal of unity in the Democratic Party" — was a major factor in his protracted and politically revealing delay.

Despite the fact that the order has finally been signed, it will mean nothing unless backed up by prompt and effective enforcement. Eight years after the Supreme Court decision backing school integration, Negroes in the South are still being victimized for seeking to exercise this elementary right. Pressure must be put on President Kennedy to translate his words into action by taking immediate and firm steps to enforce the order and every other measure protecting minority rights.

... FBI Fans Anti-Cuban Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

devices and other explosive materials for the purpose of injuring and destroying defense materials, premises and utilities in peace time" in New York City.

Two other Cuban Mission employees, Jose Gomes, 21, and his wife Elsa, 20, were named as co-conspirators, but since they had been here too long for the FBI to pretend they didn't have diplomatic status, it demanded instead that they leave the country. This was acceded to.

Those arrested were also charged with acting as agents of a foreign government without notifying the Secretary of State. Conviction on the two charges could bring sentences of 20 years in jail and \$15,000 in fines.

When the newsmen gathered at FBI headquarters the "cache" of explosives and munitions allegedly found in Garcia's shop was displayed for the benefit of photographers. An FBI spokesman explained the collection was of the type "generally associated with sabotage and guerrilla warfare."

What did the "cache" actually include?

Six incendiary bombs. One unloaded pistol and three hand grenades. To bolster the display, a gun taken from Santiesteban (many UN officials have them) was included.

Newsmen stared at the collection and one inquired if it was the total or, perhaps, just a sampling. The otherwise loquacious FBI "source" refused to answer. When the prisoners were brought before U.S. Commissioner Earle Bishopp, according to the Nov. 19 *New York Times*, "nothing was said about the possible use of the sabotage materials in stores or refineries."

The significance of a charge of "conspiring" to commit a crime rather than actual commission is that a wide range of otherwise inadmissible hearsay evidence is permitted in court. Thus planted agents can play a key role.

The whole case has a particularly bad odor since in the nearly

four years since the Cuban Revolution, there has not been a single act of sabotage committed or even charged in this country. But the U.S. government has been indisputably linked to the very kind of sabotage in Cuba it now charges against those arrested here. Saboteurs didn't simply "conspire" to plant incendiary bombs in Cuban department stores. They actually burned down Havana's biggest store. And hand grenades were really thrown into a small Havana restaurant, severely wounding, among others, a small boy.

Indeed, U.S. backing such crimes has been a subject of open chortling by press and TV propagandists. On Sept. 25, for example, the Columbia Broadcasting System showed films of men being trained on the Florida keys to infiltrate Cuba to conduct sabotage.

CIA Agent Confesses

It was one such group whose capture was announced by the Cubans last week. Heading the group was Miguel Orozco, an army officer during the Batista tyranny and now a confessed CIA agent. His detailed account of the organization of sabotage groups included a description of its headquarters in Florida.

Meanwhile, the FBI is continuing to trample on the civil rights of those caught in its dragnet. Yesterday attorney Stanley Faulkner, who is defending Jose Garcia, assailed the FBI for "trying the case through the newspapers rather than in court."

"I feel very strongly," he declared, "that the conduct of Mr. Hoover is reprehensible. He is building up public sentiment and scaring people to the point that, in the light of the present situation, the defendants couldn't possibly get a fair trial."

I begin by taking. I shall find scholars afterwards to demonstrate my perfect right.

—Frederick (II) the Great, King of Prussia.

Cuba, A Soviet 'Pawn'?

Fact vs. State Dep't Myth

By William Bundy

U.S. daily newspapers, having followed the State Department's line, are now hooked on the horns of a dilemma. For a year they laid down a propaganda barrage to delude the American people into believing that Castro was a Russian agent, that the Cuban Revolution was a puppet show with the Kremlin pulling the strings. This allegation has never been true.

The independence of the Cuban revolutionists from any foreign domination has been evident at every crucial point of the revolution, and has been amply documented in the pages of *The Militant* over the past three years. Serious students of Kremlin policy and of the Cuban Revolution — including those in the U.S. government and on the staffs of U.S. newspapers — have known this all along.

But the fiction was manufactured as a propaganda excuse for the U.S. — a mighty industrial and military power — to attack an underdeveloped country one thirtieth its size. The issue, so the argument ran, is not that of an imperialist-colonial relationship between the U.S. and Cuba, but a threat to the U.S. from the Soviet Union of which Cuba is a mere pawn.

The events of the past few weeks, however, have badly ripped this web of lies.

Kennedy made his threat-of-nuclear-war speech the night of Oct. 22, demanding withdrawal of missiles from Cuba and UN inspection there. On Oct. 27 the famous Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement on UN inspection of Cuba was reached. Khrushchev made it unilaterally and the U.S. press gloated about this "final proof" that Castro was a pawn.

Actually, as the succession of events in the first week of crisis demonstrated, it proved nothing of the kind. The day after Kennedy's speech, the Cuban representative spoke at the UN clearly stating his government's rejection of any unilateral UN inspection. The same evening, on radio and TV from Havana, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro repeated that position. In addition he declared: "We favor a policy of disarming all foreign bases, not ours alone. It would be idiocy for Cuba to disarm while the U.S. threatens it..."

In the following two days, while the world waited for a possible nuclear holocaust, the Soviet Union — to the relief of all mankind — refrained from replying in kind to Kennedy's dare of nuclear war. Then the letters between Khrushchev and Kennedy began.

On Oct. 27, Khrushchev wrote: "I regard with respect and trust the statement that you made in your message... that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba..."

The next day, Castro issued his famous five-points statement saying the Cubans did not trust Kennedy's implied promise. "The guarantees," said Castro, "of which President Kennedy speaks, against invasion of Cuba, will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade... and adoption, among others, of [the five points]." These simply call for the end to the various aggressions — including the violation of Cuban air space — which the U.S. has been committing for months against Cuba.

At this point, the U.S. papers began getting themselves hung up. They were saying Cuba was a puppet, a pawn, but the Cubans wouldn't act that way. The reaction of the U.S. government as well as the newspapers was to demand of the Soviet Union that it force Cuba to be a pawn.

Said an editorial in the Nov. 1 *New York Times* about Castro's five points: "These demands were



Nikita Khrushchev

no part of the American-Soviet agreement and Premier Khrushchev will expose himself to a charge of bad faith unless he promptly informs his Cuban friend to cease interference. Dispatching Deputy Premier Mikoyan to Cuba may be a move in that direction."

Then that most authoritative of all U.S. papers — as it has done several times since — held out the bait to the Soviet Union: "On faithful compliance with the agreement depends... opening the doors to the vital key to world peace, world disarmament."

The *Times*, paraphrasing the U.S. government, is here telling the Soviet Union that the price of negotiations on a general peace settlement in the cold war is let-

ting the U.S. prevail against Cuba.

The same day this editorial was published — which was the day before Mikoyan arrived in Cuba for talks with the revolutionary leaders — Fidel Castro made a radio and TV speech to the Cuban people reporting his discussions with UN Secretary General U Thant. In that speech he carefully explained that the road to peace does not lie in yielding the rights of small nations to threats of force.

