

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

"But," said Mr. Hennessey, "these open-shop min ye menshun say they are f'r unions if properly conducted."

"Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted. No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly any wages and dam few members."

The effort to overthrow the Revolutionary Government of Cuba proceeds on various fronts.

The Cuban counterrevolutionaries have set up a "government in exile" dedicated to restoring the

An Answer to Theodore Draper's Attack

nationalized properties to their former owners. They have projected an early invasion of the island. By way of anticipation, terrorists have been planting bombs indiscriminately in crowded areas of Havana. Others have sought to form guerrilla nuclei of a counterrevolutionary army inside Cuba. In military camps in Florida and Guatemala still other contingents are in training for the landing.

Behind these Benedict Arnolds and mercenary killers stand well-heeled henchmen of former dictator Batista, some giant U.S. corporations and the sinister Central Intelligence Agency that accounts to no one for the enormous funds it disburses. Behind them, too, stand the Democratic and Republican parties. By cutting off sugar imports and imposing a tight economic blockade on the small country, Eisenhower and Congress

sought to starve the Cuban people into submission. Kennedy, since coming into office, has tried to tighten the screws still further.

On another front, the State Department broke off diplomatic relations and pressed all the Latin-American countries to follow suit in a holy anti-Communist crusade against a rebellious people that dared lay profane hands on Wall Street's holdings. American tourists whom the Castro government

sought to attract to the tropical vacationland were scared away by the State Department in order to cut down Cuba's income from tourism, and when a few went anyway to see for themselves what the truth might be, the State Department slammed down its own Iron Curtain, putting Cuba off bounds in violation of the democratic right of American citizens to travel any place they please for pleasure or education.

To this, add the media of mass communication in the United States. The press, radio and TV
(Continued on Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Cuban 'Kidnap Plot' A Three-Way Hoax

By Harry Ring

The men who dream up scare headlines for the capitalist press are convinced that the reading public is a bunch of chumps who will swallow anything. They also believe that filthy gutter journalism is the choicest weapon for kicking at the groin of such an "immoral enemy" as the Cuban government.

They proved it with their phony headlines about the Cuban "plot" to kidnap President Kennedy's child and/or wipe out the whole family.

Credit for the "scoop" goes to Merriman Smith, United Press International's man in Washington. On Friday night, March 31, UPI wires sizzled with the news that federal, state and local officials had swung into action after federal authorities learned that four Cuban spies, who quietly slip in and out of Florida, had discussed the plot with Florida-based accomplices. Alert federal agents, the story went, obtained the license plate numbers of four cars driven by the four Cubans who were reported in the Palm Beach area where the Kennedy family was spending the Easter vacation.

Even the Post

On Saturday, the *New York Post*, which deplores yellow journalism, disclosed that the four Cubans were also planning "to wipe out the Presidential family, perhaps while it was attending church."

The paper cited a "well-informed source" that the four were "pro-Castro and anti-Kennedy." (You see, Cuban spies are definitely un-American.)

The high source also made this startling disclosure: "We think we know who they are and we are keeping them under surveillance." That's a difficult enough trick. Besides, the source explained, while the Cubans had been located in the Palm Beach area, "there isn't enough evidence at this point for an arrest."

Certainly no one would expect American cops to pick up, even on suspicion, four Cuban spies suspected of planning to murder the President and kidnap his daughter.

Furthermore, the source of the *Post*'s dope explained, "They have made no overt moves and you can expect them to be pretty cagey under the circumstances."

While the G-Men may have been outfoxed, they definitely weren't immobilized. UPI confirmed on

Saturday that the four were being kept under "quiet surveillance." It also reported this remarkable fact:

"Should the suspects show up in the proximity of the President or any member of his family tomorrow, United States Secret Service agents and local police are prepared to close in fast and either get the Cubans out of the way or take them into custody."

While authorities were preparing to chase away the kidnap-assassin gang or maybe even pick them up they were being equally solicitous of the presidential family.

Four days after the manhunt began, three-year-old Caroline Kennedy, target of the "plot," was taken on a shopping tour of downtown Palm Beach by a second cousin with a lone Secret Service agent trailing behind. Press accounts explained the service didn't want to upset the child.

On Sunday, the day the planned church assassination didn't come off, the *Miami Herald* broke the news on how the "plot" was uncovered, reporting that Security officials had confirmed the following sequence of events.

At a March 24 Miami meeting of a group called the Puerto Rican Democratic Organization a member said that at the garment factory where he works he heard a Cuban worker say:

"We ought to abduct Caroline
(Continued on Page 4)

Four Thousand Stand in Rain, Ask for Peace

By Hedda Grant

NEW YORK, April 3 — Easter weekend was marked by peace marches. In England the fourth Aldermaston march took place. Demonstrators estimated at 30,000 marched 50 miles to London's Trafalgar Square for a final rally attended by 50,000 in a pelting rain.

Yesterday 50 supporters of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, who had trekked 340 miles from Kittery, Maine, calling for unilateral disarmament, were joined here in New York by several hundred members of various anti-war groups for a series of demonstrations and outdoor meetings.

On Saturday nearly 4,000 persons stood opposite the United Nations in a cold rain to attend a rally against war called by the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee. Some had marched from McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey and at least 1,000 students had joined them at the George Washington Bridge that morning. Many wheeled baby carriages or held small children in their arms.

They listened to messages read from Eleanor Roosevelt and other prominent liberals; voted a resolution against war and for negotiations; and joined in singing anti-war songs led by Pete Seeger, noted folk singer recently convicted for his refusal to submit to the inquisition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

On the route to the United Nations the line was often twelve blocks long. Marchers sang and chanted along the way and one student commented that the response was "best in Harlem . . . people leaned out of their windows to wave and watch."

