

THE MILITANT

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Striking N.Y. Printers Prepare for Long Haul

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK — The militant and determined Big Six printers have won the admiration of the entire New York labor movement as they continue to "stop the presses" with round-the-clock picket lines in freezing weather at the entrances of all the daily papers.

The strike is turning into a siege. The publishers seem determined to try to break the workers' spirit and will to win. They have offered nothing beyond their last proposal before the strike — a package of approximately \$8. This was the amount the Newspaper Guild settled for at the *Daily News* in October and the publishers thereafter offered it to the other crafts on a take-it-or-leave basis.

Pattern

An editorial in the Dec. 17 *National Observer*, an authoritative weekly paper put out by the publishers of the *Wall Street Journal*, says: "No longer are the printers showing the way . . . [in its position of leadership] . . . Often the Guild signs a contract first and the publishers use this as a pattern for all other unions. Thus it was in New York when the Guild last month won a raise of about \$8 a week. The one-time leader, the International Typographical Union, once again was asked to follow along with a similar settlement."

President Bertram A. Powers of New York Typographical Union No. 6 told a meeting of the striking and locked-out workers Dec. 16 that the heart of the union's demands was a return to the basic principle of negotiation. The publisher, he said, has reversed this procedure and for the past ten years has used the Guild pattern as a standard for the printers.

"We've gone into negotiations knowing what our money would be," he said.

Unknown to most New Yorkers is the fact that the publishers of-

ferred the union a wage increase of 55 cents a week for the first year of the new contract with the balance of about \$3.75 going principally toward the payment of welfare fringe benefits to keep them from diminishing in value.

A message of international solidarity thrilled the pickets when they learned that the French printers had refused to handle teletype punched by strikebreakers to the *New York Times*' Paris edition. Similar support came from printers on the *Times*' West Coast edition.

This was the only strikebreaking attempt by the publishers, since the strike and lockout began, to move news copy. It failed quickly.

For virtually every picket, this

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Free Clyde Kennard!

An urgent campaign to free a young Negro, who was framed up and sent to the Mississippi State Penitentiary for attempting to enroll at lily-white Mississippi Southern University, has been launched by the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee. SNCC is the dynamic civil-rights organization which has been in the forefront of the sit-ins and voter-registration projects in the South.

Clyde Kennard, 33, the frame-up victim, has already been in prison almost two years. His case occurred before James Meredith's success in breaking the color bar at the University of Mississippi attracted world attention. After finishing three years at the University of Chicago, Kennard had to return home to Hattiesburg. He then applied for admission to MSU. In the fall of 1959, upon returning to his auto after an interview with the MSU president and another state official, he was arrested for reckless driving. At the station a charge of illegal possession of liquor was added. Since he neither smokes nor drinks, the "finding" of liquor in his car was an obvious frame-up. Yet he was

fining \$600 and his appeal was denied.

He persisted in trying to enter MSU and in 1960 was charged with receiving and being an accessory to the theft of \$25 worth of chicken feed. A teenager, who confessed the actual theft, named Kennard and was given five years on probation. Kennard was sent to prison for seven years. SNCC Chairman Charles McDew says, "The only 'crime' Clyde Kennard committed . . . was acting on his belief that he could, as an American, enter the school of his choice."

SNCC has begun a campaign of petitions to President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy. SNCC also suggests: 1) letters to both Kennedys, to your congressmen and senators; 2) letters to your local newspapers; 3) a telegram campaign to the White House; 4) registered letters (to insure delivery) to Kennard at Parchman State Penitentiary, Parchman, Miss.; 5) picketing local federal buildings; 6) picketing local Mississippi state offices and chambers of commerce.

SNCC's address is: 6 Raymond St. NW, Atlanta 14, Georgia.

Khrushchev 'Explains' His Cuba Policy

By Tom Kerry

The Cuban crisis and its aftermath will have — is already having — widespread ramifications affecting every aspect of cold-war foreign policy for both camps.

Explanations and disclosures concerning the course of action pursued by Washington and Moscow during the height of the crisis are shedding some light on the conflict's more obscure aspects.

From the American side, the *Saturday Evening Post* article, by Stewart Alsop and Charles Bartlett "The White House in the Cuban Crisis," has sparked a heated controversy over the role played by the various actors in deciding the course of action taken by the Kennedy administration.

From the Russian side, the sharp criticisms of Kremlin policy by the Chinese and Albanians, ap-

parently served to impel Khrushchev into explaining, motivating and defending the course of action taken by Moscow.

At the Dec. 12 session of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Khrushchev presented a major report entitled: "The Present International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union." All the direct quotations from the Khrushchev report cited in this article are taken from the text made public by the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.

Khrushchev sought to explain, in his report, one puzzling — at least to this writer — aspect of Soviet action in Cuba: Why, in the light of subsequent developments, did the Kremlin install missile bases on Cuban soil? Correctly flaying Washington for its

planned aggression against Cuba, his reply warrants extensive quotation, especially since the capitalist press carried only skimpy excerpts of his remarks:

"United States policy vis-à-vis Cuba is the most unbridled reactionary policy. To declare that Cuba allegedly threatens America, or any other country, and to usurp, on this plea, a special right to act against Cuba is just monstrous.

"Seeking to justify its aggressive actions, American reaction is repeating that the crisis in the Caribbean was allegedly created by Cuba herself, adding that the blame rests also with the Soviet Union which shipped there rockets and 'IL-28' bombers.

"But is this so? It is true that we carried weapons there at the request of the Cuban government. But what motives guided us in



Photo by Robert Joyce

Mrs. Dagmar Wilson

on Washington to support those subpoenaed. They filled the hearing room, presented bouquets of flowers to the witnesses and applauded their statements in defiance of the committee. At least 86 women throughout the country volunteered to join the 12 who were subpoenaed, and to appear on the witness stand. The committee ignored these volunteers.

On Dec. 12, Washington, D.C., peace groups organized a "public hearing" of their own at which persons prominent in the peace and civil-liberties movements appeared as "witnesses." The members of the House Un-American Activities Committee had also been invited to give "testimony," but none appeared.

Before the three-day hearings involving WSP began Dec. 11, a spokesman explained that the movement's participants would act as individuals before HUAC and that "each takes her stand as her own conscience requires and no woman speaks for another."

There appeared to be no general

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China-Soviet Rift at Crisis Stage

By Fred Halstead

The Moscow-Peking dispute has reached a new stage and is approaching a crisis point. This is revealed by speeches at recent Communist Party congresses in four European countries and by Soviet Premier Khrushchev's speech of Dec. 12.

Before this month neither the Chinese nor the Soviets referred directly to each other in their public arguments. At the congress of the Italian Communist Party which opened in Rome Dec. 2 some of this double-talk was dropped.

Italian CP head, Palmiro Togliatti, began the changed form of argument in his opening address. He criticized the Chinese — by name — for supporting the Albanians. Chao Yi-ming, fraternal delegate to the conference from the Chinese party's central committee, replied Dec. 4 directly to Togliatti's attack. He openly stated differences exist between the Chinese and other Communist parties.

Defends Cuba Policy

Frol R. Koslov, head of the Russian fraternal delegation, attacked only Albania directly, but blasted all criticism of Khrushchev's Cuba policy in an exceptionally sharp manner. A similar pattern was seen at recent congresses in Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

Then followed Khrushchev's Dec. 12 speech to the Supreme Soviet in which the terminology of excommunication was used against the Albanians. They were accused of following "Trotskyite" policies. In Stalin's time that charge meant a definite break and was leveled at those party leaders intended to destroy. In his speech Khrushchev virtually called for the overthrow of the Albanian CP leaders.

Commenting on the speech, the *London Times* observed: "He was careful . . . for the most part to refer to China indirectly, using half-a-dozen different roundabout ways while leaving not the slightest doubt about his real target. The whole performance was an eleventh-hour warning that a breach could not be avoided if the Chinese continued their present course and their criticism of Moscow."

Central Thrust

The central thrust of Khrushchev's speech is to accuse his Communist critics of advocating nuclear war. This he says is the only possible logic of what he calls their "leftist dogmatic" policy, which led them to criticize his actions in the Cuba crisis. Khrushchev sees the only hope for peace in a long-term accommodation with the capitalist powers — which he calls "peaceful co-existence."

He does not argue against the Leninist position that the drive toward war is an integral part of capitalist economy; that as long as capitalism exists, the war danger exists; that peace can be maintained only by revolutionary opposition to each war move of the capitalist governments. He doesn't admit that such a position exists.

According to Khrushchev, if you aren't for the Kremlin making secret deals with capitalist powers, in search of an accommodation, you are for blowing up the human race — and that's all there is to it.

