

# THE MILITANT

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## Maritime Union Goes Ahead With Shorter Week Demand

The National Maritime Union's major 1961 bargaining demand — a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay — is "reasonable, it is necessary and it is realistic and we intend to push for it with all we've got," declares NMU president Joseph Curran. Curran made this statement as he revealed the administration's reply to his request for a clarification of President Kennedy's statement opposing the shorter work week as an antidote to unemployment.

### Kennedy Stand

At his March 15 press conference Kennedy had declared he was opposed "to any arbitrary reduction of the work week" from the "traditional" forty hours.

Curran termed this an "off-hand remark" and asked for a clarification. Kennedy referred Curran's telegram to Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, whose reply to Curran said: "I concur in the President's view. Our national efforts at this time should be directed to correcting our most troublesome unemployment situation, not to reducing the work week. Nothing in this view is in-



Joseph Curran

tended to infringe upon freedom of bargaining."

### Interpretation

Writing in the April 6 issue of the *NMU Pilot*, Curran says he interprets this to mean that Kennedy is not opposed to a union's bargaining for the shorter work week. Curran said further: "It seems to me that some good examples of arbitrary and artificial action on the work-week question can be found in auto and steel and other basic industries where the companies have been cutting the work week down to zero for hundreds of thousands. When a giant company finds itself with no more orders to fill its starts the layoffs. It doesn't stop to think about economic growth or our commitments abroad."

The NMU's 30-for-40 demand is tailored to the peculiarities of the deep-sea shipping industry. Seamen would work the same hours each day as now, but would be compensated for hours worked over 30 hours a week with paid time-off ashore which they could spend with their families.

## 5 Railroad Unions Ask Shorter Week

Five railroad operating unions have submitted demands for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay to a Presidential commission scheduled to make a non-binding recommendation next fall in a dispute over the size of train crews.

The unions also demanded a five-year guarantee of income at union wages for workers replaced by rail company mergers and automation. In the last five years, rail employment fell 400,000. If all proposed rail company mergers are concluded, another 200,000 jobs will be eliminated.

## Kennedy Presses Plans For Attack Against Cuba

By Harry Ring

APRIL 12 — Rarely has a major world power planned naked aggression against a small country as openly and brazenly as Washington is preparing the projected invasion of Cuba.

As these lines are written, a well-armed mercenary force of pilots, naval units, paratroopers, guerrilla fighters and saboteurs — financed and trained by the government of the United States — stands poised for attack on Cuba. The counterrevolutionary troops are massed in two staging areas. One is in Louisiana, the other in Central America.

Only one thing is postponing

the "D-Day" signal that was slated for last weekend — the fear that they can't get away with it.

After a hard look at Cuba's impressive defense preparations, the Kennedy administration and its Cuban hirelings apparently became fearful that the invasion might end in disaster unless it was backed up by U.S. Armed Forces. And the administration fears such a move might touch off a series of revolutionary explosions in Latin America.

"A sharp policy dispute has developed within the Kennedy administration about how far to go in helping the Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro Government," reported James Reston,

chief of the *New York Times* Washington bureau, yesterday.

"Some officials are urging the President to provide enough military and economic assistance to enable the refugees to establish effective control over at least part of Cuba," Reston continued. "It is understood, however, that the State Department is worried about the political and military consequences in the hemisphere and elsewhere of providing military force to achieve political ends."

According to Reston's pipeline, Kennedy's thinking is that U.S. troops should not be used in the invasion.

But, Reston adds, "So far as can be determined, the President has not yet decided how far to go."

That may be. But it's perfectly clear that Kennedy is determined to do everything he thinks is possible to destroy the Cuban government by force of arms. He does so in defiance of the Neutrality Act, a law that is supposed to bar anyone — including the President — from organizing or promoting warfare against any nation with which this country is officially at peace.

Yesterday, syndicated columnist Drew Pearson wrote: "The Kennedy administration has decided that the time has come to really give Fidel Castro something to talk about . . . Thousands of guerrillas have been trained in the Florida Everglades and in Guatemala." (Continued on Page 2)

## Negro Rights Blasted At Civil War Centennial

At an April 11 dinner in Charleston, S. C., sponsored by the National Civil War Centennial Commission, feature speaker Ashley Halsey, an associate editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, attacked the Constitutional guarantees of equal rights for Negroes; assailed the use of federal troops to enforce school integration in Little Rock; and plumped for "local option" against school desegregation.

The dinner was held at the U.S. naval base there on suggestion of President Kennedy after vehement protests against Jim Crow hotel accommodations by the New Jersey delegation. Kennedy didn't propose the hotel live up to the law by accepting reservations from Negro delegates.

## Molina Will Appeal Frame-Up Verdict

By Fred Halstead

The verdict of guilty of murder in the second degree returned against Francisco Molina by a blue-ribbon jury in New York City April 7, will be appealed "all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court," declared defense attorney Samuel A. Neuberger. "I am thoroughly convinced," said Neuberger, "that had the defendant been anyone but a pro-Castro [Cuban], there would not have been such a conviction, even if the witnesses were telling the truth."

Molina is a 28-year-old Cuban citizen who has lived as a factory worker in New York City since 1955 and is known as an outspoken supporter of the Cuban Revolution. Last September 21, during Fidel Castro's visit to the United Nations, a restaurant frequented by pro-Castro Cubans was invaded by a gang of Cuban counter-revolutionaries who had just been imported from Miami to picket Castro. In the ensuing fight a stray bullet killed a nine-year-old Venezuelan girl, an innocent bystander.