The Young Socialist Alliance distributed a statement supporting the basic aims of the march but condemning the "witch-hunting policy" of the National SANE Committee and its refusal to allow groups to march under their own banners as is done in the Aldermaston marches in England.

Fight For More Jobs Through Shorter Week Is Gaining in Unions

By Fred Halstead

The movement for a shorter work week with no reduction in take home pay as an answer to automation and chronic unemployment is gaining momentum within the labor movement. The New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, urged last month through its Shorter Work Week Committee that each of its affiliated unions set up a similar committee and organize meetings of its jobless members. The committee said it plans to hold a city-wide mass rally of the unemployed. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president of the council, said a shorter work week is a necessity but cannot be won unless both employed and unemployed workers understand the need for it and demand it.

Deep-sea Contracts

The National Maritime Union has set the shorter work week as its major bargaining goal for new deep-sea contracts to replace those which expire June 15. The NMU demand calls for the basic work week to be reduced from 40 to 30 hours. Seamen would stand the same watches they do now, with hours worked between 30 and 40 hours made up in paid time-off ashore so they could spend more time with their families.

NMU president Joseph Curran has asked President Kennedy to "clarify" his March 15 statement opposing the shorter work week. Curran said bargaining issues should not be limited on the basis of Kennedy's "off hand" remark.

Speaking at the Philadelphia convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the day before Kennedy's statement, AFL-CIO president George Meany called for the 30-hour week to combat unemployment. It was Meany's strongest statement on the subject, going beyond the 35 hour week

at 40 hours pay for which the AFL-CIO Executive Council is on record.

Kennedy's statement was "sharply criticized" at a meeting of United Auto Workers local leaders in Cleveland March 18, according to John Olyarnik, a committeeman from UAW Fisher Body Local 544. Olyarnik's local, which is not in Cleveland, but at West Mifflin near Pittsburgh, Pa., endorsed the Cleveland group's program for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay with retirement at age 60. Olyarnik said 35 per cent of the delegates to the UAW's convention scheduled for April 27-29 are committed to support 30-40-60. "If Reuther doesn't come around to our way of thinking, we'll carry the ball ourselves," he said.

The convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union held in Tucson, Arizona declared March 31 for a 32 hour week at 40 hours pay and pledged to "work for this goal in Congress, in the next negotiations, and anywhere a gain can be made for the shorter work week."

Macy Union Makes Gains

A militant policy in negotiations and a mass demonstration by members of many different unions has resulted in gains for workers at five Macy's department stores in the New York City area. Bargaining with management by Local 1-S of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, had been going badly so the union called a mass demonstration in front of Macy's store in Manhattan, the largest volume-of-sales store in the country.

The New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, backed the Macy Union, urging its affiliates to "mobilize the membership" and "carry their own signs" supporting Macy's workers' contract demands. The demonstration took place March 29, three days before the old contract expired. Seven thousand unionists showed up, loudly shouting that Macy's management would regret it if it forced a strike.

Macy's workers then met and voted authorization to strike. They called another meeting — for the following Monday during working hours — declaring that unless the company upped its offer of a \$2 weekly raise, the meeting would be used to organize picketing. The offer was upped to \$5 and a \$15 to \$20 increase in monthly pensions. The meeting approved the new contract which covers 8,500 workers.

Socialist Files for Mayor of Minneapolis



Carl Feingold

MINNEAPOLIS, March 29 — Carl Feingold, state organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, today announced his candidacy for the office of mayor in the Minneapolis elections.

Feingold said he had delayed filing until the last day because of the possibility that the local union movement might launch an independent labor campaign that would warrant united support by all working people.

"Unfortunately the local union officials did not take the hint when the Democrats refused to support the United Labor Committee's endorsement for mayor," Feingold said. "That surely was the time for labor to break with the Democratic Party and run its own independent ticket in the tradition of the old Farmer-Labor Party. As it now stands labor re-

mains tied to the two-party system, without voice or representation in government."

He added, "No candidate can represent the interests of the workers so long as he remains tied to the Democrats or Republicans, regardless of his union affiliation or labor endorsement. Labor's interests cannot be promoted through the anti-labor and cold-war policies of the two major parties."

Unemployment is the number one issue in the campaign, Feingold said. He will campaign, among other things, for unemployment compensation for the entire layoff period at full wages; a moratorium on all installment debts of the jobless; the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay; and peaceful relations, unrestricted trade and cultural exchange with all nations.

At Brink of War in Laos—Why?

By George Lavan

APRIL 5 — Both the liberal and conservative newspapers of this country have been ringing with plaudits for Kennedy's calm "nerve" in dealing with the Laos crisis. Few of them print precise descriptions of the consequences if Kennedy's hardness of nerve turns out to be foolhardiness.

The plain fact is that Kennedy's ultimatum to send American troops into Laos unless his terms were met by the Soviet leaders has put the U.S. out on the limb of a tree overhanging the chasm of a Korea-type war, at the least, and nuclear world war at the worst.

Optimistic commentators are now predicting that the Laos crisis will end in a deal under whose terms the Soviet leaders will force the Pathet Lao movement to renounce the total victory in their country which is now within their grasp. Pending such a settlement, the fate of the American people sways perilously where Kennedy calmly put it — out on the creaking limb.

Just what are the stakes which the gambler in the White House has pushed into the cold-war poker pot? A "limited, non-nuclear war," which could not be won for years if at all because of (1) the Laotian people's almost total non-support of the U.S. puppet regime in their country; (2) the strength of the Pathet Lao guerrillas; and (3) jungle and mountain terrain which would hold to a minimum the use of tanks and motorized equipment.