Khrushchev tries to show that Lenin was for making the kind of accommodation the Kremlin now seeks, that Trotsky was a "left dogmatist," who tried to disrupt such accommodations and that Khrushchev's present Communist critics "advocate the same provocative policy that Trotsky had followed in his time."

He illustrates this many-sided falsification by referring to the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution. Khrushchev stated:

"When the revolution conquered, the first decree of the Soviet power

drawn up by Lenin was the decree on peace. And although Germans at that time occupied quite a great part of the territory of Russia, V. I. Lenin and our entire country sought to end the war and sign a peace treaty with the Germans.

"A delegation was sent to Brest headed by Trotsky who then also styled himself a Marxist. But he went against the party, provocatively broke up the peace negotiations with the Germans, and left Brest. Then Vladimir Lenin had to send Chicherin and the peace treaty was signed. History has confirmed the correctness and the genius of Lenin's foresight. It has shown that the road outlined and defended by Lenin in the struggle against pseudo-revolutionaries was



V. I. Lenin

the only reasonable and true road."

A number of falsifications of political positions are implied in this quote as well as at least one outright lie on a matter of fact. The lie: Khrushchev says Trotsky "went against the party." The fact: Trotsky was authorized by the Bolshevik central committee to do just what he did at Brest.

Documentation

Readers can find the documentation in English on this point in Vol. 3 of the Hoover War Library Publications, Stanford University Press, 1934. A detailed and well-documented account of the entire Brest-Litovsk affair appears in Isaac Deutscher's *The Prophet Armed*, Oxford University Press, 1954.

A review of the Brest events reveals some of Khrushchev's falsifications. The Bolshevik's took power on Nov. 7, 1918 promising to end Russia's participation in the First World War in which she was allied with Britain, France, the U.S., etc., against Germany and its allies. The slogan, "Peace," more than any other, won the Bolsheviks the support of the Russian masses over the other parties which supported or equivocated on the war.

On Nov. 8, the new Soviet government proposed to the world a three-month armistice for the negotiation of a general peace "without annexations or indemnities." The Western allies refused. The Germans, directly facing the Russian front, entered negotiations with the Soviets at Brest. They set harsh terms for peace, including huge slices of the territory of the former Russian Empire.

Three different positions in the Bolshevik central committee then developed on this problem. All the Bolsheviks at that time agreed that the fate of the Soviets depended on a revolution in Germany which would halt the German war machine and bring the war to a close. They also agreed that when the German people rose up, the Soviets would aid them militarily to overthrow the Kaiser and end the war.

The dispute was over when the German rising could be expected and whether it might be precipitated by the Soviets immediately launching a revolutionary war against the Kaiser.

These were the three positions: Lenin was for immediate peace even on the German imperialists' terms. He said a "respite" of a

few months was necessary to consolidate the revolution and build a Red Army. A group including Bukharin favored rejecting the harsh German terms and waging a revolutionary war. Trotsky agreed with Lenin's estimate that time was needed. But he anticipated an early German rising and proposed a third course: "Neither war nor peace."

Trotsky proposed to stall in the negotiations, and use the fact that the eyes of the world were on Brest-Litovsk to expose the imperialist powers and spread revolutionary agitation. This, he hoped, would help precipitate the expected rising in Germany. If the rising were delayed, said Trotsky, and it became impossible to stall any longer, the Soviets should unilaterally quit the war without signing the German peace terms.

Narrow Vote

Trotsky's position was adopted by the central committee of the party by a narrow vote of 9 to 7, and he carried it out. After stalling as long as possible, the Soviet delegation issued the famous declaration of Feb. 10, 1918, that Russia was "dropping out" of the war.

It created a world-wide sensation, but the German uprising was still delayed. The German command broke the armistice and began an offensive on Feb. 18. In meetings of the Bolshevik central committee that same day, the advocates of revolutionary war were adamant. So was Lenin in his position that the peace terms should be accepted. Trotsky broke the deadlock by voting with Lenin.

As it turned out, the Germans now insisted on even harsher terms, which Lenin once again insisted must be accepted. Trotsky disagreed, but feared a split leadership could not successfully prosecute a war against the German offensive. He abstained in the votes to allow Lenin's position to carry the committee. The peace was signed. The expected German rising finally did occur Nov. 3, 1918, bringing down the Kaiser, ending World War I and nullifying the Brest Treaty terms.

Tactical Problem

Khrushchev's contention that Trotsky's actions were "ultra left" and that Lenin pursued a Khrushchev-type accommodation with capitalist powers is ridiculous. The dispute was over tactics and timing. All three groups at the time agreed on an active policy of spreading the revolution.

Trotsky later said that Lenin's Brest policy proved to be the wiser. But it is pertinent to recall that Lenin himself advocated a revolutionary war policy in 1920 after Pilsudski's Polish armies invaded the Ukraine and the Red Army pushed them back. This time the positions in the central committee were reversed.

Lenin carried a majority for continuing the advance toward Warsaw, counting on a Polish workers' uprising. Trotsky, who was head of the Red Army, voted no on grounds that the army was too exhausted to go further without a disastrous defeat. Trotsky proved right this time. The offensive turned into a disastrous retreat.

Khrushchev, trained in the Stalin school, doesn't choose to publicize the fact that in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time, differences were common — even differences with Lenin — and were argued out honestly and settled by majority vote. Even Lenin wasn't infallible — and he didn't claim to be.

Cuba Risk Rate Cut

On Dec. 7 London underwriters lowered war, strike, riot and civil commotion risk insurance for voyages to, from or between Cuban ports to the basic level of ninepence (about 10 cents) per 100 pounds (\$280) for both imports and exports.



The relative importance attached by the Kennedy administration to civil rights on the one hand and to the campaign to "get" Teamster President James R. Hoffa on the other can be judged by the statistics on grand juries. There was an increase of 50 in the number of grand juries convened by Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Justice Department in 1962 over those called in 1961. Only one of these involved civil rights, only two involved anti-trust cases, but 32 are reported to have involved Hoffa or the Teamsters.

The Teamster prosecutions have already cost U.S. taxpayers between two and three million dollars according to Drew Pearson's Dec. 10 column.

* * *

Aerospace workers at Boeing Co. have voted by a three-to-one majority for a union shop. The 30,000 Boeing workers in Seattle are represented by the International Association of Machinists and the 3,500 in Philadelphia by the United Auto Workers. In recent elections at several other aerospace corporations, both the IAM and the UAW gained majorities, but failed to obtain the two-thirds necessary for a union shop. The two-thirds requirement was established by a federal mediation recommendation accepted by the unions.

* * *

The New York City minimum-wage law, which was prevented from going into effect last month by an injunction obtained by restaurant and laundry employers, has been declared invalid by the State Supreme Court on the grounds that it conflicts with state law. The law was to have provided a \$1.25 minimum beginning Nov. 31, 1962 and a \$1.50 minimum a year later.

It is estimated that some 500,000 New York City workers — most of them Negroes and Puerto Ricans — work for less than \$1.50 an hour. The city welfare department considers at least \$2.00 an hour for a head of a family to be necessary for a minimum standard of decency.

A Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and of the Negro American Labor Council, declared the court decision "shocking" and a "tragic blow" to 200,000 city workers expecting an increase this year under the \$1.25 an hour provision.

Randolph sponsors the Citizens Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage which pushed the law through the city council. Significantly, the committee was not supported by the city's largest union, the International Ladies Garment Union, or by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which has most of the city's laundries organized. The ILGWU opposed the

city minimum wage on the grounds that it would put New York City garment manufacturers at a competitive disadvantage with firms in other parts of the country — an admission that ILGWU contracts allow the employers to pay abysmally low wages to many workers.

The Citizens Committee has opened a statewide campaign to secure enactment of a state minimum-wage law in the coming session of the legislature, with broad coverage to include such groups as farm workers and domestics. The committee has obtained the endorsement and support of the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council, representing the largest grouping of organized labor in the state outside New York City.

Constantine Sedares, coordinator of the committee, who spoke before the Buffalo union group, also met on Dec. 12 with the president of the Buffalo Branch of the NAACP who pledged the support of his organization to the campaign.

"We intend," Randolph declared, "to make the minimum-wage question a major issue in the forthcoming session of the legislature. We will not remain dormant while hundreds of thousands of low-paid, exploited workers of this state, of whom the overwhelming number are Negroes and Spanish-speaking persons, continue to be denied even the minimal standards of economic and social justice."

* * *

International Typographical Union members have been known to complain about the high dues they pay — often over \$30 per month — to keep up the union's strike fund. Members of the union now striking four New York City newspapers and locked out on four others, complain no longer. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, married men receive \$98 per week — clear — in strike benefits.