Mikoyan arrived the next day and has been in Cuba for two weeks without releasing a statement on his talks. One thing, however, is certain. The U.S. attempt to force the Soviets to make Cuba act like a pawn has not worked.

In its editorial of Nov. 16 the *Times* attempted to explain away this propaganda dilemma by resorting to a favorite form of imperialist thinking — racism: "The Cubans are Latins — individualistic, freedom-loving, undisciplined, violent. No people are less suited to the requirements of Communism. The leading Marxist-Leninist of them all — Fidel Castro — is just about the most undisciplined and uncontrollable character in all of Cuba... Fidel Castro has always been a maverick — wild; asocial, masterless, without friends, without loyalty to any man, woman or nation."

Unswerving loyalty to a revolution, to the poor and the humble, to right against might, and to the sovereignty of small nations, is a hard thing for capitalist editors to understand.

Speed-Up Urged in Campaign For Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

As we go into the last month of the Socialist Education Fund campaign, the tempo of collections should increase rapidly. Every branch of the Socialist Workers Party has pledged to come in "in full and on time."

Last week Kennedy announced that he had already spent in excess of 100 million dollars on the Cuban crisis, with the end nowhere near in sight. That is, apparently, just military expenditures. I wonder how much more than that astronomical sum has been spent on straight "public relations"? Having spent several years of my life working in that field, it is easy to imagine that there are quite a few PR specialists busy "feeding" products of their fertile imaginations to the national press. Madison Avenue has perfected techniques guaranteed to build the war spirit among the American people. The truth, or any variation thereof, means less than nothing with that kind of a job to do.

In contrast to the war budget Kennedy has already spent, the SWP is asking its members, friends and supporters to raise only \$15,000 to counteract the outright lies, half-truths and flights of imagination now being fed through the capitalist daily press.

This week we got one contribution and a fine letter from H.M., of New York City, who says: "I am enclosing a money order of \$10 toward your campaign to educate people in the principles of socialism. This, I believe, is a step in the right direction... I voted for the SWP in this election although I agree with only about 90% of its actions and ideas. I voted for it as a socialist alternative and as a protest against Pres. Kennedy's mad attempt to satisfy the reactionaries in this country to start the nuclear war and invade Cuba and thus prevent it from establishing a socialist republic." We thank H.M., and also J.E.L. of Woodside, L.I. who sent in \$15.00.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per Cent
The General	\$ 300	\$ 310	103
San Diego	250	233	93
St. Louis	75	67	90
Connecticut	150	130	87
Detroit	625	499	80
San Francisco	560	402	72
Oakland-Berkeley	525	323	62
Chicago	700	425	62
Newark	125	74	59
Seattle	475	259	55
Cleveland	500	258	52
Milwaukee	225	124	55
Twin Cities	850	455	54
New York	4,300	2,186	51
Allentown	115	55	48
Philadelphia	225	100	44
Los Angeles	4,300	1,500	37
Boston	600	202	34
Denver	100	18	18
Totals through Nov. 19	\$15,000	\$7,620	51%

Irish Socialist Republic League Conference

By Ross Dowson

The Irish Socialist Republic League, from the youthful vigor of its leaders who participated in the meeting it called in London on Oct. 7, and the fact that Dr. Noel Browne gave the major speech from its platform and expressed warm approval of its work, looks like an up-and-coming group. Many of the audience of some 55 or 65 persons must have shared, as I did, their confidence that they will succeed in their aim of gathering together the cadre of revolutionary socialists who will effectively participate in and give leadership to the struggle that will result in a socialist Ireland.

Dr. Noel Browne spoke on *The Struggle for Socialism in Ireland*. He is a member of the Irish parliament and the most remarkable figure to appear on the Irish political scene for many years. Following his election, Browne was appointed Minister of Health, became aware of the fraudulence of the position he was placed in, resigned and rapidly evolved from liberalism to socialism.

In a mild manner but with con-

siderable wit, the young, slim, dark doctor presented a graphic picture of Ireland today. He compared the lack of educational opportunity open to Irish children with that of Negroes in such racist U.S. states as Mississippi — in Oxford where the heroism of James Meredith has won international attention. The children of the Irish working class just cannot get a secondary education, he said. Irish old people get the pitiful sum of 32 shillings 6 pence (about \$5) a week to live on and "I have no hesitation in saying that they are starving to death."

The country has changed in recent years, he admitted, but not in any marked degree for the working people. The rich and idle are coming from all parts of the world, buying up vast estates. They have no servant problem in Ireland. Financial interests are exploiting the natural resources of the country. Along with others, Canadian mining interests came in, but after a few years when the supply of copper petered out, they pulled out leaving behind 700 unemployed. There is plenty of cheap labor.

Sometimes, he said, when hearing talk of the great and progressive changes that have taken place in Ireland in recent years, "I and my associates wonder if we are not just frustrated cranks." To be sure the government brought in a health service, but it destroyed it.

"This is one question I am an authority on and I can assure you that one never sees a bishop turning up at the dispensary." Our youth remain our biggest export, he said. Over a million have left since the state was formed. Between 1958 and 1961, some 50,000 have left yearly and if it appears to be levelling off, it is because we have run out — there are no youth left to emigrate.

He scored the extremely repressive anti-labor legislation under which, for daring to strike, a worker can be sentenced to five years in jail. The sporadic reaction of workers against present conditions frightened the Fianna Fail government of Lemass-De Valera. They thought a revolution was going on and reacted much the same as the British did in

Easter 1916 when they murdered helpless James Connolly while they propped him up in a chair. The Official Secrets Act is so vicious that it is hard to take seriously — if you have a telephone number of a person they have marked as dangerous, you can be locked up.

He and his colleague in the House, Dr. Browne said, are trying to use parliament as best they can to put forward socialist ideas. But now no party of less than seven can put forward a motion. "They have gerrymandered my riding in the hope that next election will see my defeat." We are trying to do a simple thing, he said. We are trying to do what Connolly wanted — we are trying to take up where he left off. We are only two against 144 for public ownership and we need your help, he told this audience in England, many of whom appeared to be Irish "exiles."

The response to a collection speech was enthusiastic. The question-and-discussion period was extremely lively. To a question about the name of his group, National Progressive Democrat, Dr.

Browne replied that they were by no means frightened of the word "socialist," that it was a product of a different level of experience and understanding and this matter was being taken up. Following questions from the floor, Liam Daltun, one of the editors of the SRL's paper *The Irish Worker*, and others, attacked the Irish Communist Party's policy of critical support of the national bourgeois Fianna Fail which led them to oppose the election of Dr. Browne. One gave data on the tremendous decline of the Irish CP and expressed confidence that the SRL with its policy of class struggle and its perspective of a socialist united Ireland would replace it. There was a short debate initiated from the floor on the whole question of the formation of the SRL and its relations with the Irish Labour Party. One of the spokesmen from the front said that the Labour Party in the 26 counties is completely bankrupt and declared that the formation of the Socialist Republic League is the first break-through for socialism in Ireland for some 25 years.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Parents and wives of GIs who took Eisenhower's vote-catching promise about ending the war in Korea at face value are already clamoring for the general to make good. They don't even want him to take time off for a vacation — not while U.S. casualties are mounting at the rate of 1,300 a week.