But Kennedy's pledge to send troops, preferably under sponsorship of the U.S.-dominated SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), would merely open the pot. What if China and North Vietnam called Kennedy's move by sending in their troops? After all, they border Laos and would not regard the presence of a U.S. army there with indifference. Their armies, though not as motorized as the Pentagon's, are large and, as the Korean war and the Indo-Chinese war of independence proved, very capable fighting forces.

In a lead article entitled "Laos Gamble," the *Wall Street Journal* (March 23) cites U.S. military

leaders' plans for this eventuality: "Their idea is to try to scare off intervention by North Vietnam and China by bringing into the open a threat of bombing such key cities as Hanoi [capital of North Vietnam] and Canton [principal city of Southern China]; if the threat were ignored by the Reds they would be ready to execute it."

"This administration has a strong predilection toward 'conventional' weapons, but officials face up to the idea that their ultimate deterrent to a strenuous continuing spiral of Russian and Chinese intervention would have to be that old threat — use of the H-bomb. And they know that nuclear threats are different now than at the time of Korea — for now the Soviet, too, is a great nuclear power."

On April 2 Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi, speaking in Indonesia, warned that if SEATO sent troops into Laos, "then China will also send troops."

While Americans teeter on the brink to which Kennedy has led them, it might be well to inquire just what are the U.S. interests in Laos for which World War III is being risked.

Geneva Agreement

In 1954 French imperialism could no longer wage its war to keep Indo-China a colony even though Washington was footing the bill and supplying the arms. The Vietnam victory at Dienbienphu was the death blow to the French army and imperialism was lucky to get the settlement it did at the Geneva conference. In this settlement Vietnam, the main section of Indo-China, was cut in half. Two lesser provinces of Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos, were to be neutralized.

In Laos neutralization meant that the country should not join military pacts or become a base for either side in the cold war and the northern districts controlled and governed by the Pathet Lao (Free Laos) movement were to be integrated with the rest of the country.

An International Control Commission, created by the Geneva pact and consisting of representatives of Canada, India and Poland was to reside in Laos to see that the neutralization terms were observed.

First Premier of Laos was Souvanna Phouma, who is now in the news as the man Washington will probably have to accept as premiere if the current Laos crisis is successfully compromised.

In the summer of 1957 Premier Phouma reached an agreement with the Pathet Lao for unification of the northern provinces with the rest of Laos. By-elections would be held to allow for representation in parliament and the Pathet Lao army of 6,000 would be disbanded except for two battalions (1,500) which would be incorporated into the Laotian army without discrimination.

U.S. Strategy

Early in 1958 Premier Phouma came to the U.S., which had elbowed out the French as the main

imperialist influence in Laos, in a vain attempt to lessen opposition to his unification plan. But the Pentagon and State Department saw Laos' border with China and North Vietnam as the military gateway to those countries when war came. They wanted Laos militarized and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao suppressed.

The by-elections in May 1958 saw the supporters of Prince Souphanouvong, Pathet Lao leader, win 13 out of 21 seats to be filled. Since Souphanouvong already had eight supporters in parliament, the Pathet Lao was now within nine seats of a clear majority of the 59-seat parliament. And general elections were scheduled for the next year.

Washington now redoubled its efforts. Huge amounts of "aid" money was sent in to bribe politicians and army officers. Big arms shipments and military missions disguised as civilians were rushed to Laos. Premier Phouma tried to win U.S. support by impolitely telling the International Control Commission that its services were no longer desired. But the U.S. didn't alter its plans and he was replaced as premier by anti-Communist Phui Sananikone.

He proclaimed an emergency, canceled the general elections scheduled for 1959, put Prince Souphanouvong and other Pathet Lao leaders in prison and ordered the disarming and arrest of the Pathet Lao battalions in the Laotian army. One battalion escaped into the jungle and, fighting its pursuers, began the guerrilla warfare that has reached its present climax.

'Practically Nobody'

In 1960 the U.S. stooge government of Laos finally held the postponed general elections. As the *Encyclopedia Britannica* Book of the Year (1961) succinctly puts it: "The elections held on April 24 and May 8 were fraudulent, all 59 seats going to the right-wing candidates." But what U.S. officials, who saw the true count, learned was that practically nobody had voted for the government. Even in the army the vote was almost 50 per cent for the Pathet Lao.

This disgust of even the troops for the corrupt military regime broke into the open in August when the army's pride, the paratroops, led by U.S.-trained Captain Kong Le, revolted. The King of Laos appointed neutralist Souvanna Phouma premier again and the parliament gave him a unanimous vote of confidence. But backed by the U.S. and the dictator of Thailand, the right-wing militarists drove the new government from Vientiane, the capital. Kong Le then made a united front with the Pathet Lao. Receiving supplies from the Soviet bloc, they have pushed forward in a military campaign which bids to sweep the country.

It is to stop them, the only movement in Laos that has popular backing, that Kennedy is willing to send American boys to fight and die on the borders of China and even to start a nuclear war.

Jim-Crow Aircraft Plant Gets Billion Dollar Order

The Kennedy administration now has a chance to show just how serious is its promise to end anti-Negro bias in employment by corporations holding government contracts.

That promise was made by Kennedy on March 6, when he issued an executive order setting up the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Kennedy named Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson as chairman of the committee and gave it the power to cancel government contracts when contractors violate the order.

One short week later, on March 13, the government awarded a billion-dollar contract to the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. at its plant in Marietta, Ga.

Jim Crow Plant

This aircraft plant, according to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "is operated on a rigid racially segregated basis . . . in direct contravention to the letter and spirit of the President's executive order."

