

# U. S. Seeks New Caribbean Intervention

By Fred Halstead

The forces behind the assassination of the Dominican tyrant, General Rafael L. Trujillo, remain shrouded in mystery but a clear and immediate consequence is the danger of further intervention in the Caribbean by the Kennedy administration.

On June 3 Washington proposed that the Organization of American States send a "watchdog" committee to the Dominican Republic to "insure against a reign of terror." A reign of terror existed on that

island throughout Trujillo's 31 years of control, but the State Department never before proposed a "watchdog" committee. It does so now to lay the basis for U.S. intervention, with OAS cover, against any Dominican revolution which might take a Fidelista direction, and to set OAS precedents which may be used against Cuba.

The old Dominican ruling group, with General Rafael Trujillo, Jr. — the dead dictator's son — at the head of the 24,000-man armed forces, still holds power. But even under Trujillo, Sr., the military

grip on the country was beginning to slip. Since 1959 the Dominican rulers have heavily increased the military budget and engaged in a contradictory series of repressions and demagogic promises in an attempt to stem the tide of unrest inspired by the successful Cuban revolution.

U.S. imperialism may seek to put in power in the Dominican Republic a new ruling group not as deeply stained with the tyrant's crimes. This would facilitate using the island country as a base against against the Cuban revolu-

tion while causing Washington less embarrassment in its propaganda about defending democracy. But the entire system of exploitation of the island by U.S. corporations is so intimately intertwined with Trujillo's bloody and corrupt political-military machine that any change in the ruling personnel risks unleashing a popular revolution.

The Dominican Liberation Movement, the largest and best-organized group among the 20,000 anti-Trujillo exiles, has called on all

exiles to oppose any outside intervention in Dominican affairs. It says the struggle "depends fundamentally on the independent action of the popular masses of the Dominican Republic." It calls for a clean sweep of the old regime and for a new government "satisfying the aspirations of the people for liberty, agrarian reform which gives the land to those who work it, nationalization of the holdings of foreign monopolies and Trujillista magnates, an end to hunger and misery, and full national independence."

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 25 - No. 24

Monday, June 12, 1961

Price 10c

## Try New Witch-Hunt Attack Against Fair Play Committee

A national campaign to smear the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and to deprive it of the right of free speech is underway. Encouraged by the Eastland Committee and possibly in collusion with it in this campaign, are the United Press International, the John Birch Society and assorted lunatic-fringe "anti-red" groups and newspaper columnists.

Fair Play picket lines have been physically attacked in Philadelphia and Seattle. In the former city police plainclothesmen and several vigilantes assaulted peaceful pickets destroying their signs and arresting four of them on trumped-up charges.

In Seattle, police took a "non-intervention" attitude while vigilantes, some of whom are said to be members of the John Birch Society, repeatedly assaulted the pickets.

When the Seattle Fair Play chapter organized a second demonstration to vindicate its right to picket, there was no violence but a smear leaflet issued in the name of "Members of the John Birch Society" was distributed. Entitled, "Warning to Loyal Citizens—Keep away from the communist Pro-Castro picket line," the leaflet also denounced the American Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist Workers Party.

A May 8 meeting of the San Diego FPCC, addressed by Sidney Lens, Chicago trade unionist and author, was picketed by 50 self-styled "fundamentalist Americans." They distributed reprints of an article attacking Fair Play by reactionary columnist Fulton Lewis, Jr. Shortly after the meeting began, the pickets burst through the door with screams of "dirty communist bastards." Though disturbed by other epithets shouted through the windows the meeting went on.

In Rockford, Ill., Mr. and Mrs. Robert Horn, were assaulted by a local politician, while distributing FPCC leaflets May 25. They were jailed on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "throwing trash in the streets."

In Tampa, Florida, chapter chairman Ted Lee, is resisting newspaper demands for the names of other local officers. He told the Tampa Tribune (June 2) that FPCC "members had been physically attacked or suffered abuse such as their car tires cut or 'paint bombs' being thrown into their homes."

A bitter attack on FPCC campus activities appeared in the May (Continued on Page 3)



Richard Gibson

## Freedom Riders Continue Trips

NEW YORK, June 7 — Leaders of the Freedom Riders' movement are touring the New York area to raise funds and volunteers while teams of riders continue to challenge segregation in interstate travel facilities in Jackson, Mississippi. Seven Freedom Riders were arrested in a Jackson bus terminal yesterday, bringing the total jailed there by racist police to 72.

Rev. Martin Luther King said here last night: "The time has come for the President of the U.S. to issue a firm executive order declaring all forms of racial segregation illegal."

King rejected Attorney General Robert Kennedy's request for a "cooling off period," and took issue with Federal Judge Johnson who has enjoined the Freedom Riders along with the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama. "It is a reasoning," he said, "that condemns the robbed as well as the robbers." Of Harry Truman's recent statement that northern Freedom Riders were "outside agitators," King said: "No one who lives in America should be considered an outsider anywhere in America. . . . Our former president has no understanding of the depth and dimensions of the segregation problem."