The daily press, the police and State Department, frustrated by the fact that the thousands cheering Castro at his Harlem hotel completely overshadowed the gangs of counterrevolutionary pickets, seized upon the tragic occurrence at the restaurant to whip up anti-Castro feeling.

Though the free-for-all fight had been provoked by the anti-Castro agents, only Molina was arrested and brought to trial. Not a single anti-Castro participant was indicted though some of them admitted using iron chains and knives in the fight during which two pro-Castro people were stabbed.

The prosecution was based overwhelmingly on testimony by avowed counterrevolutionary agents from Miami. But the defense was prevented from cross examining them on their Miami background or activities. The judge was asked to prevent such questioning and he permitted them to refuse to answer. The request came from "an unidentified United States agency," according to the March 24 *New York Times*. The Molina Defense Committee says this was the Central Intelligence Agency.

The jury was challenged by the defense as not being composed of Molina's peers. It had no factory workers, Negroes or persons of Latin American descent on it, even though such people constitute the vast majority of the residents of New York.

The defendant's mother and the Molina Defense Committee, 154 Nassau St., New York 38, N. Y., are asking for aid in publicizing the facts of the case and financing the appeal.

## The U.S. Drive Against Cuban Democracy

By Joseph Hansen

Theodore Draper's analysis of the course of events in the Cuban revolution suffers from a defect that has no rational explanation if you consider his approach to be objective and scientific—he leaves out the role of American imperialism as a cause for the radicalization of the revolution.

Our learned historian might be dealing with the world as it was before Columbus discovered America for all you will learn from him about such provocative actions as the slashing and then ending of the sugar quota, the imposition of an economic blockade on Cuba, the crescendo of insults, proddings and aggressions under auspices of the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency, and the ominous current preparations under American military advisers for armed invasion of the small island.

What political ends does this singular omission serve?

In seeking the answer, I suggest a careful comparison of Draper's pamphlet, *Castro's Cuba — A Revolution Betrayed?*, which appeared

in the *New Leader* of March 27 and the State Department "White Paper" on Cuba which was released April 3 and reprinted in next morning's *New York Times*. The State Department document was drafted by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., former Harvard historian, with the "cooperation of Richard Goodwin," according to E. W. Kenworthy of the *New York Times*, and was "written in the White House under the close direction of President Kennedy." James Reston reports in the April 5 *New York Times* that Kennedy "approved the State Department's White Paper on Cuba after consultation with Secretary of State Rusk and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles . . ."

The line of this piece of State Department propaganda is startlingly close to the line of Draper's pamphlet. Like Draper, the White House team assiduously avoids mentioning the role of American imperialism, both past, present and projected, in relation to the Cuban revolution. The same key arguments as Draper's reach the

same lulling conclusion; i.e., that the present warlike situation between Cuba and the United States is solely the fault of Fidel Castro. In fact the two pamphlets coincide so closely as to make perfect supplements.

This is not just my impression. On April 5 Max Lerner of the *New York Post* hailed the State Department "analysis and manifesto" as "an important event in the technique of American foreign policy." It's "part of a new diplomacy of the intellectuals," a diplomacy aimed at the intellectuals in Cuba and the rest of Latin America.

And here's the word on Draper. "To complete the Schlesinger analysis," said the *Post* columnist, "I strongly urge you to read a long article by Theodore Draper — 'Castro's Cuba: A Revolution Betrayed?' . . . makes mincemeat of the recent books on Cuba by C. Wright Mills, Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman . . . We still need a good book on Cuba, but until it comes the Draper and Schlesinger analysis are the best available."

Schlesinger and Draper omit the

aggressive role of American imperialism because Allen Dulles' propaganda smokescreen requires it. Once this is left out of consideration, the defensive reaction of the Cuban Revolutionary Government loses its reason and appears pure madness. In such "analysis," everything is conveniently reduced to what *Bohemia Libre*, a counterrevolutionary magazine described by Draper as "the edition in exile of Cuba's most famous magazine," calls Castro's "paranoia"; or, as Draper phrases it for the audience he is shooting at, "my worst apprehensions have come true," Fidel Castro pushed "too hard, too fast, and too far" and "has given Cuba not a national revolution but an international civil war."

### The Real Crime

To omit the relation between American imperialism and the Cuban revolution has other conveniences, particularly in trying to make out that Castro "betrayed" the Cuban revolution; that is, turned away from the kind of democracy approved by the counterrevolution, the State Depart-

ment and Theodore Draper, and moved toward socialist-type institutions.

By dwelling on the limitations of democracy in Cuba, whether real, imagined or imputed, these odd champions of democracy in the area between Haiti and Florida seek to divert attention from a crime against democratic rights that should make every American writhe over his country's role in world affairs. That is the crime of seeking to smash the Revolutionary Government, thereby denying the Cuban people the right to freely choose for themselves what form of government they want. By intervening in Cuba's internal affairs, by trying to strangle Cuba economically, by encouraging, financing, abetting and arming the counterrevolution, American imperialism violates Cuba's national sovereignty, the main democratic right of any people.

Draper participates in this foul game of imperialist politics by maintaining that the real question at issue is Cuban democracy. That's after sixty years of American imperialist domination that

(Continued on Page 4)



## Detroit Jobless Demand Action

DETROIT, April 7 — Fast and effective action against unemployment by Gov. Swainson and the Michigan Legislature was asked today by the Greater Detroit UAW Unemployed Coordinating Committee.

In Monday's state election, the voters defeated a state-loan-to-industry proposal on the ballot in referendum form. The unemployed committee called the vote, "a rejection of the trickle-down theory that what is good for business is good for the people." It said this was "a mandate for immediate action by the state to ease the plight of the unemployed directly."