"The Nov. 17 *Wall Street Journal* reports: 'Thousands of letters pouring in to . . . President-elect Eisenhower, who is taking a rest . . . at the secluded and exclusive National Golf Club . . . make very clear that what's expected of Ike is ending the Korean war.'

"Similarly, in the Nov. 17 *New Republic*, Richard Neuberger reveals: 'Newspapers in large coastal cities received many complaints over the telephone when Ike appeared on front pages playing golf in Georgia.irate women wanted to know why he wasn't in Korea ending the war as pledged.'

"Over in Korea, GIs are expressing the same anxious feelings as their home folks: 'WE'RE WAITING, IKE,' says a sign being tacked over a dug-out entrance by two marines whose photo is published in the Nov. 7 *N.Y. Times*." — Nov. 24, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"The Post Office has thus far refused to specify the reasons for its action in withholding recent issues of *The Militant* from the mails, this paper was informed by its Attorney, Albert Goldman, after his conversation on Nov. 18 with Mr. Calvin Hassell, assistant to the Solicitor of the Post Office Department in Washington . . .

"However, Goldman noted down several ideas which Mr. Hassell evidently thought justified the withholding of any issue from the mail. They are the following:

"1.) To assert that this is an imperialist war and that this is not a war for democracy. 2) To urge Negroes to fight for their rights at the present moment. 3) To urge workers to insist on their rights (especially the right to strike) during the war. 4.) To attack Stalin or belittle any ally of the United States. 5.) To say that the men are fighting for interests of bankers. 6.) To say that the administration is anti-labor . . .

"Following Goldman's return from Washington, *The Militant* was informed that the Nov. 7 issue had been destroyed . . . The Nov. 21 issue has also been withheld from the mails." — Nov. 28, 1942.

Letters From Our Readers

Disagrees With Breitman

New York, N.Y.

George Breitman's article in your Nov. 5 issue on "Lessons for Whites on the Negro Struggle" is a correct approach and lays the basis for a thorough discussion of a complicated problem. The Negro question is undoubtedly the most important problem in this country today.

I am in agreement with almost every word he says. But I must draw the line when he calls for "pro-Negro discrimination" to the extent of upgrading out of turn Negroes at the bottom of the union seniority list.

He forewarns me that "If this idea of pro-Negro discrimination shocks you, you must be a white." Perhaps it is because I am "white" that this idea "shocks" me. I don't think so. I just don't think the proposal is opportune.

It's not opportune because it would take years of education to lay the groundwork for even class-conscious, rank-and-file unionists to accept this valid idea. And valid it is — to me and Breitman — but to how many others?

Seniority is a fundamental tenet of trade unionism. With all its faults it is the heart and backbone of any union. It isn't sacred, but it is a vital part of trade-union tradition and practice. To violate it as an act of faith seems to me to be a ridiculous distortion of revolutionary ardor and logic. In essence, Breitman's proposal on this is infantile leftism. In effect it would isolate socialists from their fellow workers and give a demagogic weapon to the union bureaucrats.

The touchstone of Marxism is its confrontation with reality. Breitman and I know full well that religion is the opiate of the people. But we don't espouse atheism in the trade unions, for the very practical reason that it is not fundamental to the class struggle. To do so would be just as suicidal as to espouse Breitman's well-intentioned but ill-thought-out proposal to bypass seniority in the trade unions.

E.B.

2 Bouquets

Brooklyn, N.Y.

I have just read the Nov. 12 *Militant* with Castro's recent speech in it. I think in this simple act of printing this speech you have achieved several important things.

Nowhere have I read any part

of this important speech except in the *N.Y. Times*. And it was only after reading the complete speech in *The Militant* that I realized the butchery that the *Times* achieved with its excerpted and quartered version.

At best, we Americans, reading the very finest in our press, were not given more than an inkling of the real meaning of Cuba's position.

On reading Castro's speech you realize the immense dignity, reasonableness, thoughtfulness and wonderful self-confidence that sit so grandly on both Castro and the new Cuba.

I am not being sentimental in admitting that it was a real thrill to read Castro's words — the calm might of the people instilled in every expression. And it was thrilling to know that the American people could, if they knew, get this speech through you.

May I hope that you continue to serve the people with this avenue of information on Cuba. You have done a splendid job so far. More power to you.

One more word: Art Preis is invaluable. His pieces are carefully and soberly documented and thought out and he is the best you have in the paper. I would suggest that you have a piece weekly by him without fail. The ability to penetrate through the murk of statistic and propaganda issued by both the government and the press is so rare that you have a jewel in Preis.

A Friend

Both Powers Imperialist?

Casper, Wyo.

I must admit that although I find your views stimulating and largely accurate because of their action orientation, still I feel you tend to slur over the crimes of Russian imperialism. I believe both imperialisms (east and west) constitute major threats to the future order. Was Russia's overt repression in Hungary and her continued imperialistic attitude toward East Europe, her arrogance in Africa and now in Cuba any less reprehensible than America's role in Cuba, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, South Vietnam, Laos?

Both countries are caught up in imperialist muddles that make their actions toward other countries positively inhuman. Yet within each imperialist system — one of corporate capitalism, the other of state bureaucratic capitalism —

there exist fine progressive tendencies which presage the new society, the embryonic elements of the world's new historic birth.

Even Marx pointed out progressive tendencies in capitalist society — that was his hope for a new society! We should point out the truth and error on both sides and learn. A Marxist must know the past, present and future — and the tides.

D.H.

Rather Dead Than Slaves

New York, N.Y.

I am enclosing excerpts from a letter that we just received from a Cuban friend. I think other readers will be interested.

I am active in the Revolutionary Militia and the Committees in Defense of the Revolution (the Cuban equivalent of a true Soviet). Some of the responsibilities of the Defense Committees include enforcement of the Public Laws, carrying out the educational, urban reform and public health laws — in short just about all of the functions of the Revolutionary Government.

To give an idea of how they function: the entire apparatus is composed of a base or neighborhood office, a section, a district, a province and finally a national office. Any law or resolution has to be discussed by the masses all over the country, in schools, factories, ministries, to the street level, the base of the Defense Committees. In other words, everybody has to participate in the process of making that law or resolution.

When the Soviet Union ordered the dismantling of the rockets in Cuba, Fidel in a clear and democratic way put the problem into the hands of the Cuban people. This was discussed all over the country and the now famous Five Points of the Cuban people were presented to the entire world. That gives you an idea of how things function here.

I will not hide that there is still some bureaucratism here, that we don't have all the cadres we need, that because of the economic pressure of the U.S. we

have certain sabotages. But these things are being overcome one by one. New faces and new revolutionists are taking the situation in hand and things are being done. I'm pleased with the strength of the Revolution, and so should you, because it is not letting anyone down.

The political level of the people has developed enough to tell a revisionist from a true Marxist, and that is one thing we will always be — true *Marxist-Leninists!* We have the cleanest leadership in the world today.