## High Court 'Anti-Red' Ruling Heavy Blow to Bill of Rights

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 6 — Yesterday's five to four Supreme Court rulings requiring the Communist Party to register under the McCarran Act and upholding the "membership" clause of the Smith Act are the most dangerous legal blows yet delivered to the political freedom of the American people. For the first time in this country a political party has for all practical purposes been outlawed. Sweeping new latitude has been given for the criminal prosecution of holders of dissident ideas.

The rulings were denounced as "a savage attack on the Bill of Rights" by the Socialist Workers Party in a statement here today.

"These cruel and unconstitutional rulings are a culmination of 20 years of cold war against domestic civil liberties," the SWP said. "The Smith 'Gag' Act was rammed through under the Roose-

velt administration to stifle opposition to pending U.S. intervention in World War II and was used then to railroad 18 leaders of our party and the Minneapolis Teamsters Union to prison.

"With the launching of the cold war by Truman," the statement continued, "the Act was used to make the Communist party the focal point of a renewed witch hunt. The present court rulings reflect the crisis of the U.S. imperialist system faced by a worldwide anti-colonial movement and Washington's insane determination to stamp out all opposition voices at home in preparation for new wars of conquest."

The SWP declared it would do everything in its power to combat the new attack on civil liberties and said: "We urge united action by all partisans of the Bill of Rights to reverse the Supreme Court action. We pledge our fullest

cooperation in all such united efforts."

The ruling on the McCarran Internal Security Act requires the Communist Party to register with the Justice Department as a "Communist action" group "substantially dominated" by a "foreign power." The law also provides for registration of "Communist front" groups — those determined by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be "substantially dominated" by a "Communist action" group.

Registration provisos include turning over lists of membership and a financial accounting — including all sources of income. Mail sent out by a group forced to register must bear the inscription, "Disseminated by ———, a Communist organization."

Listed members are denied federal employment and forbidden even to apply for U.S. passports. Naturalized citizens face the loss of citizenship.

This vicious system of political entrapment is rounded out by the upholding of Smith Act prosecutions on the sole charge of membership in an allegedly "subversive" party. Previous convictions of SWP and CP leaders had been based on contrived efforts to (Continued on Page 3)

## U.S. 'Ransom' Pitch Exposed by Cubans

JUNE 7—Fidel Castro has replied favorably to a communication from the committee of three prominent Americans in charge of indemnification to Cuba and the return of captured counterrevolutionaries to the U.S. The committee had said it was ready to start sending the 500 tractors demanded by Cuba for damage caused by the April 17 invasion attempt. Castro stipulated today that a delegation from the committee should go to Cuba to negotiate the details.

Castro said the most acceptable negotiators would be Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Milton Eisenhower. The third member of the committee is Walter Reuther.

The attempts of those opposed to the Revolution to make anti-Cuban propaganda out of the indemnification demand have fal-

len flat. Their claims that the tractors are "ransom" to save the lives of "freedom fighters" are too obviously phoney. In the first place, the lives of the counter-revolutionaries are not at stake. Though by any country's laws the whole lot are guilty of high treason, Castro announced six weeks ago that the only ones who would be sentenced to prison or shot are those who committed murders under Batista and they were specifically excluded from the Cuban offer when it was made.

In the second place, the invading forces were fighting for money and the return of special privileges they had enjoyed under Batista, and the whole world knows it. The Cubans have let the counter-revolutionaries speak on TV, let newspapermen from all over the world interview and photograph them, and allowed friends and relatives to visit them.

The composition of the invasion army has been established in the press throughout the world beyond the shadow of a doubt. Out of 1,200 captured invaders, over 130 were members of Batista's armed forces or officialdom. Over 800 were rich landlords, capitalists or sons of Batista officials whose excess property was nationalized or handed over to peasants or tenants by the revolution.

Kennedy was forced to support the indemnification deal—or stand exposed as abandoning his own forces. If the deal goes through—as appears likely at this writing—some honest Cuban farmers will get new tractors, the U.S. will have paid indemnification for the first time in modern history, and Kennedy will have some completely exposed, demoralized and incompetent mercenaries and ex-privileged characters on his hands.

## How One Man Died In Land of Plenty

The following is the text of a news dispatch from San Francisco, one of the richest cities in the richest country in the world:

James Beard, 65, a vagrant was desperately hungry last night. But when he tried to beg a meal at a downtown cafeteria, he was thrown out. He shuffled off toward another cafeteria, where he stood in line with the customers.

Finally, he couldn't stand it. He saw a tray filled with food advertising the day's "special." He grabbed a piece of ham from it and ran out the door, stuffing the ham into his mouth. But a piece lodged in his throat. He collapsed on the sidewalk and died of suffocation 15 minutes later.

## Economy Improves But Not for Jobless

In terms of production, sales and profits, the economy is slowly moving out of the bottom of the recession, but unemployment has not improved. Automation and other technological changes allow greater production with fewer workers. The seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment rose from 6.8 percent in mid-April to 6.9 percent in mid-May according to figures released May 31 by the U.S. Department of Labor. Joblessness declined by 194,000 but this was less than normal for this time of year.

When asked whether the new figures indicated any recovery from the recession in terms of unemployment, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor Seymour L. Wolfbein said: "I would say no. There has not been the job recovery we've been looking for." Wolfbein said, "We're really not eating into the long-term unemployment."