* * *

"3.3 Million Women are Union Members." "2 1/4 Million of the Women in the Labor Force are Heads of Families." "End Sex Discrimination in Employment." These were among the slogans displayed at the recent Midwest Women's Activities Conference of the United Packinghouse Workers.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Celebrate New Year's Eve with friends of The Militant at 1702 East Fourth St. Entertainment, dancing, refreshments.

NEW YORK

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EXPLOITED AFRICA

Forced Labor in Angola

By Victor Moazul

ALGIERS — A historic maxim of the plunderer, which has come down from the days of armed conquest is: 'To civilize the African is to make him work.' This has been expressed in practice in the Portuguese colonies by subjecting the Africans — men, women and children — to forced labor from which there is no escape.

At the beginning of the century the employment of workers on Angola's plantations and in the mines was still carried out in many cases by outright slave labor; today this has been modified to 'contract labor.' But despite the change of label, the content remains the same.

The system of labor relations in Angola is incredible by practically any modern standard. The Africans have neither the right to freedom of speech or of forming trade unions or political parties — nor do these rights exist for the Portuguese either. But the entire existence of the African is governed by violence.

Fake Claim

The Portuguese claim to 'civilizing' the Africans cannot be substantiated at all. When an examination is made of the arguments advanced by the colonizer, it is found that practically the opposite of all they claim is true. There is not the slightest evidence, in fact, that the Africans have made any real progress in the 500 years since the Portuguese first arrived. Rather their conditions have deteriorated.

The machinery of forced labor is so all-embracing that it leaves no room for an African worker to dodge it. He must either succumb or leave the country. For an Angolan or a Mozambican to remain in his country without a job means, with very few exceptions, to be seized by the authorities and sent to work for a nominal wage, on government public works: highways, docks, public buildings, etc. His wages amount to less than \$60 a year, plus the barest minimum of food and lodging in barracks.

To escape this fate he allows himself to be rounded up for work on contract to a private employer. But the conditions are very little better, and in practice it can be said that forced labor is general in private concerns as well as in government projects.

The Portuguese authorities, claiming a 'civilizing mission' pretend to the world that they do

not practice forced labor. As far as they are concerned 'coercive labor' is 'free' labor.

But a glance at the Portuguese laws shows that the 'Colonial Charter' for instance, affirms the right of the Portuguese authorities to use forced labor for public works and for producing marketable crops.

These clauses have been put into effect without inhibition, and every year 250,000 Angolans are rented out to agricultural, mining and construction concerns. In Mozambique 400,000 are subjected to forced labor, of whom 100,000 are exported to the mines of South Africa and the Rhodesias.

"Lucrative"

Professor Marvin Harris, writing in *Portugal's African Wards* (New York, 1958) says that 'today in Mozambique all active male *indigenas* [natives] between the ages of 18 and 55 years are presumed to be "idle" unless they can prove the contrary.' The very existence of forced labor, this American writer adds, compels 'not merely 100,000 workers, but the overwhelming majority of Mozambique's African males, to participate in the European economy on terms which are deeply injurious to native welfare, but highly lucrative for the Europeans, especially in the neighboring territories.'

The colonialist state plays a fundamental role in the exploitation process. Revenue is derived from the export of forced laborers under agreements concluded between the Portuguese government with South Africa for the supply of *contratados*, or contracted laborers.

Reservoir

These agreements make sure that the government of Portugal has an ever-present interest in the supply of Africans to the foreign mines. More important is that in exchange for African labor, South Africa guarantees that half of the Rand exports will pass through the port of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique — thus providing still further revenue for the Portuguese government and lucrative transport and forwarding business for European commercial concerns.

Apart from having no trade-union or civil rights, the African is deprived even of merely human protest against this system. Should a European complain of an African's 'rudeness,' the latter can be sent before a local administrator who will punish him at once without so much as an inquiry. The punishment usually takes the

form of a beating on the hands with the *palmatoria*, an instrument the shape of a table-tennis bat filled with holes, which inflicts great pain and damage on the victim.

In both Angola and Mozambique the Africans are ruthlessly deprived of the best land which has been confiscated for European enterprises. In Mozambique about one-fifth of the land — half the cultivated land — is reserved for a small European minority. In Angola more than four-fifths of the coffee plantations belong to a few settlers, and those Africans who have been fortunate enough to keep land, since the laws prevent them from owning urban and rural property, constitute an insignificant proportion.

Cash Crops

Most peasant farmers are forced to grow cash crops instead of food for themselves and their families, and these crops, such as cotton, are bought by the government at a fixed low price. Over 70 per cent of agricultural production of both Angola and Mozambique is performed by Africans.

While landlords and companies amass enormous wealth from the exploitation of the Africans, the latter are degraded to a subhuman status. But in the year 1957, for instance, six companies made a profit which averaged 49 per cent of their capital.

Indeed Salazar's frantic bellows about civilizing the Africans are merely a smoke-screen for plunder and reflects the excesses of a dying system.



Bartolomeo Vanzetti (left) and Nicola Sacco during the long period of their imprisonment before martyrdom in Massachusetts' electric chair in 1927.

A well-known writer has thrown some new light on their infamous frame-up trial. In the Dec. 22 issue of the "Nation," Fred J. Cook, in a careful study of the case, reveals new evidence that the fingerprints discovered on the get-away car used in the holdup-murder were neither presented at the trial nor mentioned thereafter.

Cook quotes the Brockton, Mass., "Times" of April 20, 1920, which reported: "The [get-away] car was brought to the Brockton police garage in City Hall Square, from where it was later taken to Boston by the state officers. Photos of fingerprints were first made."

Although many references were made to these fingerprints by the Brockton "Times," they were never mentioned at the trial. "Obviously," writes Mr. Cook, "Sacco and Vanzetti's prints were not on the murder car." If they had been, the "fingerprint evidence would have become the major, irrefutable item in the state's arsenal of proof."

World Events

On-and-Off Strikes in Italy

Telephone workers in Rome went on strike Dec. 14, joining the newspaper workers and school teachers who were already out. The newspaper workers went back to work Dec. 16 to put out the papers for two days and then resume the strike for another five days. Most of these strikes are the result of the inflation and are for cost-of-living increases.

Flaunt Sabotage Law

Saboteurs cut between 20 and 30 telephone wires in Port Elizabeth, Union of South Africa, the night of Dec. 3. Communication with all main towns except Cape-town were thus cut off for two and one half hours. A telephone box in Capetown was also blown up the same night. In the past three months there have been over 40 acts of sabotage in South Africa despite — or because of the introduction of the death penalty for the offense.

Chinese Quote Trotskyists

On Dec. 6th, *Hsinkingua*, the Chinese news agency, quoted *Samasamajist*, newspaper of the Ceylon Section of the Fourth International as follows: "There is no doubt that a decision made by the Chinese Government to cease fire and retreat will cause immense satisfaction to everyone but the imperialists and the reactionaries. Two things become clear from this action of the Chinese Government. First, it proves that the imperialist and reactionary allegation that China tried to commit aggression against India is a lie and that China's object was only to fix her boundary. Second, it is clear that the peaceful proposals now advanced by the Chinese government are to seek a just basis for the settlement."

Washington's Revenge

The U.S. Department of Commerce has announced a 90-day denial of export rights to a Belgian oil company for allegedly shipping petroleum products of U.S. origin to Cuba. The order

prevents the Belgian company for the next three months from participating "directly or indirectly, in any manner or capacity, in any exportation of any commodity or technical data from the U.S., to any foreign destination, including Canada."

March Against Hunger

Banned by the Argentine authorities from organizing a peaceful "march against hunger," small groups of demonstrators in Buenos Aires fought with police, who used tear gas to disperse them, on Dec. 8. The demonstrators retaliated by pelting the cops with stones, pieces of iron pipe and Molotov cocktails.

War on Hunger

In Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanganyika's capital, President Nyerere opened the first session of the new republic's parliament by declaring war on poverty, ignorance and disease. "Anybody who refuses to take part in this war or hinders the efforts of his neighbors is guilty of helping a far more dead-

ly foe than he who helps an armed invader," Nyerere announced.

British Justice

A UPI dispatch of Dec. 9 from Newbury, England, reports that "David Hoggett, 33, who has been paralyzed from the chest down since 1956, goes to prison tomorrow for refusing to pay a \$14 fine." The fine was imposed because he participated in an anti-nuclear demonstration at a U.S. air base.

An Unlikely Story

This column has previously reported the arrest of the editors and publisher of *Hankook Ilbo*, a South Korean newspaper, despite their attempt to placate the military dictatorship by a "voluntary" suspension of publication for three days. Now army prosecutors have sent Han Nam Hee, a reporter for the paper, before a court martial on charges of having falsely reported that Gen. Park Chung Hee, strongman of the ruling military junta, planned to organize a British-type socialist labor party.

... New York Printers' Strike

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is the first time he or she has ever been on strike. It is the union's first strike in 65 years of contractual relations with the New York Publishers' Association.