The Marietta plant has all-Negro work sections, and many categories of employment that are

closed to Negro applicants. The plant has separate lines of progression for Negro workers, so that they are limited in promotions. Cafeterias and rest rooms are racially segregated. There are even separate time clocks for white and Negro employees, and different colored time cards for each race.

NAACP Letter

In a letter to Johnson, the NAACP urged an immediate re-examination of the Lockheed contract, which runs for three-quarters of the Kennedy administration's four-year term of office. "If the Lockheed Corp. is not able to prove that it is now hiring and operating in a racially non-discriminatory manner, and if it refuses to alter its present policies so as to conform to the specifications of the executive order, the contract should be withdrawn," the NAACP said.

Will Lockheed alter its policies in Marietta? Will the administration cancel the contract if it doesn't? The answers are more likely to be Yes if the Negro and labor movements will turn the spotlight on Marietta and the pressure on the Kennedy administration, and keep them there for the duration.

Readers Tell Why They Give To Socialist Fund Campaign

By Marvel Scholl

Fund Drive Director

We thank J.K. of Springfield, Vt., this week for a \$3 contribution and this letter: "We certainly are interested and happy to know that you people are exposing the lies of the capitalist press. Enclosed is a small contribution because our big family must eat too."

Another reader, M.A. of Los Angeles, sent in a valuable contribution in the form of an article on the hookworm problem in Cuba and Latin America. He entitled it "I Didn't Know About the Worms." Space limitations do not permit us to print it entirely, much as we'd like to.

M.A. begins: "You can count on me for a big donation to the Fund Drive. It will be bigger than last time and even more than I can afford." Telling about his support of the Cuban revolution, he adds: "But I didn't know about the worms."

The hookworm, a very common affliction among people in underdeveloped countries, is spread from one human to another through the bare feet of people too poor to buy shoes. The parasite eats its way through bare feet into the blood stream, into the stomach and intestines where it feasts on whatever nutritionally

valuable foodstuff is contained in the low-calory, low-protein and vitamin diet of these people. M.A. is angry about these worms and ends his story thus: "The Cuban people are working hard now to put shoes on their children. I'm pretty lucky . . . I've had shoes all my life. I'm going to put them on now and go out and raise some money for the Fund Drive. I'm angry now; I know about the worms."

With only three weeks left in the campaign, I remind everyone that our goal is:

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Weekly Calendar

CLEVELAND

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author and lecturer, reports on her recent visit to Eastern Europe. Mon., April 17, 8 p.m. Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

DETROIT

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein on *The Negro in American Literature*. Fri., April 14, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Scott Nearing, veteran socialist writer and lecturer, just returned from Latin America, speaks on *Unrest in the Caribbean*. Wed., April 12, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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. Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0893. 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. Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-8938. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 381. Newark, New Jersey.

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581. San Diego 12, Calif.

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

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Detroit	625	425	68
Chicago	800	525	66
Cleveland	500	318	64
Connecticut	150	95	63
San Francisco	500	315	63
New York	4,400	2,804	64
Twin Cities	1,200	677	56
St. Louis	90	48	53
Los Angeles	5,000	2,492	50
Pittsburgh	10	5	50
Milwaukee	300	142	47
San Diego	280	115	41
Seattle	500	194	39
Berkeley-Oakland	500	185	37
Philadelphia	300	106	35
Denver	85	30	35
Newark	150	49	33
Baltimore	10	2	20
General		50	
Totals through April 4	\$16,020	\$9,137	57%

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Monday, April 10, 1961

Kennedy's Extra \$2 Billion

Those who entertained hopes that Kennedy's election would bring the beginning of disarmament or, at the very least, a slowdown in the arms race, should be sorely disillusioned by the March 28 budget message.

In it Kennedy demanded that Congress increase the gargantuan \$43,800,000,000 in arms spending proposed by Eisenhower for fiscal year 1962 (which begins this July 1) by an additional \$2 billion. The increase is, incidentally, twice the amount of the administration's principal anti-recession measure — extension of unemployment compensation benefits. Kennedy's increase will bring the 1962 arms outlay well above the highest figure reached during the Korean war.

The president's message included the arguments worn threadbare by Truman and Eisenhower before him: more arms mean more peace, the increased expenditure is economical in the long run. The message was well received by Congress, as is to be expected of any proposal for increased armaments orders. Congress remembers to be thrifty only when social welfare or minimum-wage legislation is before it.

Most of Kennedy's extra \$2 billion will be used for still more rocket-launching, nuclear submarines. These Polaris subs are the atom-warriors' pet weapons. Able to remain submerged for months and difficult to detect, they are considered the "last word" in nuclear warfare. The Pentagon theory is that even if everybody in the U.S. is killed in a nuclear holocaust this country can still win the war posthumously by rocket fire from these submerged vessels.

The Twenty Third Amendment

After 160 years the citizens of Washington, D.C., have won the status of second-class citizens. With the ratification of the 23rd Amendment to the Constitution by the necessary two-thirds majority of the states, the District of Columbia will now be permitted to vote in presidential elections.

However, Washington remains without representation in Congress and is still denied local self-rule. The District continues to be run by a Dixiecrat-dominated Congressional committee notorious for its contemptuousness towards the needs of the population.

Voting rights for the residents of the nation's capital have long been opposed by the Southern racist bloc in Congress because of the city's large Negro population. On the basis of the last census it was reported that 54 per cent of Washington's population is now Negro — the only major city in the country with such a majority.

Thus full voting rights for the District of Columbia could have meant another Negro Congressman and Negro representation in an elected municipal government.

The Southern Congressmen didn't knock themselves out trying to stop the 23rd Amendment which will give D.C. residents three electors in presidential elections and nothing more. They go on the assumption that the "choices" for president offered by the two major parties will be so safe for the Jim Crow South that it won't matter much which way D.C. Negroes vote.