Specifically, the committee asked Swainson and the legislature to cut the work week of state employees to 30 hours with no reduction in pay; to pass a resolution asking Congress to make 30 hours the legal work week nationally; to borrow funds, if necessary, for unemployment compensation for the duration of unemployment and a state public works program at union wages.

## Candidate Backs Anti-Bias Measure

NEWARK, April 10 — Ruth F. Shiminsky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, today called for passage of a state bill to ban racial discrimination in private housing sales and rentals in New Jersey. Mrs. Shiminsky said passage of the bill, which is being considered by the state senate, would be a long-overdue step forward in the fight for equality.

## Weekly Calendar

### BROOKLYN

Rally to Protest Intervention in Cuba. Speakers: Rev. Milton A. Galamison, Siloam Presbyterian Church; John T. McManus, General Manager, National Guardian; Julio Medina, July 26 Movement. Entertainment by Ram John Akara, Calypso singer. Thursday, April 20, 8:30 p.m. Leonardo Da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave., (Opp. Bklyn. Paramount.) Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Brooklyn Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

### MINNEAPOLIS

Tom Kerry, Militant labor editor, speaks on Jobs for All, A Program for American Labor. Sat., April 22, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Camp. Comm., Carl Feingold for Mayor.

### NEW YORK

Friday, April 21, 8 p.m. Rally to Abolish HUAC — See ad this issue.

### PHILADELPHIA

William Worthy, noted foreign correspondent, speaks on Are We Getting the Truth About Cuba? Chairman, James Higgins, assistant editor, York Gazette & Daily. Tues. April 18, 8 p.m. New Century Aud., 124 S. 12th St. (Between Chestnut and Walnut.) Ausp. Phila. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

### DENVER

Jobs for All — A program for American Labor. Speaker, Tom Kerry, labor editor, the Militant. Wed., April 19, 8 p.m. 1227 California. MA 3-0993. Contrib. 75 cents. (Unemployed 25 cents.) Ausp. Militant Forum.

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# Labor Loses in Ohio T-H Case

The U.S. Supreme Court on April 3 turned down a second appeal for review of the frameup conviction of seven defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case.

Unless the federal court in Cleveland reduces sentence, the seven will soon begin serving 18 months in prison. They were also fined \$2,500 each.

The prosecution called in professional red baiters and perjurers to secure a conviction. The defendants were charged with "conspiring" to file false non-communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board. Since their conviction Congress has repealed the requirement for filing such affidavits.

### Unionists

The victims of the frameup are Marie and Fred Haug, Eric Reinthaler, Sam Reed and Andrew Remes, all active unionists; and Communist Party officials Hyman Lumer and James West.

While some sections of the labor and civil liberties movements have protested against this frameup, the top union leaders have been shamefully silent. In contrast, from a simple humanitarian standpoint, was the affidavit filed in federal court April 4 by Dr. Benjamin Spock, author of this country's most authoritative and widely used



Marie and Fred Haug face an 18-month separation from their ten-year-old daughter as result of Taft-Hartley frame-up conviction.

books on the care and raising of children.

Fred and Marie Haug have a 10-year-old daughter, Lucy. Spock doesn't know either the parents or the child. But he had the decency and courage to file a statement pointing out that it would be in the interest of the child "to be with both parents all the time... If she can't have both, it certainly

would be better to have one. If it was known for sure they [the parents] would be sentenced to jail, it would be wise from the child's point of view for the court to listen to their plea to serve their time serially."

## Socialist Proposes Unemployed Meet

MINNEAPOLIS, April 10 — A city-wide labor conference on unemployment, with full voice for the unemployed workers, was proposed here by Carl Feingold, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for mayor of Minneapolis.

Pointing to the 50 per cent rise in the city of both unemployment and bankruptcies in the last year, Feingold said that the unemployed and the labor movement should organize to demand:

"(1) Unemployment compensation for entire layoff period at full wages. (2) Unemployment aid for new workers coming out of school. (3) Spreading the available work with a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. (4) A moratorium on all debts for the unemployed. (5) A public works program to build schools, hospitals, homes."

Such a labor conference, Feingold said, also "could lay the ground for organizing its own political party, and electing its own candidates to office — workers who will fight for labor's interests."

# ... Attack Against Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

mala... The revolutionaries have been supplied with shiploads of small arms, most of them more modern than those used by the U.S. Army."

Behind all this, says Pearson, is "the new Kennedy policy to stand up to nations which abuse the United States." (!)

That's not just the rhetoric of a hate-Cuba scribbler. The intervention buildup has been so extensive and so open that papers like the *Miami Herald* and *New York Times* have been able to offer some rather detailed reports. (As the *Times* reporter indicated, Castro knows about it anyway.)

"For nearly nine months Cuban exile military forces dedicated to the overthrow of Premier Fidel Castro have been training in the United States as well as in Central America," reported Tad Szulc in the April 7 *Times*.

"Most of the instructions given to the anti-Castro forces," he continued, "was reported to have been centered in the Guatemalan camps where infantry and artillery units are being trained by United States experts."

Since last fall, he adds, the training has been centralized under a "united" Cuban command which "has enjoyed the tolerance and active cooperation of United States officials."

The "active cooperation" hasn't been limited to arms, dollars and training. This was pointed up when the real facts leaked out about the *Western Union*, the U.S. cable ship which a Cuban gunboat intercepted within its territorial waters last week and ordered into port. The ship was let go when a U.S. destroyer and eight jet planes

threatened to attack the Cubans. The captain of the *Western Union* later said he had obeyed the Cuban order to head for port because he was carrying 180,000 gallons of high octane fuel on deck and a single rifle shot could have blown up the ship.