The strikers and the locked-out printers carried into this great struggle their remarkable tradition of internal democracy and their ability to run their own affairs.

While the pickets may be new at it, probably no strike in New York labor history has been conducted in as careful, efficient and orderly manner. Every striker signs in before his tour of duty and signs out after the completion of his rounds. Shifts on the 24-hour picket lines are according to shifts worked by the men before the walkout. All of this, including days off from picket duty, is determined by their priority.

The *New York Times* chapel (shop) elects its union officers every December and once again, this year, while on strike, held its secret-ballot elections in the headquarters — fittingly enough — of Local 6, Hotel and Club Employees Union, which is just around

the corner from the *Times*. The hotel workers local opened its doors to the strikers for the duration of the strike.

A heartening donation of \$25,000 was received by Big Six from the Chicago Typos who recalled in their telegram a similar donation by New York when Chicago printers struck the *Tribune* for 18 months in 1948.

No one familiar with the New York labor movement and specifically with Big Six has any doubts that the printers would walk the picket line for 18 months and more, if necessary. Since they can't start the presses without the workers, that event will come only when the publishers abandon their present attitude and proceed to bargain.

Why They Went West

The average work week in the U.S. has been shortened by about 31 hours in the last 110 years, according to a report by the National Industrial Conference Board. The report says the work week now averages 39 hours. It was 70 hours in 1852.

Local Directory

- BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 209.
- CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party, 302 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, 565 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.
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THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Bill of Rights for Some?

As part of its observance of Bill of Rights day — Dec. 15 — Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Justice Department was engaged in the first prosecution of a political party in U.S. history. Two days later, the Communist Party was convicted in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. of "criminally" failing to register as a "Communist action" organization under the McCarran Act.

The party was sentenced to pay the maximum fine — \$120,000 — which will be held in abeyance pending the appeal to the Supreme Court.

In refusing to register, the Communist Party has taken the only correct position. All defenders of civil liberties should support it in that stand. For the party to have registered under this bill would aid the administration in persecuting the party. It would have aided the government in further unconstitutional prosecutions of CP members under the Smith Act. A law which requires an organization to participate in the persecution of its own members is clearly unconstitutional and a verdict of guilty under it sets a dangerous precedent.

Such precedents, now being set in the witch-hunt against the Communist Party, are designed for later use against other working-class and social-protest organizations. The Bill of Rights was defiled by the administration this Bill of Rights day. It is up to all those, who value their own right to organize and advocate ideas, to right that wrong. It is in the direct interest of every labor, radical and civil-liberties organization to defend the Communist Party's refusal to register under the McCarran Act.

... Khrushchev's 'Explanation' of His Cuba Line

(Continued from Page 1)

autumn of this year a very alarming situation was created: everything indicated that the United States was preparing to attack the Cuban Republic resorting to its own armed forces.

"Revolutionary Cuba was compelled to take all measures to strengthen her defense. The Soviet Union helped to build up a strong army standing guard over the achievements of the Cuban people. In view of the mounting threat from the United States, the government of Cuba in the summer of this year requested the Soviet government to render further assistance.

"Agreement was reached on a number of new measures, including the stationing of several score Soviet IRBM's in Cuba. These weapons were to be in the hands of Soviet military.

Aims

"What were the aims behind this decision? Naturally, neither we nor our Cuban friends had in mind that this small number of IRBM's sent to Cuba would be used for an attack on the United States or any other country.

"Our aim was only to defend Cuba. We all saw how the American imperialists were sharpening their knives, threatening Cuba with a massed attack. We could not remain impartial observers in the face of this bandit-like policy, which is contrary to all standards

Socialist Fund

The deadline for completion of the \$15,000 Socialist Education Fund was Dec. 15. The final scoreboard of the drive will appear in our next issue.

Meanwhile, contributions are still welcomed and needed. If you are in a position to, send your contribution today to: Socialist Education Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

of relations between states and the United Nations Charter.

"We decided to extend a helping hand to Cuba. We saw a possibility of protecting the freedom-loving people of Cuba by installing rockets there so that the American imperialists, if they really decided to invade, realized that the war which they threatened to start stood at their own borders, so that they realized more realistically the dangers of thermonuclear war.

"Confident"

"Such was the step we took because of the serious aggravation of the situation. We were confident that this step would bring the aggressors to their senses and that they — realizing that Cuba was not defenseless and that American imperialism was not all-powerful — would be compelled to change their plans. Then the need for retaining rockets in Cuba would naturally disappear.

"Indeed, had there been no threat of an invasion and had we had assurances that the United States would not invade Cuba, and would restrain its allies from this; had the United States guided itself by this in its policy, there would have been no need for the stationing of our rockets in Cuba."

Khrushchev's explanation raises more questions than it answers. In view of the openly expressed aggressive designs of the Kennedy administration to crush the Castro regime and destroy the revolution, Cuba was eminently justified in seeking military aid. Under commitments previously made the Soviet Union was obligated to provide such aid.

Why Secretly?

But why was the operation conducted behind a veil of secrecy? Secrecy of a most peculiar kind. There was apparently no attempt to conceal the operation from the prying lenses of American air surveillance which photographed the installations without let or hindrance. No real effort at concealment was made so far as Washington was concerned but the supporters of the Cuban Revolution, the workers of the entire world, the anti-capitalist colonial peo-

... Women Deal a Blow to HUAC

(Continued from Page 1)

WSP "strategy" for the hearings but none of those subpoenaed cooperated with the committee's purposes.

Except for Dagmar Wilson, all the women refused to answer the committee's questions. Most invoked the First and Fifth Amendments. Mrs. Lila Hoffman, of New York, declined to invoke the Fifth, declaring the First Amendment — which guarantees freedom of speech, and assembly — "meets the needs of the peace movement." Mrs. Anna MacKenzie of Westport, Conn., also declined to avail herself of the Fifth. Both may face contempt of Congress citations.

In addition to the WSP activists, two men from New York were subpoenaed. Dr. William Obrinsky of Staten Island invoked the First and Fifth Amendments; and John W. Darr, Jr., of the Greenwich Village Peace Center in New York City, declined to invoke the Fifth but refused to answer questions on grounds of conscience.

The peace activists received widespread support in their stand, as well as considerable favorable publicity. Statements of support were sent by many prominent persons and organizations interested in civil liberties, as well as by most other peace groups. Among the organizations which urged that the hearings be canceled were the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the national Student Peace Union.

Insofar as the Women Strike



for Peace movement has been effective it has been as an action group which — in some places at least — has been able to mount effective demonstrations against specific warlike acts. Among these were the resumption of nuclear tests and the blockade of Cuba. Under HUAC's fire, WSP showed its best side as a broad, militant action organization. Its activists — whatever their political differences — agreed on the central point: No one who wants to fight for peace is excluded. No witch hunt! We are in this to oppose the cold war, not to contribute to it.

They acted on that point, cour-

ageously and without equivocation. And their action stiffened many backbones and rallied behind them a broad unity on civil liberties. It also gained favorable publicity for their stand against war preparations and nuclear testing.

For the first time in many years, the congressional witch hunters came off worse — even in the daily press — than their intended victims. By keeping their eye on their original goal, the Women Strike for Peace participants struck an important blow for civil liberties. It is to be hoped they can do as well against each specific move toward war.

Church Bombed As Kids Ready Xmas Pageant

While 25 children were in the basement rehearsing a Christmas play, a bomb was thrown at a Negro church in Birmingham, Ala., on the evening of Dec. 14.

The bomb exploded in front of the home of James R. Reddis, directly across from the church, injuring his seven-month-old daughter. It caved in the entire front of the house and dug a crater near the street.

The home of the Rev. V. C. Provitt, neighbor of Mr. Reddis and minister of the church, was ripped by the explosion, and his automobile was damaged.

A section of the church roof was ripped loose, and the children practicing the nativity play were showered with broken glass and plaster.

When a large crowd of Negroes gathered at the scene after the explosion, police attempted to disperse them with snarling dogs, and finally herded bystanders into two police wagons.

Until about four months ago, the pastor of this thrice-bombed church was the courageous and determined Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, now secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who has been in the forefront of almost every aspect of the civil-rights struggle in the South.

A pamphlet presenting a program against unemployment

WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

By Fred Halstead
16 pages

10c per copy
13 copies for \$1

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

ples, the devoted friends of Cuba in Latin America, they were kept in ignorance. And they were caught by surprise!

This disregard of the only reliable allies of the Cuban Revolution played into the hands of the imperialist aggressors. Regardless of how many genuflections Khrushchev may make in his speeches and reports to an ikonized and castrated "Leninism," this bureaucratic attitude has more in common with Stalin than with Lenin.