An official analysis in the May 27 AFL-CIO News says: "Based on present trends and planning, the outlook points to a repetition of the economic developments after the last recession: insufficient recovery, persistent high joblessness and idle capacity, followed by another recession in a relatively short period of time."

That is why the demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in take home pay remains so important.



# When Cardenas Defended Trotsky Against Slanders

By Joseph Hansen  
(Second of two articles)

The top leaders of the Mexican Communist party, who have worked with Lic. Vicente Lombardo Toledano for many years and know him very well indeed, affirm that he replies with the "worst attacks and calumnies" to those who happen to disagree with him on political issues. For reasons of their own, however, these same leaders remain silent about the most flagrant example in Lombardo's current display of this propensity to respond to a political opponent by smearing him.

"When Leon Trotsky arrived in Mexico as a political refugee he was an agent of the Germany of the Third Reich," Lombardo tells his audience. "A little later Trotsky began his campaign" against "the then general secretary of the CTM, Comrade Vicente Lombardo Toledano."

To appreciate the enormity of this calumny, a bit of background is required. In 1936, the date first mentioned by Lombardo, the Moscow frame-up trials were at their height. Leon Trotsky, in exile in Norway, was the principal defendant. Stalin, however, made no attempt to extradite Trotsky. The reason was that the frame-up charge that Trotsky had made a pact with Hitler could not stand up in any court where charges had to be backed with evidence, not mere assertions.

## Cárdenas Grants Asylum

The Norwegian government, nevertheless, began to give way to Stalin's pressure. Trotsky was placed under house arrest and held incommunicado so that he could not reply publicly to the monstrous calumnies. It was feared that the Norwegian authorities might buckle further and, under an expulsion order, take the revolutionary-socialist leader to a Soviet port. Lenin's great comrade in arms appeared doomed.

In these circumstances, the government of Gen. Lázaro Cárdenas granted the founder of the Red Army political asylum. Mexico had the distinction of being the only country in the world willing to uphold this basic democratic right in Trotsky's case.

The Mexican government, of course, did not agree with Trotsky's socialist politics; but it extended Trotsky and his wife and household the courtesies of honored guests. It even detailed a number of police to help guard the lives of its guests night and day.

This upright attitude corresponded with the feeling of the hospitable Mexican people, for wherever Trotsky happened to be recognized on his occasional rec-

reational trips, he was immediately surrounded by crowds who acclaimed him. When Trotsky was finally murdered Aug. 20, 1940, by a Stalinist executioner, the humble lined the streets in great multitudes as the funeral cortege passed. Mile after mile, silent masses of the poor bowed their heads in sorrow over the death of the great man who had been their guest, the man who had done so much for their world-wide cause.

The Mexican Communist party, however, took a different attitude from the beginning. In flagrant violation of the right of political asylum, the Stalinist leadership opened a campaign demanding that Trotsky be "thrown out" of the country. They went even further. The Communist party press, repeating the frame-up charges of the Moscow trials, screamed, "Death to Trotsky!"

Lombardo Toledano participated in this campaign, as he indicates in his current calumny. For example, in February 1938, five months after the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry had announced — after exhaustive examination of all the evidence — that the Moscow trials were frame-ups, the "then secretary of the CTM" railroaded through the labor federation a resolution repeating the foul slanders concocted by Stalin. A few months earlier he had accused Trotsky of fomenting a "general strike" against the Cárdenas government.

Trotsky's public reply to these calumnies is today pictured by Lombardo Toledano as a "campaign" against the then general secretary of the CTM. How stupid can a lie be? Was this, perhaps, Trotsky's literary contribution to a plot to drive a pickaxe into Lombardo Toledano's brain?

While direct agents of Stalin, or Stalin cultists like Lombardo Toledano, were slandering Trotsky as having made a pact with Hitler, the Nazis were sending German Trotskyists to the concentration camps.

## Targets of Nazis

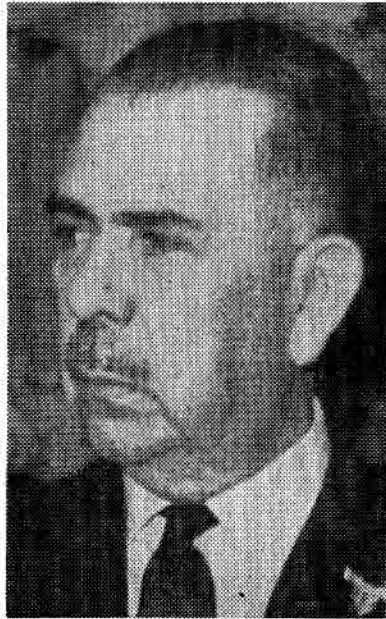
A typical case was the trial held in Danzig in 1937. Sixty Trotskyists were arrested. Of these, fifty simply vanished in the cells of the Gestapo. Ten were officially condemned to imprisonment. In passing sentence, the Nazi court declared: "The Trotskyist league must be looked upon as a communist organization. True, differences exist between the Trotskyists and the other communists but these concern not the world outlook but only questions of party tactics."

Whether the Trotskyist victims died from torture or in the gas chambers is not known.