Tell our friends that as long as there is life left in the Cuban people they'll defend their land, for they would rather be dead than be slaves. If we are defeated, I tell you, as a Cuban, they will only win the soil of Cuba soaked with blood. And if they win, who the hell are they going to rule?

A.R.

On Strike

Brooklyn, N.Y.

All during this year I have followed with sympathetic approval the activities of the General Strike for Peace group. Until tonight I felt this was a wonderful group. It seemed not only courageous, but very sincere and honest.

It was, therefore, a great shock to me to pick up a leaflet at a meeting held in Community Church this evening and to find that the GSP was endorsing candidates for public office running on the Republican and Democratic tickets. This despite the central slogan of the group which states: "Do not vote for cold war candidates."

Not one of the candidates endorsed by the GSP came out against Kennedy's criminal assault on the Cuban government. Not one of them had the courage or integrity to speak up in opposition to the brink-of-war action of the Kennedy administration.

From this day on I am on my own "general strike" against any phonies who talk peace but call upon the people to vote for candidates of the two cold-war parties when election time comes around.

Debbie Weinstein

Thought for the Week

"White people cannot, in the generality, be taken as models of how to live. Rather, the white man is himself in sore need of new standards . . . And I repeat: The price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks — the total liberation, in the cities, in the towns, before the law, and in the mind." — James Baldwin in the Nov. 17 *New Yorker*.

BOOK REVIEW

Will TV Make Us a Nation of Idiots?

THE GREAT TIME-KILLER by Harold Mehling, World Publishing Company, 352 pp. \$4.95.

I am part of the small minority—eight per cent of the population—without a TV set. Recently when I was confined to the house because of illness, I rented one for a couple of months, a startling experience for a person accustomed to an FM radio station without *any* commercials. According to Harold Mehling, the national average is about five hours daily in front of a TV screen. Five hours of gangsters and cops, stomach acid bubbling up (I'm glad I didn't get that one in color), cowboys and badmen, hammers pounding away in your head until dissolved by the right kind of pill, phony sex and painful efforts at humor called family comedies! It was a couple of days before I realized that a scene with a girl in a scanty swimsuit, diving underwater with a young man following her and a cry of, "She's got it, he sees it!" was an ad for toothpaste.

This experience put me in the right mood for Mehling's book, which the publishers call a "documented indictment and constructive study." It is good journalism with a lot of interesting information. As in many similar books which concentrate on a specific social evil, Mehling's indictment is more convincing than his conclusions. His writing is lively and occasionally quite funny, but he strains too much for clever effects. He may think this will make his criticism more palatable to the television industry, but I doubt it.

Who Owns Air Waves?

He gives a detailed history of how the big networks grabbed up the air waves through financial manipulations, control of patents and questionable license procedures. He frequently reminds us that these air waves, "an incredibly valuable natural resource," belong to us. Do they really? The big broadcasters act as if they owned the air and in this they are right, no matter what the law says.

In another chapter, *Paper Tigers on the Potomac*, Mehling tells how the Federal Communications Commission has failed to control either advertising or programming. Even in the case of harmful or fraudulent medical commercials, it took from a minimum of six to as many as 20 years to get them off the air, and in the meantime the sponsors made a lot of money. About the only thing the FCC has power to do — Mehling doesn't mention it — is bar minority candidates from the air. Its impotence is easily explained — most present and past members of the Commission have had financial ties with the broadcasting companies, and upon retiring from government service have taken lucrative jobs in the industry.

Mehling sees a solution in genuine competition. Changing television from very high frequency to ultra high frequency would open 70 channels and hundreds of new companies could jump into the field. This approach has the shortcomings of all nostalgic proposals for a return to small enterprise and the "true competition" of early capitalism. Radio and television arrived rather late on the scene, when our economy was already controlled by big monopolies, so they leaped over the "small business" stage and were monopolistic from birth.

Mehling touches briefly and negatively on the possibility of a government network and considers



TV METAMORPHOSIS — Emmett Till's mother collapses as the coffin containing the body of her 14-year-old son arrives in Chicago from Mississippi where he was lynched in the summer of 1955 while on vacation. Television first made the young victim white and Jewish and moved him to New England where he wasn't lynched; then it transferred him back in time some 80 years and moved him to the Southwest.

it depressing because Congress would have power to judge the "smut" of a classic or to censor political debates. Putting a great natural resource into the hands of the present government in Washington is obviously a danger, although it is hard to see how this can be more dangerous than control by the advertisers who represent big business. At least we might eliminate commercials. Congressional censorship, since it would be more open, would also be easier to fight. Mehling gives many examples of the concealed but extremely rigid censorship by sponsors. Westinghouse, for instance, objected to Kipling's title, *The Light That Failed*, and the National Association of Florists came out fighting when a script suggested that instead of sending flowers to a funeral, a scholarship fund be set up. This gets less humorous when you learn that the American Gas Company deleted the words "gas ovens" from *Judgment at Nuremberg*.

Emmett Till Lynching

A typical case history of what happens to a "problem" story is the effort of Rod Serling to write a television play around the lynching of Emmett Till, the 14-year-old Negro boy lynched in Mississippi in 1955. When he first offered a script called *Noon at Doomsday*, the sponsor — United States Steel — said: "... you have the bone structure for a very effective television play and I don't think you are going to have to dilute it at all. The only problem is that you can't make it black and white." So Serling wrote about a Jewish lynch victim. In its final form, Mississippi became New England and there was no lynching. He tried again in *A Town Has Turned to Dust*. This time there was a lynching, in the Southwest in the 1870's. A sponsor, Allstate Insurance, objected to this version because the sheriff, feeling guilty, killed himself — a precedent which an insurance company cannot encourage.

Scripts requiring this kind of mutilation call for a mutilated writer. "A new kind of writer," as an ABC programming executive put it, "one who doesn't have a burning desire to make an original statement." A producer describes the perfect writer as follows: "He hasn't a thought of his own. He hasn't put any part of himself into the script and so he has nothing to argue for or against. He's a valuable man. He gets the work out."

A number of revealing statements by heads of the TV industry imply that anyone opposed to current TV programs and advertising

[his definition of an intellectual is anyone who criticizes TV], because the intellectuals are a minority, one not really reconciled to some basic features of democratic life."

While Mehling dismisses opinions somewhat flippantly as "an orgy of flag waving," I think the advertisers and broadcasters have got it right. To keep capitalist economy going they have to sell, and they are justified in their suspicion of anyone who obstructs such a necessary goal. Proctor and Gamble alone spends over a hundred million dollars a year in advertising, most of it on television, in an effort to sell more soap. They must sell more soap because if they don't, the company as well as its products will go down the drain. To maintain profits, to survive at all in an ever more precarious world situation, capitalism must expand. Advertising and its captive zombie, the television industry, are essential to this unremitting drive for expansion.