Lenin was a proletarian revolutionist to the marrow of his bone. He taught that the greatest crime against the revolution was to lie to the masses, to deceive them, to fail to tell them the truth and the whole truth to boot — especially when confronted with the threat of a showdown struggle with the capitalist enemy. No matter how bitter and unpalatable that truth might be! That was Lenin's method — he knew no other!

Contrast to Lenin

It is not too difficult to envision how Lenin would have acted under circumstances similar to that confronted by Khrushchev. He would have pilloried the aggressive schemes of the imperialist thugs, publicly supported the requests of the Castro government for military aid and explained why it was necessary, called upon the workers in the advanced capitalist countries and above all in the United States to come to the aid of the embattled Cuban Revolution, and — if all revolutionary measures failed and a retreat became necessary — explained the reasons why it was necessary to retreat, the limits of the retreat, and the need to begin preparations for a subsequent offensive.

The method of Stalin, which only succeeded in disorienting and demoralizing the masses, was to call every defeat a victory and every retreat an advance. In his report, Khrushchev claims a smashing victory for his policy in the Cuban events. Why?

The argument runs as follows: Having become convinced that an invasion of Cuba was imminent, Khrushchev hastened to respond

to Havana's request for military aid with rockets and bombers. Then, when Kennedy reacted with a naval blockade of Cuba and a war-like ultimatum to the Soviet Union, the Kremlin agreed to what Khrushchev labels a compromise.

In exchange for dismantling the missile bases and shipping the rockets and planes out of Cuba and agreeing to on-site inspection, Khrushchev claims to have gotten a firm commitment from Washington that there would be no U.S. invasion of Cuba.

Therefore, says Khrushchev, we achieved what we set out to do in the beginning — prevent a U.S. invasion of Cuba and, as a by-product, stave off the threat of nuclear war. If you will refer to the section of his speech quoted above, Khrushchev explains the installation of rockets in Cuba by stating that:

"We were confident that this step would bring the aggressors to their senses and that they — realizing that Cuba was not defenseless and that American imperialism was not all-powerful — would be compelled to change their plans. Then the need for retaining rockets in Cuba would naturally disappear."

The Catch

It is all presented now as part of a well-thought-out plan. The only catch is — there is no firm pledge by the Kennedy administration not to invade Cuba; the policy in Washington is still openly proclaimed to smash the revolution and destroy the Castro regime; the embargo on Cuba continues; the campaign to throttle the revolutionary movements throughout the world is accelerated.

A few more such Khrushchev "victories" and the anti-capitalist struggle will be crucified! A more reasonable explanation of the Kremlin policy in Cuba is that the whole plan, as outlined by Khrushchev, was designed to engineer a deal with Washington to trade the Cuban missile bases and rockets for concessions in Europe — only it backfired.

Letters From Our Readers

Southern Student on Cuba

Nashville, Tenn.

Thank you for the complementary copies of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. They arrived during the Cuban crisis and while many of other students were sitting around gloomily listening to their transistor radios I was reading up on Cuba. Your material with its socialist viewpoint and humanist values helped give me a perspective and was invaluable in helping me to arrive at a somewhat reasonable analysis of the events of those harrowing days.

After being exposed to some of the actual documents of the Cuban Revolution — especially the moving speeches of Dr. Fidel Castro — I have a deep sense of admiration and respect for the courage and idealism of the Cuban

people. Their revolution is unique, a popular movement permeated by a thirst for social justice and guided by the highest and most universal ideals of scientific humanism yet to be espoused by a nation. If only Uncle Sam would keep his claws out of her back I'm sure it wouldn't take Cuba long to build the kind of community where the fruits of man's labor would flower beyond the expectations of men anywhere. I now have faith in what the Cuban people are trying to do and something within me would die if I heard that my country had again landed with guns and bombs on her peaceful shores.

I distributed the *Militants* and *International Socialist Reviews* among the more open-minded students and faculty members and I must admit that I was surprised to find that some of my fellow students had suddenly become hungry for information about positive alternatives for our economic and political problems. The dreadful shudder of futility that settled over the classrooms during the Cuban crisis seems to have sobered a few of them to the realities of life and death in this nuclear age. For example, I challenged some of my anti-Castro friends to read also. Two of them are now advocating Castroism for all of Latin America! Several others are doing research papers on Cuba — and with a new insight into the problems of the Cuban people.

To my Cuban brothers I would say: "Don't give up on the students of America. Don't forget that we too have been fighting against tremendous odds. Once we understand the forces that determine our destiny we will do what is necessary to bring them under control. Many of us would like to visit you but, as you so well know, there is a solid wall around us. But a growing number of us shout across the waters to you, *Vence-remos!*"

Reader

Bouquet Dep't

Chicago, Ill.

Please renew my subscription for one year. As for suggestions on improving the paper, in my opinion, yours is a very flexible policy. In the event of an important speech by Premier Fidel Castro, President Dorticós or others, you furnish us with the complete text — which is most appreciated and unique.

You strive to cover the most current trouble spots in the world. The frequent letters to the editor cover subjects which might have otherwise not been covered.

As for the suggestion of readers who complain of the lack of articles explaining socialism, I feel that those individuals could order pamphlets on various phases of socialism which are listed at modest prices in *The Militant*. This is too broad a subject to be covered in a newspaper striving to furnish as complete a picture as possible of the world scene.

I feel that as a reader of the *Worker*, *National Guardian*, *Catholic Worker* and *Christian Science Monitor* and other periodicals, I have a fairly rounded knowledge of current events. That is if I don't get behind in my reading!

The best of wishes to all of you for a very merry Xmas and also for a successful 1963!

Nellie De Schaaf

Thought for the Week

"Psychiatrists speculate that the [New York] newspaper strike's psychological impact may not be limited to Christmas spirit. 'The avid sports fan is often heavily involved in the conflict and aggression of the sports world as an outlet for his own anxieties,' comments one New York psychiatrist. 'It probably bothers him now that he can't work out his problems by reading the paper.'" — The Dec. 14 *Wall Street Journal*.

'Competitive Co-Existence'

Detroit, Mich.

Tom Kerry's article on peaceful co-existence came along at the right time. I had just been talking about it with a shopmate who is strongly influenced by the Communist Party.

I can agree that the Communist Party concept of peaceful co-existence — i.e., abandoning the principle of independent, class-struggle politics in favor of supporting capitalist parties — is as phony as a \$3-bill. But how does one answer the question in the form it was raised by Khrushchev during his visit to the U.S.? In the speech where he said something about "We will bury you yet" he gave a concept of co-existence as meaning peaceful "competition" between states with planned economies and capitalist states. Can one conclude that, given a measure of equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the U.S., that their economic system will "outrun" capitalism? Doesn't this have some truth when one considers the influence on world politics exerted by the rising aspirations of the colonial world? Their aspirations tend to "freeze" the equilibrium and to give some credence to this theory.

It is not only workers here who should be considered. This idea is spread in the Soviet Union itself to foster the illusion among the masses of the Soviet workers that everything is for the best. There is some measure of truth in this too. They have seen their country rise from the terrible destruction of World War II to become first in many things. Thanks to a planned economy, production is rolling along at 100 per cent of capacity (or better), the standard of living is rising, there is underemployment, if anything, etc.

How would Kerry answer this argument?

Jim Campbell

[Tom Kerry's Dec. 3 article, "Peaceful Co-Existence — What Is It?" didn't purport to cover all aspects of the question. He plans to deal with the issue raised by Jim Campbell in a coming article. Meanwhile, the views of other readers on this will be welcomed. —EDITOR.]

Bill of Rights for Infants

Los Angeles, Calif.

Random thoughts while nursing Kathy:

I wonder if there is any other country in the world where you would be ashamed to nurse an infant in public. The U.S. with its sex-symbol advertising makes it difficult to feel free to nurse in the park, on the bus, etc.

I do it sometimes but wonder if I could be arrested for indecent exposure. Makes you realize the long drawn out effect of old oppressive prudish New England.

So here we sit in our two-boy four called home. A man's home is his castle, they say. It's a woman's jail.

Unless you have dough. Then baby-sitter, nurse and "mother's helper" (a sickening term) can be bought.

Even so, you stubborn little doll, you won't take it from a bottle. Prefer nature's way. Why should not you. It should be your inalienable right.

A Bill of Rights for Infants:

The right to be born complete — without deformations, the right to good health.

Strange that such simple desires should be denied anyone in any society.

There are few doctors you can trust. And those few are limited by present knowledge and its availability. This capitalist society pays scant attention to medical research.

You can add another fear to the long list already burdening us these days. And that is the fear to give birth.

I'll bet the thalidomide tragedies haven't been the only ones — nor the last — foisted on us by a money-hungry drug industry.

But you will grow up. And then?

The fact that you have to survive wars to become president of the USA is interesting.