But the Dixiecrats will carry on a last-ditch fight against full voting rights so the people of Washington will have to press with redoubled energy for representation in Congress and self-rule.

The Molina Frame Up

As this is being written a lily-white New York jury is preparing to hand down a verdict against Francisco Molina, a Cuban national charged with murder. If he is convicted it will be a successful frame up inspired by Washington's lynch campaign against the Cuban revolution.

The facts of the case are shocking. Molina was one of a group of pro-Castro Cubans in a New York restaurant Sept. 21 when a gang of anti-Castroites came in and started a fracas that ended with the accidental shooting of a nine-year-old Venezuelan girl. Easily identifiable because of an amputated hand, Molina was quickly branded by the police as the killer while the State Department and daily press opened a vicious campaign against him and the Cuban government.

The most startling disclosure at the trial came when the prosecutor said an unnamed federal agency had told him that prosecution witnesses should not be subjected to questions about their anti-Castro activity in the Florida area.

That wasn't the only loaded aspect of the trial. With an obvious eye to getting a "hanging" jury, the prosecution disqualified eight prospective Negro jurors and two Puerto Ricans.

The prosecution case against Molina was equally crude. During cross examination one witness admitted that she had just been convicted on a narcotics charge but that the District Attorney had told her not to worry about the sentence. Another admitted she had been threatened with deportation if she didn't testify against Molina.

The State of New York and the federal government want Molina's life for the "crime" of supporting his country's revolution against Wall Street.

... In Defense of the Cuban Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

payola boys and quiz geniuses are doing their utmost to prepare public opinion for the planned conversion of Cuba into another Guatemala or Korea, campaigning with ferocious intensity against the Castro government, picturing it as having gone "Communist," the more lurid ones talking darkly about Russian "spies" and Russian "rocket bases" a few miles off the coast of Florida.

In a key area, however, public opinion is far from that state of brain-washed stupor displayed at the opening of the Korean conflict. In fact, well-known figures, who have taken the trouble to make first-hand investigations, have spoken up forcefully in behalf of the beleaguered Cuban people and against Washington's reactionary designs. Their reports have had great impact, particularly among intellectuals. This has given the counterrevolutionary propagandists a problem somewhat beyond their customary skills. How do you win, or at least neutralize, thoughtful persons inclined to support the Cuban side because of facts they have read in *Listen, Yankee!* or similar sources? The matter is important because such people can articulate and lead public opposition to an armed adventure in the Caribbean.

This is where Theodore Draper comes in. As the author of *The Roots of American Communism* and *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, the first two volumes of a three-volume history of the American Communist party, Draper has won a reputation for scrupulous concern for facts and for expert knowledge of the communist movement. His reputation for factual accuracy in the two published volumes is solidly based, whatever the final verdict may be on the correspondence between his general opinions and the truth. Draper has now entered the political struggle over Cuba, bringing to bear the reputation he earned as a historian. His contention is that Castro "betrayed" the Cuban revolution and is taking Cuba down the road to totalitarianism. This is a well-gnawed theme in the Cuban counterrevolutionary press; Eisenhower philosophized on it a bit between rounds of golf; and the States Department has adopted it as the official line for its propaganda machine. Draper offers it in a highly sophisticated version aimed at providing intellectuals with a perfect rationalization for abandoning any sympathy for the Castro regime.

The article, *Castro's Cuba — A Revolution Betrayed?*, appeared as the main feature in the March issue of *Encounter*, a British monthly and has now been reprinted in New York by the social-democratic *New Leader* as a supplement in pamphlet form to its March 27 issue. The pamphlet is advertised at 25 cents a copy, \$20 for 100, or \$175 for 1,000 copies, an attractive offer, it must be admitted, in case you feel strongly about that man in Havana, have doubt to back your feelings, and want to help spread the anti-Castro gospel.

As his immediate targets, Draper takes the "myth makers"; namely, authors of favorable reports on the Cuban revolution, singling out for special attention Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, C. Wright Mills, Samuel Shapiro, Paul Johnson, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. They get rough treatment.

For example, Draper admits that C. Wright Mills of Columbia University, who wrote *Listen, Yankee!*, gives an authentic account of the way the Cuban leaders talk, which was what Mills set out to do. ("Sometimes the words in the book," says Draper, "were so close to those I had heard that I felt I knew the name of the source.") Yet Draper insists that a reader has "a right to expect" that a "sociologist would at least be able to give a reasonably ac-

curate report of the social structure of the country" and he condemns Mills' effort: "The book as a whole is just as honest and dishonest as any unrelieved propaganda is likely to be, and if Mills merely sought to be a front man for the Castro propaganda machine, he has succeeded brilliantly. But is that all that should be expected of C. Wright Mills?"

To avoid having his own article appear as unrelieved propaganda, Draper also attacks *Red Star Over Cuba*, a book by Nathaniel Weyl that makes Castro out to have been "a trusted Soviet agent" since 1948. An audience that knows anything at all about Cuba will reject that out of hand as a product of the Batista propaganda machine. Draper, naturally, is severe with Weyl.

Draper combs the writings of his targets for inconsistencies, or seeming inconsistencies, inaccuracies and muddled theory. Not unexpectedly, he succeeds well in this enterprise, particularly in finding inconsistencies of interpretation and theoretical blunders among the various authors. The Cuban reality is complex; the reporters are variegated in background and outlook and ill-equipped in revolutionary theory. Draper finds Huberman and Sweezy, the editors of *Monthly Review*, especially vulnerable. He makes much, for instance, of such things as their conclusion from a "personal incident" — an interview with a few peasants through a translator — that the Cuban peasants are not "anxious to own their own plots of land" and "didn't understand the question at all until it had been repeatedly rephrased and explained." Draper acidly observes that "the Cuban peasants are truly unique, and no one apparently ever understood them before — certainly not Fidel Castro who put so much emphasis on giving them their own land in 1953 and after."