In conclusion, Mehling tells us to write letters, and claims that "a dozen letters to a sponsor would cause a front office fit." He also suggests participation in listener pressure groups like NAFBRAT (National Association for Better Radio and Television) which, among other things, has documented a week in the "vast wasteland," with squads of women watching every TV program and tabulating the number of murders, etc. This type of action is heroic and may persuade some sponsors to drop a few of their worst shows. It seems far less constructive than listener supported stations, which Mehling does not mention at all. In San Francisco, KPFA (FM) and KQED (TV) broadcast some very interesting materials. Technicians, actors, writers and musicians, on a microscopic production budget and frequently without any personal compensation, demonstrate how hard and how effectively people will work when they have a chance to do something creative. While some of their efforts lack finish and many of their experiments don't quite come off, these programs nevertheless give an indication of the medium's great potential. A society which puts profits first has mutilated this new art form by using it as a sales device that assaults our sensibilities and paralyzes our minds. We need a change, but it will take a lot more than letters to the sponsor to bring it about.

By Joyce Cowley

... President Hit on Albany

(Continued from Page 1) officials. But eight months later there was not a sign of action on the charges."

Dr. Zinn pointed to a "considerable amount of distrust" of FBI agents in Albany. "They're a bunch of racists," one young Negro told him. Zinn commented that, true or not, this was the feeling of many Negroes who have had experience with the FBI and is a reflection on the FBI's efficacy in civil-rights cases.

Despite "clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs," Zinn noted, the only arrest came when an FBI agent was attacked. Dr. Zinn proposed the establishment by the federal government of a special corps of civil-rights agents.

The report cited other instances of police brutality and terror against Negroes, particularly in connection with the voter-registration drive in Terrell County. It also criticized President Kennedy for "certain judicial appointments" he has made of racist judges.

The Southern Regional Council study listed a number of suggested actions for the federal government, including prosecution of local officials who deprive Negroes of their rights, federal injunctions to prevent enforcement of Jim Crow laws, and presidential statements unequivocally backing full civil rights for Negroes.

"These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative — precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the presidency," the report stated. "As yet, however, no New Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany."

Stalin's Prisons Exposed

The Soviet literary journal *New World* published a story last week which details sufferings of prisoners in Stalin-era prison camps. Only once before, in a short piece in the government newspaper *Izvestia*, has this subject been treated in the USSR.

The *New World* account is a short story by A. Solzhenitsyn, an unknown author, called "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." An introduction by Poet Alexander T. Tvardovsky says of the story: "It is fiction, but one must have passed through it to describe it the way the author does."

It Was Reported in the Press

Unenthusiastic — Normally, ten to 20 students a day apply for academic draft deferments at the University of Minnesota. The day after Kennedy's blockade speech 360 students applied. The following morning another 106 picked up applications.

Defense Guardian — Los Angeles Democratic Congressman-elect Everett C. Burckhalter declared Nov. 12 that he will urge the Defense Dept. to resume production of the RS70 Bomber, the manufacture of which he declared to be "of vital importance to the Antelope Valley." He vowed to "fully support Antelope Valley interests and the Air Force in a vigorous effort to restore this program to its original position."

The American Way — In addition to Mom's apple pie, we always assumed that one of the things we're defending against those materialistic Communists is Mom herself — and Pop too. But, of course, Mom and Pop have no right to impede the well-being of our way of life. This point was underlined by Miami hotel owners who urged the mayor not to permit "retirement hotels" in the

midst of the resort area because they put a damper on fun-seeking tourists. Said a hotel spokesman: "Retirement hotels stifle our economy. They are monsters in disguise."

The War for Democracy — Joseph William Leston, 38, a teacher of religion at Lincoln College, Ill., was fired for marching in front of the local post office during the height of the Cuban crisis with a sign that said on one side, "Stop United States Aggression," and "Do Not Let Cuba Be Our Hungary" on the other. The college president said Leston "must face the consequences for his actions."

Try Cardboard — Stuart L. Pittman, the Pentagon man in charge of the nation's civil defense, says fallout shelters could be provided for twice as many Americans if the radiation protection standard were reduced by 60 per cent.

Capitalism, USA — Seven-year-old Elizabeth Gillette of Minneapolis died on Nov. 12 of burns she suffered when a candle tipped over, igniting her dress. She was one of six children whose mother is a recipient of the meager allot-

ment doled out under the aid to dependent children program. Candles were being used because the local power company had turned off the electricity for non-payment of a back bill. Mrs. Gillette said the current bill had been paid.

Extremely Non-Extreme — Jesse Unru, Speaker of the California State Assembly, says Gov. Brown owes his re-election to his "sponsorship of vigorous moderation."

High Cost of Insurance — "To safeguard Berlin under existing conditions we must now be prepared to sacrifice perhaps 200,000, 000 West Europeans and Americans within 24 hours — while the Communist bloc is demolished and our honor preserved. We have shown ourselves ready to stand by our pledges even at this immeasurable cost. But cannot less catastrophic insurance policies be found?" — C.L. Sulzberger in the Nov. 17 *New York Times*.

Poll-Taker — After a two-week tour of Latin America, evangelist Billy Graham disclosed that "85 per cent of the people of Latin America are completely behind President Kennedy."

Bound Volume of
The Militant — 1961

Price \$6.00

Please include payment with
all orders

Order from:
The Militant, 116 University
Place, New York 3, N. Y.

A View From London of the Cuban Crisis

By T. J. Peters

LONDON — Considerable relief at the easing of the tense situation created by the Cuban crisis is the general feeling here. But anxious glances are cast on the far-off India-China border battles in the fear of their escalation into another world-wide confrontation of East and West. The news from and about Cuba continues to be watched with great interest and concern. In the press, analysis and argument about the meaning and the logical conclusions to be drawn from the week on the brink continue to be the main preoccupation.

Main attention is paid to the military-political factors, in which the whole history and sequence and social import of the rise of the Cuban crisis is largely lost sight of. The firm stand of Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolutionary government is regarded by the press, in this light, as "irrelevant truculence."

There is no doubt that the military-political aspect had its importance in the situation. Wayland Young, the pacifist socialist who has made himself an expert in "nuclear disarmament problems," writes in the Manchester *Guardian*, that had installation of the missile bases in Cuba gone through to completion, the Soviet-bloc would have had a decided new military advantage in nuclear warfare; the whole system of the capitalist world's aggressive bases surrounding the USSR would have been circumvented and the U.S. radar warning net made useless — the modern equivalent of rendering the Maginot Line obsolete. This kind of advantage may have seemed a tempting prize to the military planners in the Soviet establishment and may have played some part in considerations of policy. But what part did it play in the last analysis?

It is now known that the installation work went on with remarkable openness — it was hardly concealed. The likelihood, therefore, is that what was intended was a demonstration of possibilities — as an argument to show the world the USSR's case against the American bases pointed at its heart and as a warning against U.S. notions of an easy elimination

of the Cuban Revolution by invasion or other aggressive action.

What is forgotten by these experts is the sequence of developments with regard to Cuba itself. An actual invasion attempt — at the Bay of Pigs — had been made with U.S. complicity and failed. Further threats along the same line had been openly proclaimed. The military build-up for this purpose was continuing without abatement, quietly but also without much concealment. As the election campaign proceeded, Cuba was gradually raised as the chief issue, with demand for action becoming ever more strident. The Kennedy administration was constantly being put to greater pressure to "act."