What was a cable-repair boat doing off the Cuban coast with that much gas? The answer was given by Szulc in an April 8 account of an unsuccessful effort by counterrevolutionaries to steal a group of Cuban patrol-torpedo (PT) boats.

"Observers found a coincidence," he reported, "in the presence of the cable ship *Western Union*, said to be carrying 180,000 gallons of fuel that could be used in the PT boats."

Such provocative moves are not committed in ignorance of the Neutrality Act. This is evidenced by the recent federal indictment under that act of the notorious Batista butcher, Rolando Masferrer, for masterminding an aborted invasion of Cuba last fall.

Masferrer, however, was really indicted not for his violation of the act, but for going into business for himself in competition with the CIA-sponsored counter-revolutionary force.

The *Times* was quick to point out that Masferrer's indictment "does not mean... that other Cubans in this country planning anti-Castro actions are in danger of legal sanctions. For example, Dr. José Miró Cardona, head of the Revolutionary Council, was a State Department visitor last week."

No sir, the law doesn't apply to Miró. He's the fair-haired leader of the movement that the State Department's White Paper says is going to bring "democracy" back to Cuba.

Or as Miró told the Hearst press yesterday, "I would repudiate all those [recent laws] which strike at private property."

The reason for the invasion buildup was put even more bluntly by Harold S. Geneen, president of International Telephone & Telegraph which took a \$35-million loss when its subsidiary, the Cuban Telephone Co., was expropriated.

On April 7 Geneen declared that U.S. businessmen can't risk new investments in Latin America "unless the specter of Cuba is removed."

## New Vote High Is Set for SWP In Los Angeles

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, April 9 — William Hathaway ran third with 31,302 votes for Board of Education Office No. 2 in last Tuesday's primary election. This is the highest vote ever credited to a Socialist Workers Party candidate in Los Angeles.

Oscar G. Coover, one of nine candidates for mayor, received 2,141 votes. Incumbent Norris Poulson faces a run-off with Sam Yorty, Democrat and former congressman, who barely edged out Councilman Patrick McGee.

It was the first time either Hathaway or Coover ran for office. Both made it clear every time they spoke and in all their literature that they were presenting the socialist program and were endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. Hathaway's higher vote may be due to his favorable position on the ballot — first for his office.

Coover and Hathaway had 48 speaking engagements during the campaign. Coover also appeared on seven radio and TV programs.

In the last week of the campaign both candidates spoke to around 500 people at an election rally of the Westlake Open Forum, strongly influenced by the Industrial Workers of the World, the "Wobblies." The chairman announced that he was supporting Coover and Hathaway.

## Fair Play Banquet

Its first anniversary will be marked by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee with a banquet Friday night, April 28, at the Brass Rail Restaurant, New York City. Foreign correspondent William Worthy will discuss "Are we getting the Truth About Cuba?" Civil rights fighter Carl Braden's subject will be "I Support Your Right to be Heard." Rowland Watts, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, will speak on the unconstitutionality of the ban on travel to Cuba. Toastmaster will be James Higgins, assistant editor of the *York Gazette and Daily*. Melita del Villar will be a guest artist.

Reservations are \$7.50 per plate and should be made at once with the FPCC, 799 Broadway, N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: ORegon 4-8295.

If this dangerous trend is not stopped now, it may be an impossible task to stop it at all.—Justice Hugo L. Black dissenting in the Braden case, Feb. 27, 1961.

## RALLY

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Monday, April 17, 1961

## Dishonesty About Neutrality Law

American journalists, from reactionary to liberal, are seizing upon any dishonest argument to justify the Kennedy administration's moves to overthrow the Castro government. Thus the brazen violations of the U.S. Neutrality Act by Cuban counterrevolutionaries, financed, armed, trained in Florida by the Central Intelligence Agency and now assembled in Louisiana and Texas staging areas for invasion of Cuba, are portrayed as mere turnabout on Castro. James Reston sums up the argument thus in the April 11 New York Times: "The anti-Castro refugees have the same right to try to carry on the fight against Dr. Castro just as Dr. Castro himself had the right to seek aid here in his fight against the Batista government."

When Fidel Castro was preparing his revolution against Batista he got not one cent from the U.S. government, which indeed was backing dictator Batista to the hilt as one of the ornaments of the "free world." No U.S. military or CIA personnel aided Castro's movement in any way. No U.S. planes, ships or training camps were put at his disposal.

The fact is that the Neutrality Act and other laws were stringently enforced against Castro's movement. The homes of his sympathizers in the New York and Miami area were raided and any arms caches found were confiscated and the responsible persons jailed. Several small vessels, carrying volunteers and arms for the Castro forces were seized, brought into Texas ports, and the organizers jailed. One of these, the S.S. Orion, was seized by the overzealous Coast Guard 13 miles beyond the three-mile limit. Some Castro supporters convicted in the above cases are still in U.S. jails or on probation.

## A 'Lunatic Fringe'?

Robert Welch's hate-mongering outfit, the John Birch Society, appears at first glance to be a perfect example of the lunatic fringe.

It seems difficult to find any other characterization for people who declare with a straight face that Eisenhower and CIA chief-tain Allen Dulles are "Communists."

While a group like the Birch Society undoubtedly has a lunatic quality to it, it would be, in our opinion, a mistake to dismiss it as nothing more than that. Many people ruefully recall the almost universal dismissal of the early Hitler movement as "crackpot."