It would also help to be born a man — not a woman.

But sister, that will change. Socialism is one generation closer for you.

Even now we could go to Cuba or China and realize all our talents, not just part of them.

Not really. We're neither Cuban or Chinese. We're Yankees.

So in Yankeedom we'll live and die. But if mom and pop have their way it will be in a socialist USA and as Yankee socialists.

M. Rains

Anti-Cuba Policy

San Francisco, Calif.

Selfish business interests in 1960 enforced the Sugar Embargo Act which was the beginning of turning the Cuban Revolution toward the Soviet bloc.

Determined, at the risk of American security, to regain capital investment, and the destruction of hemispheric balance, these same Wall Street and other concerns,

lobbed without regard or concern for the Latin American peoples.

These same self-centered motivations backfired on the entire foreign policy. Cuba, under the dedicated and inspired leadership of Dr. Fidel Castro, developed an economic policy of world-wide proportions. Meanwhile such organizations as the Hearst press dedicated themselves to war-mongering. A continuing build-up of lies, hate and suspicion regarding the Pearl of the Antilles, was promulgated by a narrow, capitalist-oriented press.

Yet the remainder of the world, as evidenced by the recorded votes in the United Nations and the conferences of neutral states, would tend to think otherwise.

R.K.

Havana Diet

Havana, Cuba

We have now moved into our own apartment. What a change! And what heaven to get two pounds of steak (officially it's 1½ pounds, but when there is more, more is distributed). The rice finished on me last night. The ration is six pounds per person per month in two-week quotas and we ate it in eleven days; which means that we eat more rice than all our co-workers, who all say the quota is more than enough.

Potatoes, fruits and vegetables are quite plentiful and we have enough canned milk (six cans per person per month) to have *café con leche* twice a day. (Children get a quart of fresh milk a day.) We also get tinned meat and five eggs a month, chicken about every two weeks, sausage, macaroni, etc. Even two small packages of cream cheese and other cheeses and a little butter.

Anyone who complains of hunger is just plain crazy.

Repatriate

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The American Civil Liberties Union has washed its hands of the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who have been sentenced to death, in peacetime, on the charge of violating the Espionage Act by supplying top-secret information to the Kremlin.

"To believe the ACLU, there is no issue of civil liberties involved in their case at all. According to the ACLU there 'has been 'no denial of due process of law.' It has been unable to find a shred of evidence that the death sentences were motivated by 'political or religious considerations.' . . .

"Yet there are quite a few honest and consistent defenders of civil liberties who feel uneasy about the Rosenberg case. Among them is Arthur Garfield Hays, . . . the general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Mr. Hays is by no means so certain that the Rosenbergs received the fullest measure of constitutional safeguards in their trial . . . 'So far as I know, there is no precedent for a death penalty in a case like this,' he said . . . What precedent can the ACLU cite? . . .

"By washing its hands of the Rosenberg case the ACLU has capitulated shamefully. The enemies of civil rights are out for blood. The ACLU has announced itself willing to permit the witch-hunters to obtain their first blood-lettings — through the civil courts, no more no less!" — Dec. 29, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"But the [New York] *Times* assumes far too much when it attributes the heroic defense put up by the Russian workers and peasants solely to nationalist propaganda. The curve of the revolution has been steadily downwards, it is quite true, under the dictatorship of Stalin.

"But buried under all the bitter ashes, its embers still glow. The masses fight under Stalin, but their aims are not the aims of Stalin. Their aim is to really defeat fascism, the outright brutal dictatorship of decadent capitalism. They have no love for the butcher Stalin . . .

"The very spirit of the defense of the working class state not merely by any caste or clique, but by all the Russian masses, is proof that they fight first of all for the remains of the revolution, secondly for the possibility of retrieving it from the disaster to which Stalin destines it." — Dec. 26, 1942.



That's the job of *The Militant*. Now we must do our job. We have until December 31, to fulfill our quotas. Do your Xmas shopping the easy way: GIVE A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MILITANT!

Scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	Pct.
Bloomington	10	41	410
Detroit	100	157	157
Baltimore	10	14	140
Connecticut	30	41	137
New York	150	183	122
San Diego	30	36	120
Chicago	90	106	118
Boston	25	28	112
Oakland-			
Berkeley	75	84	112
Twin Cities	100	110	110
Milwaukee	25	24	96
St. Louis	10	9	90
Newark	15	12	80
San Francisco	75	42	56
Akron-			
Cleveland	75	26	35
Philadelphia	75	35	47
Los Angeles	150	47	31
Seattle	75	18	24
Denver	50	8	16
General	30	62	207
Total through Dec. 19	1,200	1,084	90%

Not Impartial

The Militant has never claimed to be impartial concerning the struggles of the workers.

We write for and with the workers against their bosses, the colonial countries against the imperialists, the Negroes against the exploitation and inequality imposed upon them by the capitalist class of this country, their fight against the labor bureaucrats who condone discrimination, for civil liberties against the witch-hunters who sit in our Congress, for the oppressed against the oppressors.

How School Books Distort Negro History

By Evelyn Sell

The history text used in Detroit public schools is under fire by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *Our United States*, by Eibling, King and Harlow, doesn't actually tell lies about the Negro people in this country, but by omission and interpretation it gives a distorted and false picture of their history. The NAACP substantiated this in a seven-page indictment of the book.

A committee, appointed by the Board of Education to review the book, found some basis for the objections but could not recommend a better text. It suggested that teachers use supplementary material to help correct the false picture. The NAACP is still complaining and the Board of Education is still investigating the matter. In the meantime, the book is still being used and Superintendent of Schools Brownell states that under Michigan law a textbook can only be changed every five years. Since this book was adopted only one year ago, it will be used at least another four years.

Supports Complaint

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith announced on Dec. 3 that it supported both the complaints of the NAACP against the current history text and the statement by the school superintendent that no better text is available at present. The Jewish organization recently concluded a survey of the 48 most widely used history texts and *not one* was completely satisfactory in its treatment of minority groups and their role in the history of this country.

Sol I. Littman, Michigan director of the ADL, put the blame for this situation on the publishers who try to appease the racial prejudices of the Southern market.

What exactly does the NAACP object to in this textbook? Charles L. Wells, chairman of the Education Committee, charged that the book took a "casual" attitude about the conditions of slavery and did not point out the evils of that system of exploitation. The slaveowners were pictured as playing a "positive, paternalistic role." There was no mention of the facts that Negroes served in the Union Army during the Civil War, that there were Negro Abolitionists or that the Negroes played an important and progressive role during the Reconstruction period.

"The image of the Negro projected by the authors," said Wells, "is that of a dependent, servile

creature who, with the exception of his ability to sing and make music, has contributed only minimally to the development of his country and is incapable of functioning as a responsible person."

As a product of the Detroit public school system, I can say this is an old story. History texts during my day presented the same false picture. As a matter of fact, the history book I used in high school was the only one in the North that was also acceptable in Southern schools. Quite a recommendation!

It wasn't until I became a socialist that I began to read books which presented the truth about the role played by Negroes in the development of this country. I learned that Negroes did not passively accept slavery before the Civil War and they didn't wait to have freedom handed to them at the end of Yankee bayonets during the Civil War.

Slow Downs

For hundreds of years before the Civil War, Negroes used whatever means were available in their struggle against slavery. They participated in work slowdowns. They did "careless" work on purpose. They sabotaged. They mutilated themselves so that they were not desirable as slaves. They committed suicide. In 1807 there was a mass suicide of slaves in Charleston. The first sit-down strike in America was probably staged in 1656 by a slave named Tony. He had run away and been recaptured twice so he just sat and refused to work.

Freed Negroes did not forget their brothers and sisters in bondage. Northern Negroes formed the Free Produce Society in 1830 and pledged to boycott all slave-produced commodities. Negroes who successfully ran away or bought their freedom worked long years to raise money to free their fellows still in the South.