It became plain that something in the way of an aggressive move towards Cuba was becoming imminent. Under the circumstance the need to step up dramatically the defenses of the Cuban Revolution was self-evident not only in Cuba itself, but in the Kremlin as well. It was probably this combination of circumstances that led, with various considerations in mind, to the latter's decision to go ahead with the missile bases' construction.

The Kennedy administration's response with the blockade and the threat of nuclear war brought the issue to a showdown. Characteristically, Khrushchev and Co. reacted with the opportunist reflexes inherited from the Stalinist era. They placed the issue in the context of the traditional big-power politics of "co-existence" first, giving defense of the Cuban Revolution an entirely subordinate emphasis. That accounted for Khrushchev's inordinate accommodation to Kennedy's virtual ultimatum as well as an offer of a "deal" in exchange for dismantling the Turkish bases. While the greater "sanity" of the Kremlin as compared to Washington's reckless brinkmanship was universally applauded as a cause for hope, the real issues were beclouded and obscured for the masses anxiously facing a war of nuclear annihilation.

The Kremlin acted without a line of principle, as in the opportunist past. As in the past, unprincipled politics is tending to deprive it of the greatest gain the



Prime Minister Macmillan

Soviet-bloc could have derived from inevitable disposition in the military and diplomatic struggle — the firm support of the masses of people throughout the world based on an understanding of the true nature of imperialism as Lenin and Trotsky showed in their time.

What makes the situation different from Stalin's day in this respect is the great upswing of the colonial revolution and its impact on the internal relationships within the Soviet-bloc. Not only are the Chinese Communists bringing their criticism of the Kremlin's opportunism more and more into the open — but the Cuban revolutionists are themselves there with their firm line of principle

incorporated in their five demands, foremost of which is the evacuation of the U.S.'s Guantanamo base. Their stand, concentrating the world's attention upon it, has already brought a certain stiffening of Kremlin policy towards the Kennedy line. As argument around the "showdown" and its lessons develops, the Cuban revolutionists are bound to attract ever greater sympathy for their line of policy among the world's masses.

The present beclouding of the issues, tolerated in the wake of the shock and relief following the threat of nuclear holocaust, will give way to greater clarity as the consequences begin to work themselves out. No one here, even among the most rabid Tory commentators, is quite as sanguine in assessing the result as a "victory" for the Kennedy administration. Regardless of the attitude expressed to Fidel Castro and his specific demands, the general consensus is that the Cuban Revolution is here to stay, and that "Communism has succeeded in establishing its beachhead in the Western Hemisphere," as one writer put it.

Kennedy's "pledge" against an invasion of Cuba is taken more seriously here as a necessary concomitant to the dismantling of the missile bases and the retention of the nuclear "status quo." Pressure to get this pledge fulfilled will not only be stepped up by demonstrations such as those that tended to grow bigger in the course of the crisis. The press and the politicians including the Macmillan government will be involved in this as well.

According to the director of the *Bevanite Tribune*, Michael Foot, and to Wayland Young in the *Guardian*, Macmillan was contemplating a declaration of neutrality just as the tide in the crisis turned with Kennedy's acceptance of Khrushchev's offer. This claim has not been clearly repudiated and there is probably some substance in it. What is certain is that if

mass action had reached the proportions it did at the time of Suez, with the Labour Party officially joining in it, the government would have been forced, as then, to act — this time along the line indicated by Foot. The press was already giving the signal for it.

In any case, the capitalist alliance, NATO, has undoubtedly been shaken by Kennedy's unilateral march to the brink as never before. The vulnerability of the West European partners has been demonstrated. It is only a matter of time before the lesson sinks in. Already new public voices are being raised for Britain to quit the nuclear armaments race — the latest being that of the Anglican Bishop of Coventry. The powers that be have turned their attention to the India-China conflict for distraction.

At the moment, support for India is almost universal here, even the left-wing Laborites going along with this position. But here, too, the issues are bound to be clarified by the Chinese Communists' firm line. The validity of the so-called MacMahon line, imposed a hundred years ago by British imperialist predominance, will be unmasked in the course of further developments. Tainted aid for India by the aggressors in Washington is bound to arouse misgivings. Here too, the issue has been beclouded by the Kremlin's opportunism which has resulted in the shameful social-patriotic policy of the Indian Communist Party. (The British Stalinists, as in the past, equivocate in the wake of the Kremlin's veerings.)

All in all, it appears that another shake-up in the Western capitalist alliance is shaping up. Clarification of the issues will aid in setting into motion the great masses of people stirring after the shock of the Cuban blockade. Disarray in the ruling circles, a clear line of revolutionary policy and evidence of mass opposition in the American citadel, should produce a new wave of great struggles here.

... Evades No-Invasion Pledge

(Continued from Page 1)

enough to get through U.S. defenses, their only possible value would be as a deterrent. The only possible use for them against U.S. territory would be in a suicidal retaliatory attack.

If the U.S. doesn't intend to invade, Cuba's possession of even the best planes would be no problem for Washington. But even the U.S. press admits the IL-28 bombers are obsolete. Castro, in his Nov. 20 letter to U-Thant pointed out that the bombers "owing to their limited speed and low flight ceiling" could never get past modern anti-aircraft defenses such as the U.S. has on the east coast.

Why then did Kennedy make such an issue of the bombers? First, they provided a pretext to prolong the crisis after Khrushchev removed the missiles. Kennedy wanted more time to pressure the Soviets and Cuba on his key demand — international inspection of Cuba's defenses.

Second, these bombers are of use to Cuba against an invasion. They have a range the length of Cuba, so they could take off, bomb an invasion beachhead at any point on the island and return to base. Since they would be flying over Cuban, not U.S. territory, they wouldn't have to confront the land-based U.S. anti-aircraft weapons in such an operation and would be effective.

They could be a key factor against an invasion fleet of the Bay of Pigs type — that is, a flotilla from places like Nicaragua, without the direct involvement of the U.S. fleet. Kennedy's emphasis on these bombers could indicate

that his plans include an invasion launched by his Latin American stooges, which after a beachhead was won and a "provisional government" set up there, would provide a pretext for direct U.S. involvement.

The fourth reason for making an issue of the bombers was an attempt to achieve a precedent giving the U.S. veto power over the type of conventional weapons Cuba may have. This precedent will be pressed against other weapons on one pretext or another. The *New York Times* already has asserted editorially several times that Cuba's MIG fighter planes are capable of carrying A-bombs over Florida.

Cubans Move Consciously

For these reasons, the removal of the bombers was a retreat for the Cubans and something of a victory for Kennedy. But the Cuban revolutionaries, maneuvering in a tight spot and under terrible pressure from more than one direction, are moving consciously and deftly.

In his letter to U Thant on the bomber issue, Castro pointed out that for the U.S. it "merely constitutes a pretext for maintaining tension, prolonging the crisis and continuing its policy of force. Nevertheless, if the Soviet Government considers it desirable for the smooth conduct of the negotiations and the solution of the crisis to withdraw these planes, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba will not stand in the way of that decision."

In the same statement, Castro takes an unyielding position on the more important questions of

Cuba's right to defend her air space and her refusal to accept unilateral inspection.