So far, the principal sponsors of the Birch Society are wealthy businessmen, right-wing politicians and Southern racists. Their Communophobia is well larded with racist and anti-labor poison. Their wild charges of "Communism" are not as hysterical as one might think. These people are simply practicing the "big lie" technique which was so effectively used by Hitler and which was a principal weapon of the late would-be American Hitler, Joseph McCarthy.

A deepening of the social crisis born of war danger and economic insecurity could occasion a sudden, mass response from disoriented sections of America's middle class to such sinister "crusaders" as the Birch gang. It is a danger that should never be forgotten.

## How Foolproof Is Foolproof?

Three young men lost their lives in the accidental shooting down of a B-52 bomber over New Mexico during a war game exercise April 7. It was an accident the Air Force had said just couldn't happen. The pilot of the F-100 jet fighter which fired the missile is his squadron's safety officer and has written many of the operational safety procedures for just that kind of exercise. But the accident occurred despite "elaborate safety precautions," according to the Air Force.

Families mourn the three young men. The Pentagon mourns an \$8 million airplane. Lives can't be expressed in figures but the B-52 is the fifth lost this year, or a total of \$40 million. How many schools, incidentally, would that have built?

It so happened that this B-52 was not carrying any atomic bombs. But the Strategic Air Command keeps many jet planes aloft with nuclear bombs so that they can head for their appointed targets without delay when an alarm is given. Also missiles with genocidal warheads are poised on launching pads aimed at "enemy" cities, awaiting the push of a button.

Officials, whose certainty before mishaps occur is godlike, declare that an accidental nuclear bombing, wiping out a city or perhaps starting World War III, is impossible because of the elaborate safety devices and procedures. But "impossible" accidents like the shooting down of the B-52 disclose the fallibility of human and mechanical procedures and precautions.

Isn't it about time the American people demanded that no U.S. planes carry nuclear bombs, that nuclear missiles be taken off the launching pads and out of submarines and that these weapons be disarmed and disassembled? This could be America's initial contribution and example for ending the terror under which mankind lives today.

# What's Behind the Rail Mergers

By Steve Thompson

Long noted for their "public be damned" tradition, the nation's railroad barons have also been conducting a massive "railroad workers be damned" campaign — that is, a drive to increase profits by getting rid of as many of their employees as possible.

Four hundred thousand railroad jobs have been wiped out in the last five years. Now the mis-managers of the industry hope to wipe out another 200,000 by merging and consolidating the major rail systems.

This trend got going seriously a year ago after the Norfolk and the Western merged with the old Virginian. The Chesapeake and Ohio and the Baltimore and Ohio, two of the East's largest systems, began talking marriage; so did the Erie and Lackawanna. The B&O-C&O merger is still in the planning stage, while the Erie and Lackawanna have officially combined.

Fourteen railroads have applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to form seven larger systems. Over a dozen of the 106 Class I roads (those with yearly revenues of more than \$3,000,000) are negotiating mergers. And this is just the beginning.

Since it's a dog-eat-dog system, some of the dogs don't like what others are doing. The merged Erie and Lackawanna, for example, is protesting other mergers and is demanding that the ICC prevent moves by the Pennsylvania.

Pennsy's scheme is really ambitious — to acquire the Lehigh Valley and absorb the Pennsylvania-owned Detroit, Toledo and Ohio-Ann Arbor. An allegedly separate and unrelated merger will bring in the Norfolk and Western, Nickel Plate and Wabash. But it's common knowledge that Pennsylvania owns 99 per cent of the Wabash and 33 per cent of the N&W. Pennsy hopes to absorb this system and others in order to reduce the number of workers, eliminate competition and establish an eastern transportation monopoly.

The ICC, which is supposed to protect the public and employees from the ruthless railroad barons,

has announced that it favors mergers as promoting the public interests. This is no surprise since it is composed of men picked by the Wall Street monopolists and bankers. The last time they put public interests ahead of their own profits was — well, you try to name the date.

Apathetic union leaders so far have suggested and done nothing effective to stop this trend. Now, more than ever, the situation cries out for the consolidation of the many rail unions into one great organization determined to battle both Washington and Wall Street for job protection through independent economic and political action.

They should also demand nationalization of the industry and ouster of the cut-throats who would deprive the workers of a livelihood for the sake of profits.

The government should step in and assume ownership because it has become obvious to all that the profit-motive theory has failed abysmally in transportation.

If unchecked, the Wall Street capitalists will consolidate the railroads into about eight systems, none competing with the other. The public will be at their mercy and will be forced to pay whatever rates the railroads demand. And 200,000 jobs will go down the drain.

The railroads should be consolidated — yes, But into a single system, owned by the government and operated by boards elected by the workers in the industry. This will end the milking of the roads by the big business interests and is the only way they can be operated efficiently and fairly for the public, the shippers and the railroad workers.

## Culture Yes, Tammany No!

By Hedda Grant

NEW YORK, April 11 — City authorities appear to be backing down on their attempt to ban the traditional singing and guitar playing in Greenwich Village's Washington Square Park. Last Sunday about 1,000 people, protesting the ban, were attacked by police. The press cried "riot," but over a hundred complaints of police brutality were filed. The following account is by a young girl who was there.

\* \* \*

I often go to Washington Square on Sunday to meet my friends and listen to the music. The rally was just ending as I arrived. There must have been over 500 kids there when the cops started shoving.