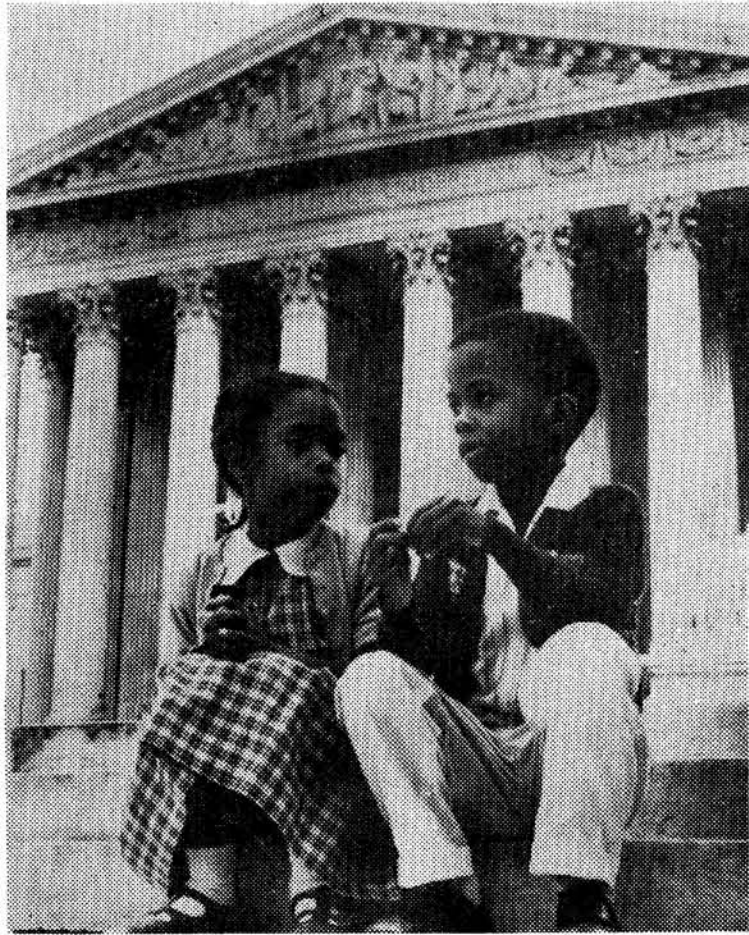
The most dramatic evidence was the slave revolts. At least 250 reported and documented Negro conspiracies and revolts took place in this country before the Civil War. Sometimes only a few slaves were involved, sometimes thousands. In the 10 years before the Civil War, slave revolts increased at such tempo that all-pervading fear made slaveowners more and more barbaric in their punishments.

Double Blow

Between 1830-1860 more than 60,000 slaves fled the South, dealing a double blow against slavery: 1) these runaways represented a tremendous loss of capital for the slaveowners; 2) these fugitives were living refutations of the slaveholders' propaganda. Slaves were not happy, carefree, singing, childish people. They hated the slave system so much they risked all dangers and punishments to run away.

When the Civil War actually began, the struggle of the Negroes for freedom reached new heights. A Negro named Scipio predicted the defeat of the South in 1860. "Cause you see," he explained, "they'll fight the North with the right hand, they'll have to hold the Negro with the left."

Guerrilla warfare by fugitive slaves made it necessary for the South to maintain in the interior troops badly needed to fight Union troops at the front. The governor of Mississippi was informed by citizens of Jackson County that they could spare no more men for the Confederate Army because slave rebellions had



reached the point where "now we have to patrol every night to keep them down."

From President Lincoln down to army officers, official Northern policy was to keep runaway slaves from bearing arms. Union officers not only returned slaves who had run away to join the Union Army, they even allowed slaveholders to enter Union camps to reclaim such fugitives! But the slaves kept pouring into the Union camps and the Northern deserters kept pouring out so fast that the slaves were finally granted full status as soldiers. By the end of the war, Lincoln and others openly declared that if it hadn't been for the more than 200,000 Negro soldiers in the Union Army, the North would have lost the war.

This is only a fraction of what is not taught in our public schools. White Americans surely don't learn these things from the ordinary channels of education and communication, and even black Americans have suffered by hundreds of years of brain-washing. Negro publications today feature articles on the real history of Afro-Americans in an attempt to set the record straight. But it's important for all Americans to get the straight story about the past because it affects what you understand and do about the present.

400 Years

If you don't know that Negroes have been struggling for over 400 years, if you don't know that they have displayed remarkable ingenuity, creativity, courage and persistence in their efforts, then you can hardly be prepared to understand and cope with the facts of life in the civil-rights movement today. Most whites in this country were startled by the recent civil-rights explosion. Their surprise was only evidence of their ignorance — an ignorance taught by the public schools, nurtured by TV and Hollywood and bolstered by the average newspaper or magazine. The truth can set all Americans free. The truth, as revealed by the history of this country, is that you cannot put chains on the bodies or minds of one group of human beings without putting chains on the bodies and minds of other groups.

How does American history prove this? Let's take another look at the years preceding the Civil War. In order to maintain its slave system, to hold down slave rebellions and recapture runaway slaves, the slaveholders and those who profited from slavery had to

attack the civil liberties of all Americans.

Here are some of the things they did. The continuous flow of petitions to the Houses of Congress opposing slavery bothered the slaveowners. To stop such petitions from intruding into the political life of the nation, Southern politicians pushed through a gag-rule in the House of Representatives which stopped all discussion and action on petitions.

The fear of slave revolts led the South to deny freedom of the mails to anti-slavery propaganda. On numerous occasions U.S. Post Offices were forced open, packages of anti-slavery publications seized and burned publicly. Laws were passed in Southern towns empowering citizens to open and read private letters.

Suppression

Anti-slavery newspapers were destroyed and abolitionist editors physically attacked. Each denial of liberty was quickly followed by another. When Elijah Lovejoy, an abolitionist editor, was lynched, his friends attempted to hold a public meeting. They could not rent a hall. This was in the North! Even freedom of assembly was attacked by the needs of the slave system.

A slave who could read was dangerous, so laws were passed abridging academic freedom. Fines and imprisonment awaited any white in the South who taught a slave to read and write. Rigid supervision of the schools was necessary so that children would be taught the proper anti-Negro prejudices by "safe" teachers. Teachers, students and school administrations were kept under control through censorship of texts, screening of teachers, laws, withholding funds and various community reprisals against any liberal ideas taught in school. Fear of economic reprisals and boycotts from the South led Northerners to suppress academic freedom in their schools, too.

But all the restrictive laws and "co-operation" between conservatives weren't enough to hold down the slaves or hold back the growing sentiments for abolition of the slave system. Mob rule was resorted to. This mob rule developed from isolated instances in the South into the order-of-the-day in the 20 years before the Civil War and for years after the war. These "mobs" were not spontaneous groups but carefully organized by the leading citizens in each community who called mass meetings at which men were inflamed with

white chauvinist and anti-Negro feelings. The mob violence was mainly directed towards whites who sympathized with the Negroes' struggle.

Many people had once said, "The issue of slavery has nothing to do with me." Now they realized the truth in such statements as, "What liberty... is there for white people in the South? They share deeply in the bondage of the blacks."

It was the Fugitive Slave Laws that stirred up the most alarm over civil liberties in the North. Involved were such basic issues as personal freedom, freedom of travel, trial by jury and due process of law. It became more and more apparent to — and resented by — the average Northerner that the Southern slaveholders controlled the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the federal government and used them against the whites as well as Negroes. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 required citizens in any part of the country to assist slavecatchers. Another provision was that any Negro, even if he had been born free, could be seized as a fugitive and tried without being able to utter one word in his own defense or offer any proof of his own free status. One week after the law was passed a free Negro in New York was kidnapped and taken South. "If a free Negro can be seized today, a free white man can be taken tomorrow," was the response of Northerners.

Familiar?

The past sounds very modern, doesn't it? The Southern slaveholders manipulated the government in the 1800s and the Dixiecrats have a stranglehold on the Democratic Party and on the political life of this nation today. The exploiters in the North and in the South co-operated in the 1800s and the capitalists in the North and in the South co-operate today in supporting anti-union measures.

The leading citizens of Southern communities organized mobs in the 1800s, and the leading citizens and officials in the South organize White Citizens Councils today. Southern white children were carefully trained to regard Negroes as inferiors and Southern governors vow that the same training shall be maintained in the 20th century. The poor whites and the enslaved Negroes were kept apart by laws and lies so that they could not band together to fight their common enemy — the plantation owner who impoverished the small farmer and enslaved the Negro. Today, the white and black workers are kept apart through laws and lies so that they cannot join forces to overcome their common enemy — the bosses who maintain an open-shop, low-wage area for industry in the South.

It's no accident that the truth about the Negro is not taught in our schools. Once part of the truth is told, other parts start coming out. The true history of the Negro people in America must also include the true history of the capitalist rulers of our country and the way they built the mightiest power in the world on the backs of white and black workers alike.

Add up all the lessons learned from a knowledge of what really happened in the past and the clear conclusion is: In order to gain freedom it is necessary to struggle, to know yourself and your friends and to know your common enemy; it is necessary to join hands, to plan together, to act together, to win together.



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Pioneer American Socialists Are Honored in Los Angeles

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The early days of the Communist movement in this country were vividly recalled at a banquet-meeting here Dec. 15 honoring James P. Cannon on the occasion of the publication of his book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. The gathering was also a salute to Rose Karsner, Cannon's wife and long-time political associate, and to Arne Swabeck, also a pioneer figure of the modern American labor and socialist movement.