The danger of such inspection is that it constitutes the thin edge of a wedge of foreign interference in Cuban internal affairs. The U.S. already talks of the necessity to "peek into caves" and of "continuation" guarantees. Kennedy is aiming for a permanent, official international agency to inspect Cuba's weapons, and only Cuba's, not those of the U.S.

The U.S. would declare other types of weapons "offensive." When they were found, supervision would be demanded, then control, then occupation to ensure control. The Cubans, of course, would object at each stage. But the U.S. would object in the opposite direction, threatening war. The international agency would mediate, and each side would have to give a little. At each stage the result would be another inroad into Cuba's internal affairs. There is no end to such a trap — as the Congo showed. The Cuban revolutionaries know what they are doing in refusing to start down that road.

Taking the results of the crisis up to this point in balance, the Cubans have gained some time to lay their case before the world. They have been forced to retreat on some points. But so far they have successfully defended Cuba's sovereign rights against Kennedy's key demand — in spite of the fact that Khrushchev unilaterally agreed to this demand. On this point — inspection — it is Kennedy who has for the moment yielded.



This week 125 new readers were added to our subscription list. As can be seen on the scoreboard, Chicago and New York are just beginning to pick up steam — let's hope they keep it up.

Other sections of the country are asking that the subscription campaign be extended so that they can catch up with the main stream. This is a reasonable and worthy request and we will extend the campaign through December. This should allow sufficient time for all sections to fill their quotas — particularly those on the West Coast.

The three prizes however, will be awarded on the basis of the scoreboard of next week — Dec. 2, otherwise our West Coast friends would have an edge on the rest of the country weather-wise.

To be sure everyone gets a fair shake, we will offer an additional autographed copy of James P. Cannon's book to the high scorer from an area not included in the scoreboard or an area that has exceeded its quota but is still campaigning.

High scorers reported to us so far are from the Twin Cities and

Detroit. Detroit reports Art F. as their high man, with 16 subs sold. Next in line is Harriet T. with 14, and Paul L. with 11. In the Twin Cities, Winifred leads with 14 subs, Paul follows with 9 and Joe with 7. Does someone in your area top these scores?

Area	Quota	Subs	Pct.
Indiana	10	32	320
Detroit	100	134	134
Baltimore	10	13	130
Connecticut	30	35	117
Oakland-Berkeley	75	70	93
Boston	25	23	90
New York	150	123	82
Milwaukee	25	19	76
Twin Cities	100	74	74
Newark	15	10	67
Chicago	90	56	62
San Diego	30	18	60
Philadelphia	75	31	41
St. Louis	10	4	40
San Francisco	75	26	35
Akron-Cleveland	75	18	24
Los Angeles	150	33	22
Seattle	75	15	20
Denver	50	2	4
General	30	49	143

Total thru November 20 1,200 785 65%

Wendell Phillips Tells Ohio Audiences About His Case

CLEVELAND, Nov. 17 — The right of the non-conformist to teach and the right not to be compelled to become an informer in order to hold a teaching position were vigorously defended here by Wendell Phillips in a recent three-day visit. Phillips, a former welding instructor at Fullerton Junior College in Orange County, Calif., said that these were the primary issues involving academic freedom in his legal battle for reinstatement to his teaching job. A member of the Communist Party until 1951 and presently a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Phillips was suspended Jan. 15 under California's Dilworth Act after a hearing in which he refused to inform against his political associates.

Phillips spoke at a reception held Nov. 10 at the AFL-CIO Butchers Building here. The meeting was sponsored by Cleveland area supporters of the national Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee whose address is Box 33291, Los Angeles 33, Calif. Among them were Dr. Edward U. Condon, Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, John Jurkanin, Prof. G. Kuerti and Sam Pollock.

On the following day he addressed a meeting on his case sponsored by the forum committee of the Student Council at Oberlin College. At the meeting, which was chaired by Dr. Condon, Phillips pointed out that the issues in



Wendell Phillips

his case went beyond his own right to teach and were of great importance to all concerned with civil liberties and academic freedom. Another meeting for Phillips was held in Akron where he discussed his case with local trade unionists and civil libertarians.

In addition, Phillips gave four 15-minute taped interviews and one 25-minute interview for radio stations KYW and WDOK. The tapes are scheduled for broadcast in the near future.

Calif. Pickets Decry SACB Inquisitors

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 13 — About 50 pickets, most of them students, protested against a hearing of the federal Subversive Activities Control Board held at the Mint Building today.

This hearing was the latest in a series of attempts to force Albert Lima to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act. It was highlighted by the testimony of a witness described as "grandmotherly" who said she baked pies for the FBI, i.e., she baked pies to donate to the Communists so that she could listen in on their conversations and report to Washington, for which she received a monthly salary of \$225 plus baking ingredients.

Would Face Jail

Lima said he would claim the Fifth Amendment rather than testify and his attorney pointed out that under the definition of the anti-subversive law if he registered as an official of the Communist Party, he would be forced to admit participation in a "criminal conspiracy" and would face two jail terms of 20 years each.

Outside the hearing the pickets, surrounded by a remarkably large number of photographers and a fair-sized contingent of police, continued their march for five hours, carrying signs which read "Due Process For All" and "Free Speech Is For Communists, Too."

The SACB announced there would be no ruling on the case for another three weeks. A second hearing will be held within a week in an effort to force the registration of Roscoe Procter.

Two Polaris Foes Jailed

Robert Swann, 44, coordinator of the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action, was informed by his attorney on Nov. 16 that he was to start serving a federal prison sentence for his part in a pacifist demonstration during the launching of the Polaris submarine *Ethan Allen* two years ago.

Swann was sentenced on June 19, 1961, along with eight other Polaris Action volunteers, in the New Haven Federal District Court. His case and that of Roger Aarons, 21, of New York City, were on appeal until the Oct. 30 decision upholding the conviction. They received sentences of one year, to be followed by five years' probation and were to appear in the New Haven court on Nov. 19 for commitment to prison.

In connection with his impending imprisonment, Swann stated: "What was involved here is the right of the government to issue certain orders based on the assumptions of 'security' and 'national defense.'" The demonstrators were convicted under an order prohibiting access to the waters near the submarines, an order based on a 1917 statute designed to prevent sabotage and espionage.

"The larger issues," Swann said, "partly raised by the demonstration itself, involve what President Kennedy referred to as 'clandestine acts' of the Soviet government in setting up missile bases in Cuba. What must be reckoned with is the fact that all Polaris submarines are mobile, clandestine missile bases which represent the same threat to the Soviet people as do their bases in Cuba to us."

Swann, who is married and has four children, gave up his career in the architectural and construction fields to do full-time volunteer work for CNVA.

HUAC Smears Group Sending Medicine to Cuba

A subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee opened hearings in Washington Nov. 14 on the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee. The hearings, according to HUAC, were intended to investigate "possible loop-

ferred testimony to the effect that the shortage of medical supplies in Cuba was a deliberate plot by the Castro government to stir up resentment against the United States.