It was ordinary easing out . . . it was horrible . . . manhandling and punching. A blonde woman in front of me was being pushed and pulled by a cop. When he grabbed her by the hair she started screaming . . . really screaming. Just then a big cop kicked me hard on the leg. The boy next to me tried to stop him when he went to kick me again. He was dragged away

and arrested. Some people left, but a lot of us were very angry and decided to stay. We squatted on the ground in little groups all over the park.

I was with four other kids and we started singing "America." A churchman came over and tried to tell us to leave. He agreed we had the right to sing and told us to come and sing in his church. "We can sing in church any time," kids told him. "Right now we're fighting for the Square."

The newspapers had gotten wind of the trouble and when they found it so calm they asked us to get up and march so that they could get a good picture and story. We told them no, that we weren't ready to march yet. We wanted to hold our ground on the Square. One of the boys said "Look Mister, when we have a peace march or something we have trouble getting an inch on page 88 out of you. We're not putting on a show. We're staying here."

A little girl about four came out in the circle saying "I want to sing in the Square," and everybody cheered and laughed. Around 5 o'clock eight of us got up, marched into the center singing "We Shall Not Be Moved." In a few minutes others had joined and 150 people were standing in a ring singing.

The cops told us that at six, which is the regular curfew, they would turn the water sprinklers on us if we didn't clear out, but they didn't touch us. There were jokes about the cops all over the place. If one left, someone would say, "He's going to get payola from a coffee house, then he'll be back," and things like that. They were talking about what happened in San Francisco and even about Cuba.

## Boston is First Over the Top For \$16,000 Socialist Fund

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Drive Director

Boston has gone over the top! Last week space limitations prevented publishing *The Hub of the Universe's* challenge to all other cities to beat them to that honored spot, but it was sent out by mail. Then before any other city could respond, Boston not only made top place, but went over! Now the challenge should be, in my opinion, to see which city goes over the top the most. There is no ceiling, remember!

Along with its payment of \$45 which put Boston at the head of the column, Mary Dante, the Fund Director, sent a stirring tribute to our late, beloved Comrade Carl Skoglund in whose memory this fund was conceived. Again space limitations prevent its publication, but I am sure that Carl would have been very proud of Boston.

Evidence that Militant readers and other friends recognize that it is their financial support which makes it possible for the SWP to carry on its work came this week from all over the country. We thank R. S., Colville, and A.A.U., Bellingham, Wash.; four friends from Michigan — A Friend, Farmington, Anonymous, East Lansing, F. H. N., Saginaw, and J. S., Pontiac; R. L. of Indianapolis and W.D.W., Huntington, Indiana; O.M.A. of Granite Falls, Minn.; F. S. and M. K. of New York City; W. P. of San Diego, and E. J. C.,

Carlington, Calif.; an anonymous donor from Connecticut; and C. P. S., Pittsburgh, Pa. We thank all of these people most heartily.

By the time this is printed, there will be only two weeks left in the campaign — and as you can see from the scoreboard, only 68% has been paid in. It is vitally important that we keep the slogan adopted for this fund drive — so I leave you with this thought:

OVER THE TOP BY MAY DAY!

## Fund Scoreboard

BRANCH	QUOTA	PAID	PCT.
Boston	\$ 500	\$ 505	101%
Twin Cities	1,200	1,093	91
Allentown	120	100	83
Connecticut	150	120	80
Detroit	625	496	80
Chicago	800	600	75
Cleveland	500	363	72
Pittsburgh	10	7	70
New York	4,400	3,048	69
San Francisco	500	315	63
Los Angeles	5,000	3,086	62
San Diego	280	164	59
St. Louis	90	48	53
Milwaukee	300	142	47
Newark	150	67	44
Seattle	500	194	39
Berkeley-Oakland	500	185	37
Philadelphia	300	106	35
Denver	85	30	35
Baltimore	10	2	20
General		161	
Totals through April 10	\$16,020	\$10,831	68%



# ...The U.S. Drive Against Cuban Democracy

(Continued from Page 1)

imposed some of the cruelest dictatorships in Latin-American history on the Cuban people. And with allies like dictator Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo Franco, the "towering" de Gaulle and the indescribable little butcher Tshombe who murdered Patrice Lumumba!

The Cubans are completely justified in dismissing the imperialist chatter about democracy in Cuba as nothing but war propaganda. They are right to demand of every American who raises the issue to please present his credentials in fighting McCarthyism — a test Kennedy, among others, cannot meet.

The Cubans score unanswerable points when they call attention to the way the most elementary democratic rights of Negroes and other minorities are denied and abused in the United States in contrast to the way they are respected in Cuba.

Every civil libertarian must wince when the Cubans note state election laws in "free" America that operate to bar minority parties from the ballot and federal regulations that deny minority candidates equal free time on the air.

And so you can continue, making an inventory of the American Way of Life showing that a great erosion of democracy has occurred, that militarism is on the rise, and that there is now a vicious latent tendency toward totalitarianism which makes itself known from time to time in the formation of such fascistlike groups as the John Birch Society. Too bad that a historian of Draper's caliber responds to the unworthy compulsion to leave rich powerful American out of consideration when he thinks it politically advantageous to discuss democracy in poverty-stricken, beleaguered little Cuba!

Nevertheless someone who has proved himself on all these fronts, and perhaps believes in socialism as well, may say, "That's all very true. Still, just among ourselves, don't you think Draper made some telling points? For instance, what about Castro's failure to build a political party, and his letting the Rebel Army and the 26th of July Movement die on the vine? Isn't the Communist party moving into power and isn't Castro guilty of a one-man dictatorship? What about elections? How can the workers and peasants exercise democratic control over the government without elections?"