The Trotskyists were the targets of the most reactionary forces in other countries, too. In the United States, for instance, the fascist demagogue Father Coughlin attacked the American Trotskyists. The Oct. 30, 1939, issue of his periodical *Social Justice* carried a scare headline: "TROTSKY'S GANGSTERS INVADE NEW YORK CITY."

This referred to the role the American Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers party were playing at the time in helping to mobilize opposition to the Christian Front and other fascist outfits. "Stalin, having momentarily dropped internationalism for nationalism, thereby alienating world Jewry," said Father Coughlin, "now fades into the background in the 'democratic' countries to let Trotsky, his bitter rival, reap the Red harvest."

In Mexico, the Stalinist campaign against permitting Trotsky to stay in the country reached such frenzy that it embarrassed the government, for it put into question whether Trotsky was living up to an agreement he had voluntarily assumed not to intervene in Mexican politics or whether the government had changed



Lázaro Cárdenas

its mind about upholding the democratic right of political asylum.

President Lázaro Cárdenas gave a stinging rebuff to the Stalinist calumnies. On Nov. 12, 1938, *La Prensa* published an interview in which the head of the Mexican government declared:

"It is not true that Trotsky is mixing in the politics of our country. This man, since the time he came seeking our country as an asylum and to whom we opened our doors in virtue of a firm declaration which he made not to mix in our politics, is honorable and knows how to keep his promises. In interviews, books, etc., always he has referred only to the situation in his own country, or to themes of world politics; he lives retired in voluntary seclusion, and all that he asks is that Mexico let him work in peace."

But Trotsky was not permitted to work in peace. Others besides the Stalinists were active. In a series of riots in Mexico City in January 1939 in which the windows of Jewish-owned shops were smashed, gangs of fascists shouted: "Death to the Jews! Death to Leon Trotsky!"

And the Stalinists, paying little heed to the public reprimand made by Cárdenas continued the campaign inspired by the head of the cult in Moscow.

When the Sudetenland fell before the advance of German imperialism on Sept. 30, 1938, Trotsky observed that Czechoslovakia "now becomes a bridge for Hitler into the Ukraine." Trotsky had warned repeatedly about the Nazi danger to the Soviet Union even before Hitler rose to power. Now that the danger was extremely high, Trotsky predicted that Stalin would further weaken the defenses of the Soviet Union by increasing the diplomatic feelers for a pact with Hitler. Also the efforts to silence Trotsky's criticisms by murdering him would be stepped up.

To the astonishment of the world, Trotsky's prediction that Stalin would himself do what he had accused his victims of doing in the frame-up trials was borne

out the following August. Hitler announced the coup of signing Stalin up in a "ten-year" pact.

This was the signal for a noteworthy shift of line among the Stalinists. The Oct. 9 *Izvestia* declared: "One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war for 'annihilation of Hitlerism' means to commit criminal folly in politics."

When Poland was crushed, Stalin sent a message to von Ribbentrop: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable." (*Daily Worker*, Dec. 26, 1939.)

The new line found reflection in the Mexican Stalinist press. The Oct. 18 issue of *La Voz de México*, for instance, ran the headline: "Trotskyist Jews Support Almanzan." The article is loaded with references to "Trotskyist Jews." The last paragraph warns the Mexican people about "capitalist Jews."

## Why Lombardo's Attack?

The calumnies used to smear Trotsky were also altered. He was no longer pictured as an "agent of the Germany of the Third Reich," with which Stalin now had a pact, but as an "agent of American imperialism" and of the "Dies Committee." (Rep. Martin Dies was then chairman of the House Un-American Committee.)

This was the type of calumny used by Stalin's agents in Mexico as they participated either in the direct physical organization or, like Lombardo Toledano, in the moral preparation of the murder of Trotsky.

In view of this damning record, one wonders why Lombardo Toledano would want to repeat calumnies that could serve to refresh the memory of this blood-spattered page in history. I do not pretend to know his reasons — if he is capable of having reasons — nor all the ins and outs of his current differences with the leaders of the Mexican Communist party; but one of the issues seems to be how to respond to the Cuban revolution.

The Trotskyist position is that the best defense of Cuba is to study its revolution and take it as an example applicable in important ways elsewhere. This was the position that Trotsky held in

relation to the Soviet Union and the Russian revolution.

Lombardo Toledano's position — if we judge by deeds and not words — is that the Cuban leaders are to be praised but the revolution they led is not to be taken as a practical example. This resembles the position he practiced in relation to the Soviet Union when he participated in the moral preparation of the murder of Trotsky.

That might explain why he puts the label "Trotskyist" on all those, whether genuine Trotskyists or not, who take the Cuban revolutionists, rather than calumniators like Lombardo Toledano, as exemplary models. In this Lombardo is a consistent Stalinist, for that was the label Stalin put on all revolutionists. In Stalin's dictionary, the Cuban revolutionists would certainly be labeled "Trotskyists." It happened, we should recall, to Tito and his comrades.

The position of the leaders of the Mexican Communist party is more equivocal. In accordance with the current left turn of the Soviet leadership, they seek to move with the revolutionary tide that is running deep throughout the colonial world. They don't want to be outflanked again from the left, as they were in Cuba.