The hearings were protested in



A SHIPMENT OF MEDICINES sent to Cuban hospitals last April by the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee, now under attack by HUAC. Standing at the far left is Melitta del Villar, the group's chairman.

holes" in the Foreign Agents Registration Act which now exempts organizations promoting overseas charities from its registration provisions. HUAC stated that it would attempt to ascertain whether the Medical Aid group and similar organizations should be compelled to register as agents of foreign governments.

The Medical Aid for Cuba Committee issued its first public appeal for the donation of medical supplies to Cuba's hospitals in Jan. 1962. At that time, a spokesman said of the group, "It is on the level of a person-to-person program... The wall comes down once people are sick and hungry and we come to their aid." Since then, the committee, with headquarters at 147 W. 33rd St., N.Y.C., has sent thousands of dollars worth of supplies to Cuba, including blood plasma, cortisone, spinal anesthesia and other vitally needed medicines for critically ill patients. Shipment of such medical supplies was expressly permitted when the U.S. embargo was imposed in February. Even in his Oct. 23 blockade speech, President Kennedy stated that the U.S. would not withhold necessities of life from the Cuban people.

Smear Attack

On the first day of the HUAC hearings the intent of the witch-hunters to utilize them for a smear attack on supporters of the group and as a weapon to bolster anti-Cuban propaganda became apparent. HUAC members and counsel, including the veteran witch-hunter, Rep. Gordon Scherer, charged that leaders of the committee had "pro-Communist pasts" and subjected subpoenaed members to intensive and abusive questioning.

Melitta Del Villar, chairman of the Medical Aid committee testified to its humanitarian and non-political purposes. She pointedly told the congressional inquisitors, "If somebody is sick, you don't ask, 'Hey, are you a member of a Communist organization?'"

On the following day, Nov. 15, HUAC presented three Cuban counter-revolutionary medical men, one of whom ensured lurid publicity by wearing a hood which covered his entire face. They of-

a telegram to HUAC Nov. 13 by 50 people, acting as individuals. The protest, whose signers included Dr. William E. Hocking, professor emeritus of philosophy at Harvard, Prof. Derk Bodde of the University of Pennsylvania, Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, and Freda Kirchwey, former publisher of the *Nation*, stated that the committee's action "harasses citizens who are performing a constructive function, which might contribute to improved relations between the United States and Cuba. These subpoenas are not only ill-advised; they also encroach on the rights of the individuals concerned."

On the following day, the New York Council to Abolish HUAC issued a statement opposing the hearings. "We look upon this new interference with the human and civil rights of Americans as further proof of the need to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee," the council said.

A New Crime — Liking Your Dad

The Defense Department, acting in response to a letter from an attorney, has begun a review of the case of Charles Zuckman, a 29-year-old electronics engineer. Zuckman was denied security clearance by a Pentagon board because his father had been accused of being a former Communist Party member. The son has not lived at home for eight years, and the charges concerning the father date from the period when the son was 5 to 14. The elder Zuckman, once a candidate of the American Labor Party, was named by HUAC in 1953.

The board held that the son "maintained a close continuing association with a person who for many years and who still may be an active member of the Communist Party." At no time was the younger Zuckman charged with any act nor was the nature of evidence about his father's activities disclosed by the board.

Xmas Book Bargains

- THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. Cloth, \$3.00.
- THE REVOLT OF THE MIND by Tamas Aczel and Tibor Meray. Gripping account of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the events that brought it about. Cloth, regularly \$5.00, special price \$1.49.
- THE INTERNATIONAL by Alfred Maund. Noteworthy novel about contemporary union officialdom. Cloth, \$5.95.
- THE COOL WORLD by Warren Miller. Remarkable novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *99 Miles From Home*. Cloth, special price \$1.49.
- THADDEUS STEVENS by Ralph Korngold. Magnificent biography of the great figure of Radical Reconstruction. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$8.00, special price \$2.00.
- HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR by Henry David. Another classic, long out of print, now available. The celebrated frame-up and the origin of May Day. Cloth, regularly \$6.75, special price \$5.50.
- ISLAND IN THE CITY by Dan Wakefield. The Puerto Rican community in New York. Paperback, \$1.75.
- SAM ADAMS — Pioneer in Propaganda by John C. Miller. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$7.50, special price \$6.00.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA

- M-26: BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION by Robert Taber. Cloth, regularly \$4.95, special price \$3.00.
- THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
- THE THEORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
- IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
- HOW CUBA UPROOTED RACE DISCRIMINATION by Harry Ring. Pamphlet, 25c.
- COMBINATION OFFER OF FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECHES—All for \$3.00. History Will Absolve Me! Oct. 16, 1953 \$1.00
- To The Children Sept. 14, 1960 .25
- On Unemployment Feb. 11, 1961 .25
- Cuba's Socialist Destiny July 26, 1961 .25
- United Nations Speech Sept. 26, 1961 .25
- On Marxism-Leninism Dec. 2, 1961 1.00
- The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought Mar. 13, 1962 .15
- Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism Mar. 28, 1962 .35

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

- NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A Frenchman's report of the American Negro struggle, based on an extensive tour of the South. Cloth, \$1.00; paperback, 50c.
- REVOLT IN THE SOUTH by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising struggle of Southern Negroes. Paperback, 95c.

- BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paperback, \$1.95.
- BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Cloth, \$4.00; paperback, 95c.
- 100 YEARS OF LYNCHING by Ralph Ginzburg. Paperback, 75c.
- BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA by C. Eric Lincoln. Cloth, \$4.95; paperback, \$1.75.
- THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Vann Woodward. Cloth, Xmas price, \$1.19.
- THE UN-AMERICANS by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil-liberties attorney provides devastating documentation of the House witch hunters' activities. Paperback, 60c.
- GRAND INQUEST by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to the Un-Americans by a constitutional lawyer. Paperback, 75c.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

- Combination Offer: THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN. Paperback, both for \$5.00.
- TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE: 1935. Cloth, Xmas price, \$3.50.
- TERRORISM & COMMUNISM. A classic work of Marxist theory, out of print for three decades. Paperback, \$1.95.
- WHITHER FRANCE. The French social crisis in the mid-1930's analyzed. Paperback, Xmas price \$1.45.
- WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING? An analysis of the British general strike of 1926 and the perspectives of British imperialism. Paperback, \$1.50.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON

- FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Cloth, \$6.00.
- THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75; paperback special price \$1.50.
- THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. Cloth, \$2.75.
- SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. Paperback, 50c.
- SOCIALISM & DEMOCRACY. Paperback, 15c.

MARXIST CLASSICS

- FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, regularly \$3.00, Xmas price \$2.00.
- LETTERS TO AMERICANS by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.85.
- ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844 by Marx. Cloth, \$1.50.
- KARL MARX by Franz Mehring. The definitive biography. Paperback, \$2.95.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY by George Plekhanov. Cloth, Xmas price \$1.95.
- THE CIVIL WAR IN THE U.S. by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.95.
- THOMAS MORE & HIS UTOPIA by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$3.95.
- COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$4.95.
- THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND by Engels. Now back in print. Cloth, reduced to \$1.95.

(Include 15c postage for hard-cover books, 10c for paperbacks.)