Yet this campaign in behalf of accuracy and consistency and theoretical clarity is not exactly free from tendentiousness. In the case of Cuba — *Anatomy of a Revolution*, for example, our historian, despite his reputation for objectivity, somehow manages to avoid challenging the main point made by Huberman and Sweezy — that the Cuban revolution is doing well economically and has already brought impressive benefits to the poorest layers of workers and peasants. Similarly he appears to have concluded that for a politically minded research expert, silence is the best policy to adopt toward the critical opinion expressed by Huberman and Sweezy of the Cuban Communist party. Discussion of that theme might conflict with picturing the CP as a monolithic juggernaut rolling toward totalitarian power in Cuba.

Rigorous as he is in the standards he imposes on the theses of others, Draper is a bit more relaxed when it comes to his own. One of his central contentions is that Castro is a "Pied Piper" bent on leading Cuba into the camp of Stalinism. The conclusion really follows from preconceptions Draper brings to his analysis, but he also tries to find facts to support it. Here is one which he presents like a prosecuting attorney as a key piece of evidence in his case:

"Events have also dealt unkindly with Jean-Paul Sartre's clairvoyance. In the introduction (dated September 12, 1960) to the Brazilian edition of his series of articles on Cuba, he wrote: 'No, if Cuba desires to separate from the Western bloc, it is not through the crazy ambition of linking itself to the Eastern bloc.' He also communicated his certainty that 'its objective is not to strengthen one bloc to the detriment of the other.' On December 10, Major Guevara was 'crazy' enough to announce publicly in Moscow: 'We wholeheartedly support the statement adopted by this conference [of 81 Communist parties]. It would be

hard to imagine any way of linking Cuba more closely to the Eastern bloc or of strengthening that bloc to the detriment of the West than the wholehearted support of this statement." (p. 23)

Guevara was in Moscow in December as head of a mission seeking trade relations that could prove decisive in preventing American imperialism from strangling the Cuban economy. He would have been a strange human and still stranger diplomat not to have felt gratitude for the timely aid the Soviet bloc countries granted Cuba. So that the reader can judge for himself how "crazy" Guevara actually was in expressing his gratitude, here is the relevant section of a report he made over the air on his return:

"Mr. Gregorio Ortega: Major, in your trip through the socialist countries you happened to be at the meeting of eighty-one Communist and workers' parties. They issued a declaration and an appeal. I understand that you made some statements about this historic meeting which reached us only in part over the cables.

"What can you tell us about this declaration and this appeal?"

"Dr. Guevara: Well, the truth is that I didn't speak about the declaration, but only supported with enthusiasm the part in which Cuba was mentioned and cited as a shining example for the Americas. And, in addition, the fact that it was mentioned four times in this declaration, of the capital importance which an event of this character has: the meeting of the Communist countries of the whole world.

"For us, really, it was an important happening, a thing worthy of pride, to see the importance which was given to the Cuban Revolution, which is considered one of the most outstanding phenomena of the world today and perhaps, after the Chinese Revolution, the most important event that has occurred in the world in the struggle against the imperialist powers.

"There was simply a gathering at the Hall of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, a traditional hall where foreign visitors can speak. We didn't develop anything but the theme as to why, in our estimation, Cuba was the example for the Americas . . .

"We said there at that time that Cuba was an example because of the form in which it had developed its struggle and because it had interpreted the situation perfectly when the time came to bring forth the Revolution. We believe that there are three fundamental contributions which the Cuban Revolution has already made, things that are not new, which have taken place in other countries, too, but which we put into practice for the first time in the Americas and which we rediscovered, not having had an exact, theoretical understanding of what others had contributed."

The "three fundamental contributions," according to Guevara, are the creation of an "insurrectional focus," the basing of revolutions in Latin America "fundamentally on the peasant classes," and, on coming to power, the destruction of the armed forces constructed by the ruling classes.

Did Guevara do wrong in Moscow to speak of the Cuban revolutionary experience along such lines and to expound its significance, as he saw it, for other countries, particularly those in Latin America? As a politician of completely different stripe, Draper is, of course, entitled to take a dim view of the pride Guevara displayed in Moscow over the Cuban Revolution, but doesn't a reader have a right to expect at least a reasonably accurate report of what the representative of the Cuban government said in Moscow?

* *Obra Revolucionaria*, January 6, 1961, p. 25.
(Next week: Democracy in Cuba)

Pie — But Not in the Sky

By Joyce Cowley

At this time of the year, we are all thinking about taxes. If you are struggling with questions like whether or not the child care which made it possible for you to work is a deductible business expense, and want some diversion, I recommend the Prentice-Hall *Executive's Tax Report*. I think it is one of the most fascinating items in my boss's mail, because the problems discussed are so different from my own. For example, the March 20 report starts out:

"Whether or not you've considered selling your business, it may pay you to take a look at a plan some sophisticated taxpayers have used to: (1) double the asking price; (2) retain their lucrative managerial positions and, in effect, control of the business, and (3) walk off with capital gain on the whole deal."

It gives a specific example to convince the executive, who may be as puzzled as I am, about how he can pull off such an extraordinary sale. If his corporation earns \$125,000 yearly, he can sell his business for \$655,000, although the price on the open market would be only \$327,000. How does he find a customer who is willing

to pay double? That's easy, he sells to a church!

"The church can get into the deal by borrowing \$100,000 — putting up your company's stock as collateral. As soon as the transaction is closed, the church liquidates the corporation, pays off the loan — and is in business [Prentice-Hall italics]. Since it knows nothing about running a business, it hires you to manage and operate the company — at a fair salary, of course."