Cannon was a founding leader of the Communist Party and then, as one of the original adherents to the international Trotskyist movement, the founder of the Socialist Workers Party. His book, published last month by Lyle Stuart, is a participant's account of the events and issues leading to the formation of the Communist Party, the divisions within the young organization, and the factors behind its eventual abandonment of its original Marxist-Leninist program.

Cannon's book grew out of his answers to questions put to him by historian Theodore Draper, then doing research for *The Roots of American Communism*. "I wrote it all from memory," Cannon said, "but what's there is all true."

Noting that his facts had been checked against other sources by Draper and found accurate, Cannon said he remembered the events of 40 years ago correctly because he remained convinced that they were a good and worthwhile part of his life and he wanted to remember.

Arne Swabeck recalled highlights in the long struggle to build a Marxist party in this country. He described his experiences in the fight against the right-wing "Old Guard" of the Socialist Party and the founding in 1919 of the Communist movement. He told of the first speech he heard by Cannon at a Communist convention



James P. Cannon

in 1921. He said Cannon made a deep impact on the delegates with an appeal that the party abandon the false notion that it must function "underground" and that the delegates recognize the need and prospects for building an effective legal party despite the witch-hunting of the time.

Rose Karsner spoke of the richness of the 50 years that she, Cannon and Swabeck have devoted to the socialist cause. Despite many difficulties, she declared, "we never felt we were sacrificing for the party. On the contrary, we were always conscious of the fact that to give up the party would be a real sacrifice. Through activity in the movement we achieved fulfillment of life and the satisfaction and confidence that we were working not merely for ourselves, but for the entire human race."

Urge Last-Minute Appeals Against Deportation of Polites

Gus Polites has been a U.S. resident for 46 years. The immigration authorities have ordered his deportation to Greece, a country he has not seen since his childhood. The Supreme Court refused to review his case on Nov. 20, so unless President Kennedy can be prevailed upon to stay the deportation order, Polites will be forcibly separated from his American-born wife, children and grandchildren.

It may mean his death. It is doubtful that Polites, who has a

severe heart condition, will be able to survive the shock of separation from his family, the rigors of travel, and the political persecution he will face upon his arrival in Greece.

Gus Polites' U.S. citizenship was canceled in 1953 by a 5-4 decision of the Supreme Court on the ground that he had once been a member of the Communist Party. The Walter-McCarran Act has made it a crime for a naturalized citizen of this country to dissent.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born urges that telegrams and letters be sent immediately to President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, asking them to reconsider and suspend Polites' deportation.

For further information write to American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21 St. Room 205, New York 10, N.Y., or Committee to Regain Citizenship for Gus Polites, 39 Massachusetts, Detroit 3, Mich. Contributions to help Polites' defense should be sent to the Detroit committee.

What makes Gus Polites an "undesirable"? Why does this government, leader of the "free world" by its own estimate, find it necessary to denaturalize and deport him? There is no crime charged against him.

The way to see by Faith is to shut the eye of Reason.

—Benjamin Franklin, Poor Richard, 1758.

Teachers Union Backs Opponent Of Shelter Drill

NEW YORK — In reply to Acting Superintendent of Schools Donovan's refusal to restore the license of James Council, a math teacher fired from Junior High School 44 for refusing to participate in a civil-defense drill, the AFL-CIO United Federation of Teachers announced a Rally to Defend the Bill of Rights by Reinstating James Council.

Council was fired after he refused to participate in a meeting of the JHS 44 faculty called to discuss plans for a "shelter" drill for the students. Miss Suzette Burns, the school's principal, attempted to argue him out of his position. But he explained that he felt that he could not supervise an activity that fosters the futility and deception of shelter-drill exercises and creates the notion that this country is preparing to use nuclear weapons. "My knowledge of the threat of nuclear weapons to the survival of the whole human race commits me in full conscience to oppose all orders handed down by the government authorities which contribute to the illusion that war with nuclear weapons can be justified . . ."

Rammed Through

Without any hearing or even semblance of due process, Council was ordered "not to report for duty . . . to this and any other school." This arbitrary violation of academic freedom and the right of a teacher to hold views opposed to the war drive, is another step toward the complete conformity the war-makers desire. Editor James Wechsler of the *New York Post* wrote on Nov. 5, "One wonders whether there would have been equally quick disposal of the body of a teacher who went around ranting recklessly that the time was long overdue for the dropping of an H-Bomb on Moscow . . ."

The United Federation of Teachers, of which Council is a member, is fighting this case as a defense of academic freedom. UFT President Charles Cogen, Murray Kempton, State Senator Fred Ohrenstein, and Edward Gottlieb, principal of PS 165 in Manhattan and chairman of the Special UFT Committee to Reinstate Council, will speak at the rally Dec. 21 at 8 p.m. at PS 41, 110 W. 11th St., Manhattan.

"I urge all United Federation of Teachers members, in fact, all teachers, to attend our Bill of Rights Rally. Freedom of conscience and the right of the individual to dissent are two of the highest goals of our great profession," Mr. Cogen said.



PROTEST AT NEW YORK CITY HALL against "investigation" of Women Strike for Peace by House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington. This picketline, followed by a rally, was called by Americans for Democratic Action, Student Peace Union, Students for a Democratic Society and Young Peoples Socialist League. See story on HUAC hearing page 1.

Bay Area Tour

7 Meetings Hear Worthy on His Case

By Harold Verb

SAN FRANCISCO — William Worthy, the Afro-American foreign correspondent, who is appealing his recent conviction for having re-entered the U.S. after a trip to Cuba, addressed seven meetings in this area during his visit of Dec. 6-11.

Interest in his views and in his case was also manifested by a number of interviews by news media including NBC-TV and CBS radio. Both KDIA, the largest radio station serving the Negro community, and KPFA-FM carried hour-long interviews with the noted and persecuted journalist.

Worthy addressed a meeting of 700 sponsored by the Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Sharing the platform with him were Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, and Marjorie Morray, secretary of the Bay Area Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. Though unable to be present, actor Sterling Hayden sent the meeting an inspiring message. Addressing his words to Worthy, he stated: "If only a fraction of the people in this land of silent people had your raw courage this would be a far different land: a better land — and the entire world would benefit immeasurably thereby."

The Negro journalist, whose trips to China and Cuba have made him the journalistic storm center of the fight for the right to travel and report freely, had as his subject: "The William Worthy Case: Truth Needs No Passport."

His theme was the reactionary

role being played by the U.S. in a revolutionary world as he traced the course of official American policy during the cold war. Of the recent Cuban crisis, he said that colored people all over the globe had resented Kennedy's "unilateral white action to destroy our world."

Worthy also spoke to a number of student meetings during his six-day stopover in this area. His subject was "The Free Press and the Cold War." He spoke under the following auspices: at San Francisco State College, the Journalism Department and the College Lecture Series; at the University of California, the Afro-American Historical Society, two journalism societies, and the Student Fair Play for Cuba Committee; at San Jose State College, TASC (a student political party); at Oakland, the Afro-American Association.

He told the student audiences that "fraudulent journalism had kept the American people in the dark about the most important event now taking place in the world — the anti-colonial revolution. 'Misleading news,' he said, 'is worse than none at all.'" He emphasized that the United States was on the wrong side of this century's anti-colonial revolutions and warned of the inevitable disaster ahead for the American people unless there were fundamental changes in Washington's foreign policy.

Bus-Depot Blows Injure NAACP Youth Official

NEW YORK — For refusing to buy his Greyhound bus ticket at a Jim Crow window in Pascagoula, Miss., on Nov. 7, Laplois Ashford, recently appointed NAACP youth secretary, was roughed up by the police. He was in Mississippi for the NAACP state meeting.

This week, Ashford was operated on in the Veterans Hospital here for a ruptured ulcer. Doctors said his condition resulted from a blow. The NAACP executive, who was held incommunicado for a day while in jail, is doing well.

The Greyhound Company denied all responsibility for the incident. However, they advised the NAACP that this specific "discriminatory practice has been eliminated and tickets for colored and white are now sold at one window."

When knaves fall out, honest men get their goods; when priests dispute, we come at the truth.

—Benjamin Franklin, Poor Richard, 1758.

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New York SWP Polls 20,000 Votes

The New York State Board of Canvassers on Dec. 12 announced the official count of votes cast in the November election. It gave the following tally for the Socialist Workers Party: Richard Garza and Sylvia Weinstein, candidate for governor and lieutenant governor, 19,698; Allen Taplin, candidate for comptroller, 20,068; Leroy McRae, candidate for attorney general, 21,086; Carl Feingold, candidate for U.S. Senator, 17,440.

The vote of the only other radical party on the New York ballot — the Socialist Labor Party — was as follows: Governor and lieutenant governor — 9,762; comptroller — 9,019; U.S. Senator — 7,786 (the SLP had no candidate for attorney general).