To do this, they have to speak much more radically than they have in the past and also give actual support, at least to some degree, as they have in the cases of Cuba and Algeria. Lombardo Toledano, not caring to follow this move to the left, has challenged the Communist party by setting up the "Popular Socialist" party and calling it "Marxist-Leninist."

The Mexican Communist party leaders are correct in calling Lombardo Toledano to account for his use of calumny. Such vile methods, by splitting the political vanguard of the working class instead of welding it together in common struggle, inflict deadly injury on the socialist movement. Most immediately such methods injure the defense of the Cuban revolution which requires the utmost honesty and fair dealing.

But the Mexican Communist party leaders are not very articulate about the way Lombardo Toledano indulges in this foul business. They seem incapable of mentioning even in what school of politics he acquired his "anti-Communist" vice of resorting to calumny.

## Compressed But Available

If you want truthful reporting about the Cuban Revolution and haven't already subscribed to *The Militant*, we hope you will clip the special-offer coupon below. Reporting on U.S. press reaction to the April 17 invasion, the May 21 issue of the Cuban magazine, *Bohemia*, said this:

"What the U.S. *News & World Report* was proclaiming as a heroic deed, *The Militant* was indicting as a crime. This is a modest socialist tabloid edited in New York. Since it doesn't represent the interests of the monopolies, it lacks advertising and its circulation is limited. *The Militant*, of course, does not belong to the gilded circle of the S.E.P. [Society of Newspaper Editors]. Its truth remains compressed in four pages."

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## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

The Freedom Riders and the Future of Pacifism. Speaker: George Breitman. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

Shooting for the Moon! An analysis of the first four months of the Kennedy administration by Tom Kerry, labor editor, *The Militant*. Social evening to follow. Sat., June 10, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Unemployed and students 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Rally to Defend Francisco Molina. Young Cuban victim of a frame-up murder charge. Fri., June 16, 8 p.m. Cornish Arms Hotel, 8th Ave. & 23rd St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Committee to Defend Francisco Molina.

### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary, Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., June 16, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.



# THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published biweekly, by the Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 25 - No. 24



Monday, June 12, 1961

## Vienna and Havana

Since it was enveloped in such secrecy, it is difficult to tell if any substantial agreement came out of the Vienna conference between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev. The sole admitted point of agreement to establish "a neutral and independent Laos" remains to be tested by the subsequent negotiations at Geneva.

This meeting has apparently done no more to remove the causes of conflict between the Soviet Union and U.S. than its postwar predecessors beginning with the Geneva conference of 1955. What has stood in the way of their reconciliation on the key issues of world politics?

The fundamental obstacle comes from the opposing and irreconcilable nature of the states each represents. However eager Khrushchev is to reach diplomatic understanding with Washington, he is viewed and treated as the head of a different economic and political system which threatens the life-lines of world capitalism. The conflicting interests of the Soviet bloc and the imperialist coalition keep interfering with accord on any of the vital matters in dispute.

Nevertheless, many people pin their hopes for world peace, or at least for a relaxation of tension in the cold war, upon the resumption of personal parleys between the Big Two. If the Soviet representatives can succeed in eliminating any sources of irritation or gaining advantages for the workers' states by such diplomatic means, they have the right and even the duty to try them out.

But it is quite a different matter for the Communist parties to extol summitry as the principal method of preventing war and assuring world peace in place of the extension of the struggle for workers' power and socialism in the countries dominated by capitalism and imperialism — as was done in Cuba.

Thus, on the eve of Khrushchev's departure, the June 4 *Worker* carried a front-page dispatch from its Moscow correspondent saying: "Optimism and the hope that reason will triumph over those preaching distrust and antagonism in U.S.-Soviet relations is the dominant mood here . . ." This deplorable antagonism does not spring from the evil will of individuals but from the antagonistic economic and political interests of the respective powers.

Kennedy did not go to Vienna, any more than Eisenhower and Dulles went to Geneva in 1955, to listen to the voice of reason but to protect the interests and promote the policies of the monopolists and militarists he serves. For example, the day after he conferred with Khrushchev, the June 4 *New York Herald Tribune* published a dispatch from its well informed Washington correspondent Roscoe Drummond insisting on U.S. armed intervention in Cuba.

Recalling Kennedy's public declaration that the "inter-American doctrine of non-interference" must not be allowed "to conceal or to excuse a policy of non-action," Drummond admits that the Castro regime cannot be overthrown by internal revolt. What the White House, the Pentagon and the CIA need to remove it, he writes, is the establishment of "a Cuban provisional government in exile" in "a friendly democratic" Central American Republic; its recognition by the OAS; and an early meeting of their foreign ministers" to consider all appropriate measures, including the use of force."

This is the kind of "peaceful co-existence" the Kennedy administration is preparing to practice in the Caribbean while it pretends to be discussing measures for the promotion of peace in Vienna.

## Support the Freedom Riders

The Freedom Riders have put the Kennedy administration on the spot. The riders are simply taking Kennedy's public promises, the Democratic party platform and federal law at face value. They want their rights, they are exercising them, and they think, the administration should protect them from the racist mobs and police. Most Americans agree.