"Now, let's see what happens. Assuming business remains the same, the church will be taking down \$125,000 a year — before taxes. And since it pays no taxes, the \$125,000 is clear. It makes its annual payment of \$100,000 to you and, on an actual zero investment, winds up with \$25,000 a year it didn't have before. At the end of 5½ years, it's home free. The church can pocket the entire \$125,000 yearly."

"You're drawing down a salary and running the business — just as you did before. But, you're also getting 80% of the business' earnings for 5½ years. More important, you're not drawing this money down as dividends, taxable as ordinary income, but as install-

ments of the purchase price, taxable as capital gains."

"Instead of charging interest on the unpaid balance, you'll probably be able to adjust the selling price upward, in lieu of interest. Remember, interest to you would be ordinary income. The church won't mind not having the interest deduction — it doesn't pay taxes anyway."

Executive's Tax Report concludes enthusiastically, "So, all in all, this looks like the rare case where there are no losers — everybody wins."

Then, under the heading "Other Considerations," the report adds as an afterthought:

"You probably have a few questions."

That's right, I have a question. I know that someone has to pay for major government expenditures like missile bases and the H-bomb, as well as minor items on the budget such as schools. Since a businessman and a church can work things out so that neither one of them pays, this explains why the government takes such a big chunk out of the average workers paycheck, yours and mine.

My question is — What do we win?

Scene: The White House

Somebody, applying for a job as the MILITANT's man in Washington, sent us the following account of a recent scene in the White House. He said the persons involved are Arthur, the well-known liberal ghost writer who recently returned from a tour of Latin America, and his boss. They seem to be discussing a pamphlet on Cuba which they are busy fixing up so it can be published by the State Department. The MILITANT cannot assume responsibility for the accuracy of this report.—Editor.

Boss: Darned clever, Arthur. The CIA organizes its boys to assassinate Castro, they kill his doctor and just miss out on getting Guevara. Then we blast them for failing to preserve civil liberties.

Arthur: Shucks, that's nothing. Look at this section where we tell how delighted we were when the

revolution overthrew our man Batista. Ike and his writers tried saying that too, but they never could say it more than half-heartedly. It takes a liberal to say something like that with sincerity.

Boss: I know, Arthur, and you'll always have my gratitude. And United Fruit's too. But there are still a couple of passages I'm not sure about. For instance, do we have to keep repeating that we favor revolutions in the Americas — I mean, do we have to say it quite so many times? After all, that includes the United States too.

Arthur: Hm, I think I get your point. No use getting the John Birch Society after us. But on the other hand, I can tell you with certainty after my tour that if we don't make that point repeatedly the whole pamphlet will be worthless in Latin America. And it is intended primarily for Latin-

American consumption, isn't it?

Boss: Yes, but I still think we can cut out a couple of the boasts about how revolutionary we are, without any real damage to the whole. I value your ability to write sincerely, but sometimes you do go overboard and lay it on a little too thick.

Arthur (hurt, on the verge of tears): All right, boss, I'll cut down on that if you'll reconsider and let me put in that quotation from I. F. Stone. That would be a real feather in our cap...

Boss: All right, all right, if it means so much to you. (Whistle blows.) Oh, it's time for touch football already. Yes, you've got to play too. And while we're out there I want you to consider another point very carefully. Do you think it's really wise, so soon after our own election campaign, for us to be accusing Castro of not keeping his promises?

Letters from Our Readers

'Shock of Recognition'

Colorado Springs, Colo.

The interpretive pieces by Halstead, Lavan, Thayer and Martin in the March 13 issue are the sort of thing that makes the paper valuable. (I am speaking as a newspaper man.)

The *Militant* should continuously strive to background the daily news, providing the "shock of recognition," the clear-eyed perspective which leaves the reader saying, "I felt something was wrong; now I know."

Sam Gadd

Picking Cotton in Cuba

Havana, Cuba

Many schools are sending buses on Saturdays and Sundays to help harvest our new cotton crop. Imagine what a level of development we are already at, that now we don't have enough people to work in the fields! The campesinos have a lot of work in the cooperatives and other work in the country so there are not enough workers for the cotton.

Last Sunday we went to a cooperative where there were about 30 cabellerias [about 900 acres] of cotton. Another group went to Matanzas where there are about 40 cabellerias.

It is marvelous to see the rows of cotton, a Mexican variety which matures quickly. They are something we have never seen in our country before and how easily it is harvested! This alone gives an idea of how neglected our economy was. And there are many thousands of agricultural items alone like this.

Today Fidel talked about the priests. The way they abused the poor is terrible but now that abuse is over. They are very furious but if they continue they are going to have to go back to Spain.

We have composed a limerick which says, "Fidel, let the priests cut cane, and if they don't want to cut it, let them go to Spain." The shameless priests don't believe in anything. If they really were for the poor, that is with God, they would be with the poor and the humble for whom Christ died. They have laughed and continue laughing at the true Christian doctrine, but the hour is here of great truths. Some day this false Christianity that they display will end.

Your paper brings many interesting things. I show it to various good revolutionists.

O.F.

Cease-Fire in Laos

Cleveland, Ohio

There is a report that Nehru is pressuring Moscow to join London in an appeal for a cease-fire in Laos.

The move for a cease-fire is too late. The leftists in Laos already have made too many gains. In fact, the cease-fire move is meant to forestall further leftist advances. It is an admission of rightist defeat. Were the rightists certain of victory there would be no cease-fire demand.

The rightists in Laos have the support of Western whites. This will only intensify the resistance of the Laotian people who are opposed to white domination.

Joseph Manlet

Castro Hit Nail on Head

Deer Wood, Minn.