## True Frame of Discussion

I will admit without the least hesitation that Cuba bears little resemblance to the democratic paradise to be found in Draper's head, if nowhere else on earth. Cuba is being badgered and bullied by the mightiest imperialist power on earth and threatened with a counterrevolutionary invasion in which the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency are deeply involved. The CIA missionaries are out to shove democracy down the throats of the Cubans at the point of a machine gun the way they shoved it down the throats of the Guatemalans in 1954 when Carlos Castillo Armas restored United Fruit to power.

The odds are greater against the Cuban people than they were against the Yugoslavs when they faced German imperialism, yet they have vowed to fight to the death for the freedom they won at such cost. They really believe in the democratic right to self-determination! They have taken up arms much like our American revolutionary forefathers. Struggles like that, involving civil war, are notoriously hard on the forms of democratic civil life; the rules and laws of war come into operation.

This constitutes the true frame for discussing Cuban democracy. How then can Draper be honestly credited with a single telling point

about Cuban democracy when he does not even start with the first requisite for a meeting of minds—the unconditional defense of Cuba against counterrevolutionary and imperialist attack? To blame Castro for departing from the norms of democracy in organizing the defense of Cuba's democratic right to national sovereignty is not only unjust, it is a way of evading the real issues and covering up and excusing the worst enemies of Cuban democracy — and of American democracy for that matter.

Let us consider more closely several of the principal charges of the State Department propagandists.

"The history of the Castro revolution," say the Dulles-Rusk-Kennedy - Goodwin - Schlesinger harmony five, with a succinctness which soloist Draper might profitably study, "has been the history of the calculated destruction of the free-spirited rebel army and its supersession as the main military instrumentality of the regime by the new state militia."

"It has been the history of the calculated destruction of the 26th of July Movement and its supersession as the main political instrumentality of the regime by the Communist party (Partido Socialista Popular)."

## What the Facts Show

This is doctored history. Draper has assembled a few facts that will help us to show this.

First, let's get an idea of the size of the Rebel Army and the 26th of July Movement: "In the mountains at this time [April 1958, less than nine months before the revolutionary victory], Mills was told, the armed men under Castro numbered only about 300. Four months later, in August 1958, the two columns commanded by Majors Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos, entrusted with the mission of cutting the island in two, the biggest single rebel operation of the entire struggle, amounted, according to Guevara, to 220 men. Sartre was informed that the total number of *barbudos* in all Cuba from beginning to end was only 3,000." These forces suffered a high rate of casualties. "Sartre was told that Batista's Army and police killed 1,000 *barbudos* in the last clashes in the mountains..."\*

Of course hundreds of thousands of Cubans actively sympathized with the *barbudos*; but, as the fighting cadres of the revolution staking their lives on the outcome, they constituted a very small force. This was not Castro's fault. To construct even this body of revolutionaries under the Batista dictatorship was a remarkable achievement.

What about their political quality? The young ones — that is, the great majority — were only at the beginning of their political education. This was true not only of the ranks but of the leaders as well. The following estimate, made by Draper last year, gives us an intimation: "Long after the rebellion in the Sierra Maestra had taken hold, Castro did not head a homogeneous movement, and the larger it grew, the less homogeneous it became. It included those who merely wished to go back to the democratic constitution of 1940 and those who demanded 'a real social revolution.' It included some who were friendly to the United States and some who hated it. It included anti-Communists and fellow travelers..."\*\*

A variegated initial political formation of this kind would have undergone internal differentiation, with subsequent splits and possibly fusions with other forces, even in normal times. The revolutionary process accelerated this development and the counterrevolutionary pressure of American imperialism gave it a breakneck pace. The

\* Castro's Cuba—A Revolution Betrayed? P. 8.  
\*\* The Runaway Revolution. The Reporter, May 12, 1960.



Fidel Castro

main direction of the class struggle favored the wing that demanded "a real social revolution."

This evolution toward the left, a typical phenomenon of every revolution, was not a "betrayal" but the political reflection of a deep shift of class forces in Cuba. Of course the apologists and defenders of American imperialism are not concerned with analysis here; they are simply engaging in invidious epithet, an ancient custom among war propagandists.

What happened to the *barbudos* after the victory? A remarkable blindness afflicts the writers in the State Department stables. Draper mentions in "The Runaway Revolution" that 764 co-operatives had been formed when he visited Cuba and 500 more were in the planning stage in the cane lands. Describing "how the system works," he tells about a rice co-operative he visited near the town of Bayamo. After listing the various projects, he notes: "The 'administrator' was a former rebel fighter who had been an ordinary day laborer." The significance of this fact escapes him. To staff each of the co-operatives with a single *barbudo* like this one would require the majority of cadres who survived the struggle against Batista!

We, if not Draper, can appreciate Guevara's dry comment, after the big nationalizations of last fall, on the impracticality — aside from the political inadvisability — of the government taking over the 150,000 really small individual businesses in Cuba. "Just to get 500 interveners for the factories we had to break our heads, and every day we have to replace someone who doesn't work out..."\*\*\*

A less resolute, less self-confident leadership would have felt defeated even before it started the gigantic task of staffing the government and the institutions that grew out of the revolution. The fact is that the *barbudos* worked around the clock, sometimes until they dropped and had to be carried out on stretchers, in the first months after the victory. The dissemination of the cadres into the sea of tasks confronting the Revolutionary Government is termed by the State Department propagandists "calculated destruction." They make up for this, of course, by pinning "hero" badges on those that were really destroyed — the small number who turned traitor.