But Kennedy has made other promises and commitments — not so publicly — to his Dixiecrat supporters. The whole structure of the Democratic party is strained by this dilemma. For this reason the administration seeks every means to get the Freedom Riders to suspend their action, but so far the movement's leaders have correctly refused to do this. A resolute pressing of the Freedom Riders' campaign could have far reaching consequences, raising the struggle against Jim Crow to a new level.

But bus, train and plane fares are expensive, fines and legal fees are high, and the personal sacrifices of the riders are great. The movement must not be allowed to weaken for lack of funds or riders. The labor movement has everything to gain from getting behind this movement with all its resources. The Dixiecrats are labor's enemies too. Every local, regional and national union should organize a campaign for funds and volunteer riders from among its members. Every college campus should have a committee of students doing the same thing.

# Trujillo—From Pimp to President

By William Bundy

The Dominican Republic, a nation about half the size of Cuba in territory and population, which General Rafael Trujillo ruled until his assassination last month, is a classic example of a semi-colonial country.

Trujillo got his start as a pimp who procured prostitutes for U.S. Marines during their occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. The Marines were building a Dominican military force which could protect the investments of U.S. corporations so that U.S. troops wouldn't have to do it themselves. Trujillo got a Marine officer to send him to the school set up for this purpose.

Under the sponsorship of U.S. Marine Colonel Richard M. Cutts, the young Trujillo climbed the ladder of promotions. By 1930 he controlled the Dominican armed forces. He was elected president of the Republic that year as an unopposed candidate.

Trujillo maintained power for 31 years by three main devices: 1) He cultivated powerful friends in the U.S. military and Washington, acting as a loyal follower of U.S. foreign policy in all external matters and of U.S. corporation policy in all internal matters. 2) He built a large political-patronage machine internally so that his loyal friends became wealthy while his opponents couldn't make a living. 3) He murdered any opponents who actually threatened his hold on the country.

Most reporters say his victims number tens of thousands. In 1937 he ordered the massacre of about 15,000 Haitian migratory farm laborers, who, he said, were rustling cattle.

U.S. newspapers claim that despite his brutality, Trujillo was an efficient administrator who aided his country's economic progress. This is true only from the standpoint of the corporations. He stabilized the currency, eliminated the national debt, policed the unions, maintained a tax system favorable to foreign investors, and a commercial-bank interest rate that averaged a juicy ten percent.

But after 31 years of this kind of progress, 30 percent of Dominican adults are still illiterate. There is only one doctor for every 4,800 people in the country (compared to one per 710 in the U.S. or one per 1,000 in Cuba even before the revolution). Less than ten per cent of the country's dwellings have running water and less than 15 per cent have electricity. There are only 15,000 telephones and 15,000 motor vehicles of all types in the entire country, which has a population of about 3.5 million.

Only about half the country's arable land is cultivated, the best of the remainder awaiting development by capitalist concessionaires. Dominican small farmers, who with their families are the majority of the population, are land hungry and use the most primitive tools. Eighty-five per cent of the country's exports are

agricultural, primarily sugar. Most of these are produced on the large plantations of United Fruit and the South Porto Rico Sugar Co., both U.S.-owned. Two-thirds of the country's industrial workers depend on sugar processing.

Trujillo enjoyed more or less open U.S. support until 1959 when the Cuban revolution forced the State Department to pretend concern about the Dominican tyrant's brutality. In 1960 the U.S. voted in the Organization of American States for sanctions against Trujillo in an attempt to establish a precedent which could be used against Cuba. The U.S. ambassador was withdrawn but consular relations were continued, as was the Dominican share of the U.S. sugar quota. U.S. corporations, of course, continued to extract profits from their \$250 million investment protected by the Trujillista machine.

## ... Court Ruling

(Continued from Page 1)

establish specific acts of "conspiracy" to advocate "violent overthrow." Now, in the case of Junius Scales, a former Communist Party member in North Carolina, the high court upheld a conviction based solely on membership in the party.

With this "membership" precedent, those whose names are submitted to the Justice Department under terms of the McCarran Act would automatically face the danger of prosecution under the Smith Act. The Communist Party will reportedly challenge the registration order on the ground that it violates the right of immunity from self-incrimination guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

With several hundred organizations arbitrarily ruled "subversive" by the attorney general, the "membership" ruling opens the door for wholesale prosecutions.

In his dissenting opinion that the McCarran Act is unconstitutional, Justice Hugo L. Black declared: "The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas . . . marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country. That moment seems to have arrived in this country."

### Fear of Dissent

Justice William O. Douglas, dissenting in the Scales case, pointed out that there was "no charge of an overt act to overthrow the government by force and violence."

"Nothing but beliefs are on trial in this case," he said. "They are unpopular and to most of us revolting. But they are nonetheless ideas or dogmas or faith within the broad framework of the First Amendment."

"What we lose by majority vote today," Douglas added, "may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."

These rights will be reclaimed only by the united, militant struggle of all those who recognize that political freedom hangs by a precarious thread in this country today.

## Africans Push for Isolation Of Racist Verwoerd Regime

By Frances James

The Union of South Africa became a republic on May 31. Under pressure from Asian and African leaders at the Prime Ministers Conference in London last March, Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa's white-supremacist government, withdrew his country's application for readmission to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Thus ceasing to be a member of the Commonwealth, the Union has become a republic.