Enclosed you will find \$3 for a one-year subscription to the *Militant*.

I would like to see the article in the March 6 issue, *Castro Challenges Kennedy on Unemployment Problem*, in pamphlet form. What would be the cost? Castro certainly hit the nail on the head in that one.

It's good to be alive in this most interesting time of world history. We are in the transition period. The workers are powerful in numbers and it's time they woke up.

F.E.

Unemployed Newspaper

New York, N. Y.

I see from your April 3 issue that an unemployed paper is being published in Detroit called *Voice of the Unemployed*. Can you tell me the address and cost?

H.C.

[*Voice of the Unemployed* is a hard-hitting four-page tabloid published by the Greater Detroit UAW Unemployed Coordinating Committee, a rank-and-file group whose address is P.O. Box 698, Detroit 6, Mich. It does not list any price, but since its publication is financed by individual contributions rather than a union treasury, donations would probably be appreciated.—Editor.]

Why Lumumba Was Killed

Santa Rosa, Calif.

The UN and Hammarskjöld are responsible for the murder of Lumumba. It was a stratagem to allow the UN to set up Kasavubu and Mobutu as rulers without the Congolese people having anything to say.

E. L.

It Was Reported in the Press

Keeping a Sense of Proportion — This country would be "fragmented" by a massive nuclear attack with millions of casualties and its productive capacity crippled, says Civil Defense official Edward Phelps. But against such an eventuality, he adds, the government is mapping plans to keep the banking and monetary systems going. Otherwise, reports the March 29 *New York Times*, "the country's banking and monetary systems would become insolvent."

Professional Esteem — "President Kennedy, who had misgivings over his appointment of Adlai Stevenson to the United Nations... is now delighted with Stevenson's performance. Commenting privately on his deftness and toughness in handling the Russians, Kennedy exclaimed: 'That Stevenson has the nerve of a burglar!'" — From Drew Pearson's *Washington Merry-Go-Round*.

Power of Positive Thought — "Ideally there should be no unemployed. But we must accept the fact that there is — and... should remember that while eight per cent are unemployed 92 per cent are employed." — Advertising agency president Ernest A. Jones.

Message — Commenting on Washington's plans for counter-revolution in Cuba, I. F. Stone's

Weekly offers this thought: "Guerillas who offer peasants aid against a hated landlord or village usurer are one thing. But can you see a U.S. guerrilla knocking on a peasant's door late at night, 'Give me water; hide me; I bring a message from United Fruit Company; we've come to take back your land.'?"

Love at First Sight — Senator Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee is smitten with the John Birch Society, a well-heeled semi-secret outfit which recently said ex-President Eisenhower takes orders from his brother Milton who is his superior in the Communist party. In response to queries, a form letter from the Eastland committee says that while it does not endorse any organization "officially" it finds the John Birch Society "a patriotic organization."

Separate but Equal? — The Census Bureau reports that "non-white" families, 90 per cent of them Negro, now occupy 5,153,000 housing units. Of these, census takers found only 2,217,000 units in sound condition. The bureau estimates that half the non-white tenants and one third the non-white homeowners live in substandard units lacking private toilets, baths or hot water or in dilapidated condition.

Inside Dope — Standard & Poor,

Wall Street investment advisers, offered this tip in newspaper ads: "Some companies with low labor costs can make twice the profit at 50 per cent of production than companies with higher labor costs can make at 100 per cent of capacity. These, we believe, are the companies of tomorrow — the companies to invest in now."

Malnutrition — While visiting here last month, Canadian columnist Elmore Philpott commented in the Vancouver *Sun* on U. S. press coverage of Cuba. He said, "it seems to be that the people of this mighty republic are suffering from mass malnutrition in the field of information to quite as dangerous a degree as they are also often suffering from improper diet in a land which is surfeited with excess food produce."

'Progressive' Michigan — The administration in Michigan is touted as an example of the progress that can be made by labor through supporting the Democrats. Yet Michigan is one of the 17 states in the union without a minimum wage law. Urging the legislature to adopt such a law, United Auto Workers secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 Michigan workers get less than \$1 an hour.

... Cuban 'Kidnap Plot'

(Continued from Page 1)

Kennedy to force the U.S. to stop interfering with Cuba's government."

The next day leaders of the organization took the news to Wendell Rollason, director of the Inter-American Affairs Commission.

Rollason turned the information over to the State Department's "security officer" in Miami. The State Department called in the Secret Service.

Meanwhile, Rollason turned to another agency — this one unofficial — for aid in nipping the "plot" in the bud. He brought in Tony Varona, head of the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front and a principal organizer of the mercenaries being gathered in Florida for a projected invasion of Cuba.

The *Herald* said that according to Rollason, Varona was "profoundly shocked and immediately ordered the Front's intelligence

unit to concentrate on getting information concerning the reported plot."

Varona's "intelligence unit" came up with the disclosure that the Cuban who made the alleged statement had relatives in Havana "working on the side of Castro."

How the "four Cubans" who supposedly slip in and out of Florida ports at will, got into the act was not explained.

Meanwhile, UPI was "tipped" about the Secret Service investigation and the press manhunt was on. For some reason the only ones who wouldn't cooperate were the Florida police.

The Florida State Highway Patrol flatly denied it was investigating the "plot." A spokesman said: "We haven't been alerted. We don't know anything about it."

Declared Palm Beach Police Chief Homer Large, "There's nothing to it. It's just a fake rumor."

Fake, shmoke. As long as it sells papers and smears Cuba,

Thought for the Week

"The present stockpiles [of atomic weapons] are now so large that just one per cent of them could cause damage greatly exceeding that of World War II." — Jay Orear in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 1961.