## What Kind of Party?

It is quite gratuitous to explain to the Cuban leaders the value of a party big enough and capable enough to undertake with smoothness the tremendous revolutionary tasks facing the country. They know from hard experience the value of such a party, how it would have facilitated the struggle

for power, what an enormous difference it would make now in solving current problems. But that's not the kind of party the State Department advises for Cuba.

Draper, who knows all there is to know about building a revolutionary party except its practice, condemns Castro for allegedly blocking formation of a party that would properly measure up to the Cuban revolution. This is all the more ludicrous in view of the evident maturing of conditions in Cuba for the appearance of a mass revolutionary-socialist party.

Two developments indicate the trend. The first is the formation of the militia.

We have seen how the State Department views the organization of the militia as part of the "calculated destruction of the free-spirited rebel army." Draper uses the epithets "amorphous," "impersonal" and "anonymous" to describe the armed people. This strange historian, in his babbling over the perilous state of democracy in Cuba, is capable of forgetting that America's revolutionary founders considered a militia such an important feature of democracy that they listed it as Article II in the Bill of Rights, next to freedom of religion, speech, the press and right of petition. To save Draper researching it, here is what the Constitution declares: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

If we judge by this criterion of democracy, Cuba under Castro is a free state; America, which has today adopted the Prussian military system, is not. Shouldn't Draper, as a firebrand of democracy, agitate for the militia system in the United States and, for instance, the free distribution of arms to Negroes in Mississippi?

The militia, as a democratic institution of the most fundamental kind, provides a great arena, involving hundreds of thousands of the most patriotic Cubans, for the development of a revolutionary-socialist consciousness, the main requirement for the formation of the kind of party Cuba needs. Didn't Draper listen to the political talks that accompanied the militia drills he witnessed when he visited Cuba? Evidently not. In Draper's humble opinion, even Castro "makes virtually the same speech every time"; why listen to mere rank-and-file revolutionary cadres explain the revolution to units of an armed population the length and breadth of the island?

## No McCarthyism in Cuba

The other important development pointing the direction of politics in Cuba was the firm stand taken by the Revolutionary Government against any imitation of McCarthyism. This defense of freedom of thought cost the defection of such "anti-Communist" figures as Luis Conte Agüero, for whom Draper shed a few sympathetic tears last year. But by refusing to join in the "anti-Communist" crusade which has been such a blight in American politics since 1948, the Revolutionary Government opened the possibility for a new realignment of radical political tendencies in Cuba. The principal grouping affected by this is, of course, the Communist party.

To the propagandists of American imperialism, this, naturally, was nothing less than "betrayal" of the Cuban revolution, for which, of all the revolutions on its calendar, Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency has the most tender concern.

By refusing to deny the Communist party its democratic rights the way they are denied in "free" America, Castro failed to conform to the loyalty standards of the House Un-American Activities Committee. However, this was not

equivalent to agreeing with the politics of the Communist party, as the witch-hunters would have us believe; it was a principled stand in defense of democracy.

The Cuban Communist party rallied to the revolution; while the bourgeois parties, under guise of fighting the "inroads of communism," began organizing the counterrevolution in conspiracy with a hostile foreign power, thereby placing themselves outside any legitimate claim to democratic rights under the Revolutionary Government.

The witch-hunters and their dupes picture the Cuban Communist party as a totalitarian force rolling like a Soviet tank to power, if it does not already "dominate the government" as the State Department claims. The truth is quite different.

## Revolutionary Pressure

This party, like other Communist parties, is favorably affected by the melting of the great iceberg of Stalinism, which began with the Soviet triumph in World War II and continued with the Yugoslav revolt, the victory of the Chinese revolution and the shattering of the cult of Stalin. The running ideological differences between Moscow, Peking and Belgrade prevent the party from reverting to the deadly sterility of thought so characteristic of such parties in the thirties and forties. In addition — and this is decisive for the fate of the Cuban Communist party — the members are under the influence of a great, successful revolution that broke over their heads and in which they must now prove themselves. They are subject to two sources of enormous revolutionary pressure, masses on the move and the radical Castro leadership which demonstrated once and for all that you don't need a Stalinist background or Moscow advice or backing to topple a tyrant and set out on the road to a planned economy.

Viewed with cold objectivity, it is clear that the Cuban Communist party is not a contestant for power but is instead one of the main components of a potential new political movement whose ultimate shape is yet to be determined. The chances are excellent that what will finally emerge in Cuba is a mass party with a revolutionary-socialist program.

This will scarcely meet with the approval of the Central Intelligence Agency experts on party building in Cuba. What the cloak-and-dagger crew would like to see is a party in power committed to capitalist property relations and — in due time — "democratic elections." Since they are unable to get it any other way, they now propose to brush all democratic considerations aside, shoot their way in and set up a puppet dictator like Castillo Armas of Guatemala.

The State Department slanders Castro in accusing him of totalitarianism. Castro's basic outlook is deeply democratic. He proved this in the most decisive way by taking an overturn in property relations as the key to extending democracy on the widest possible scale. This is one of the real reasons why Washington regards him with such hate. The imperialist rulers of America are afraid that if Cuba is left alone, if it is permitted to enjoy normal economic and diplomatic relations with the United States, the Revolutionary Government will soon set such an example of democracy in action that the American people would not be long in saying, "That's real democracy! We are entitled to some of that in America, too."

Against the efforts to smash the Castro regime, American supporters of democracy, in defending the democratic right of the Cubans to self-determination, have every reason to put extra vehemence in the cry, "Hands off Cuba!"

(Next week: Draper's theory.)

\*\*\* Obra Revolucionaria, January 6, 1961. p. 29.