South Africa's withdrawal is a victory for the African freedom movement's campaign to isolate

Verwoerd's government politically, economically and culturally. It regards such isolation as a step towards overthrowing the white dictatorship and establishing a government by the black African majority on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Supporting the campaign of isolation, Chief Luthuli, African National Congress leader in the Union, cabled the Prime Ministers Conference: "Voicing feeling majority Africans . . . Call on Commonwealth to expel South Africa from membership." The South African United Front, composed of the five major political organizations in South Africa, declared: "The readmission of South Africa into the Commonwealth would be a vindication of Dr. Verwoerd's racist policies . . . It is our firm belief that South Africa must be isolated . . ."

The All-African People's Conference, representing newly independent nations and freedom movements throughout the continent, endorsed the isolation policy. The slogan "Down with Verwoerd's Government" became a central theme of its March 25 meeting in Cairo attended by 207 delegates from 31 countries. Several African nations, including the United Arab Republic and Ghana, have broken all diplomatic ties with the new republic of South Africa. At the United Nations, African representatives have asked for international economic sanctions against the Union. The U.S. delegation did not support this African demand.

Establishment of the republic on May 31 was marked in the Union by mobilization of troops, police and armed white civilians, a ban on meetings, and legislation for arbitrary jailings of at least twelve days. The government feared a general strike of Africans. Three-quarters of Johannesburg's huge African labor force stayed home but a national work stoppage did not materialize. Fear that a future general strike might succeed is producing increased tensions amongst the whites and political splits in the ranks of the ruling group.

## ... Fair Play

(Continued from Page 1)

issue of *The New Guard*, publication of Young Americans for Freedom, the new youth organization which worships at the altar of Senator Barry Goldwater.

On May 30, United Press International, second largest press association in the country, sent out a witch-hunting story on FPCC which was printed in full or part by almost every daily newspaper. Obviously an "inspired" story, it cites no news source but gives "background information." First asserting the FPCC is "heavily infiltrated by Communists," the article declares: "There is abundant documentary proof that the committee has been infiltrated by members of not one, but two, Communist organizations. One is the Communist Party, U.S.A., the other, less well known to the public, is the Socialist Workers Party. . . . The fact that these long-antagonistic Communist factions have begun to work together in the FPCC is extremely interesting to authorities who keep a close watch on Red activities in America. It suggests the possibility that they may be moving towards a united front."

The "proof" boils down to allegations that five people in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, have or had connections with the CP, and two people in Los Angeles and Seattle, with the SWP.

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# The Woman Cried a Little

By Fred Halstead

There was a story in the *Christian Science Monitor* May 25 that reminded me of an incident I hadn't thought about in years. It happened in the early spring of 1946. I was a teenager then and in the U.S. Navy, on a ship in the Yellow Sea. We were headed for Fusan, Korea from China with several hundred Koreans aboard. They weren't exactly prisoners of war and they weren't exactly refugees; just laborers, men, women and children, taken by the Japanese to China during the war, and now that it was over, we were taking them back.

They were quartered on the bare steel deck of a hold and ate nothing but rice, cooked in big steel cans with a steam line run up from the boiler room. The trip was only a matter of days, but one of the women gave birth on the way.

The guard, detailed to keep the Koreans from leaving their quarters at night, reported the woman was in labor and got a mattress and some clean towels for her to lie on. He was a country lad from a swamp land district of Florida and had a peculiar knack with people. Just from sitting there those nights he could sing Korean songs.

I had to pass his station to check a gauge during my watch, and the night the woman was in labor, he told me he knew she wasn't doing well. Something was wrong and while we didn't have a doctor aboard, maybe we ought to get her someplace where it was cleaner and there was more room. "Our bunks are too narrow," I said. "Well, what about the table in the officers' ward room," said he. "That'll do."

So we went up to the ward room, hats in hand which is the rule, and reported the situation. "Don't be silly," said the senior officer there. "Those old women know more about this than anybody here does. And who the hell relieved you from your stations?" So we went back.

The guard and I agreed he was probably right about the old women, but he was dead wrong about not taking her and the old women up there. After all, she was a human being.

Well, she gave birth, but the baby died the next day. The woman cried a little, and they wrapped it in a piece of canvas and threw it overboard. That was the incident. It was one of the things that made a revolutionist out of me.

The story in the *Christian Science Monitor*, by Edward Neilan,

reports that the new military junta in South Korea is cleaning up slums in Seoul. He says: "Hundreds of shacks in the Namsan shanty-town area were torn down and the area looked much better after the housecleaning."

Neilan searched for the former occupants. "I found them huddled on a dusty hill in suburban Susaek, where city trucks had brought them. They were wondering if they would have lodging and food that night. . . . Five hundred and ninety-three families, a total of more than three thousand people, were uprooted in the clean-up drive and unceremoniously dumped on the mountainside to face nature."

Then came the part that brought back the memory. "One woman, Mrs. Choi Pyunghi faced nature squarely Friday morning. Sleeping under a tree wrapped in a quilt, and among her few belongings, she gave birth to a son at 4:30 a.m. and another at 6:20."

I hope those two kids beat the odds and live; and grow up to have wives, who have their babies in clean rooms because some of those who saw that, or read about it, pledged revolt against a system protected by military officers who live in luxury, while they treat honest laborers worse than animals.

## Letters from Our Readers

### 'Afro-American' or 'Negro'?

[In our May 29 issue we published a letter, signed "Afro-American Reader," objecting to the use of the word "Negro," and a reply to that letter by George Breitman. The following letters comment on the exchange. Editor.]

Jamaica, N. Y.

Dear Fellow Afro-American:

Why be irritated by the word "Negro"? It's just a name given to us by the Spaniards when Spain was in her hey-day. After all, a rose by any other name would be just as sweet.

So don't worry about finding it in *The Militant*. What you have to worry about is finding the lack of the human touch in unexpected places.

F. S.

Milwaukee, Wisc.

I have been a long subscriber to *The Militant*. But I too cannot understand why you support the term "Negro" in your paper. I am in complete agreement with Mr. Richard B. Moore author of the book, *The Name Negro — Its Origin and Evil Use*. I am also happy that one of your readers brought this objectionable term to your attention.

Since you know that the socialists did not invent the term "Negro," why do you insist on its usage? Everyone knows that the imperialistic capitalists devised "Negro" or "colored" in the year 1619 for usage in more ways than one.

I am sure if you took a stand on the term Afro-American you would be understood by all.

Muslim American Reader

### Seeking the Truth

Bellflower, Calif.

I, as a high school student, have great interest in Marxist thought, though I do not fully agree with all its analyses. It is in its materialistic, near-scientific interpretations of past and contemporary history that Marxism proves instrumental in an objective historical investigation.

*The Militant* represents one of the many diverse expositions of Marxist thought in the United States and it proves highly enlightening and objective (though not always so) in its presentation of material.

In keeping with my desire for the truth I have explored all types and forms of political movements and thought. Though far from finished with my investigation, I am convinced of the superiority of "leftist" doctrines.

Recognizing the service the Socialist Workers Party offers the American people I wish it success in its drive for public enlightenment and action in the framework of leftist policies.

Student

### Opposes Foreign Imports

Chicago, Ill.

Organized labor in the USA has long recognized the dangers of cheap immigrant labor. But foreign labor entering the markets of the USA as merchandise is far more dangerous because the merchandise is not a consumer and the immigrants are.

U.S. policies which permit foreign-made merchandise and foreign-grown farm products to compete with U.S. merchandise and farm products are utterly ruinous because they abolish jobs for U.S. workers and ruin the market for U.S. products by wrecking the price system.

### Thought for the Week

"The chief of the propaganda department of the Cuban Foreign Office had the stubs of checks to prove that the representatives of American news services were in the pay of Batista. This was hard to believe, but on a recent trip through Central America I found that in several countries the representative of an American news agency received about \$100 a month in regular salary — and almost ten times as much as an honorarium from the local government. Little wonder then that our reporting has not been all that we might have wished." — Prof. Ronald Hilton in the *Nation*.

I further suggest that the U.S. government make it clear that any future investments made abroad by citizens of the USA are to be made at the investor's risk. Genuine Americans do not consider American-owned factories, farms and packing houses in foreign countries as part of our American system but as foreign competition with farms, industry and labor in the U.S.

D. E. A.

[In our view, the problem of unemployment in this country will not be solved by labor and the small farmer combining with the capitalists in an effort to block the import of goods made in other countries. We invite readers' comment on D.E.A.'s letter. Editor.]

### Model Sit-In

San Francisco, Calif.

To the sit-ins, stand-ins and wade-ins which Negroes are using to win equal rights we can now add the real-estate sit-in.

Willie Brown of this city wants to buy a house. But he met the usual rebuffs, with a new twist added, when he went to inspect the middle-class subdivision of Forest Knolls. Salesmen would turn their backs and silently vanish as he entered model homes open for public inspection. Three times in one week he tried to contact salesmen but found these usually loquacious individuals unwilling to utter a word to him.

Sunday, Brown and his family and friends (including Terry Francois, president of the NAACP here) visited the Forest Knoll tract together. Again salesmen fled at Brown's approach, locking up the model home and tract office.

Interviewed by a reporter, one of the hastily decamping salesmen declared Negroes were "perfectly welcome" to inspect the homes. Asked if he would accept a deposit by a Negro he said: "You've heard of the Fifth Amendment?"

Brown and his party didn't pursue the fleeing salesman but proceeded to camp out in the garage of the model home. They sat-in at the model home all day while salesmen, watching through a window of a nearby home, saw prospective buyers drive up to the model home and drive away again.

Brown and Francois say they will repeat this real-estate sit-in every Sunday and holiday (big days for house hunters) until real estate operators recognize the elementary rights of Negroes. If the realtors don't see the light and change their policies they are going to feel plenty of heat through these militant tactics and the publicity that ensues.

G. B.

### Enjoys Letters Column

Chicago, Ill.

I find the letters column in *The Militant* most enjoyable.

R.A.L.'s letters from Indianapolis are gems and most inspiring. G.G.H.'s "hayseed" letter from Springfield, Colo., gave me the wanderlust to be on the high plains. Also the letter from the coal-mining region of Pennsylvania and R.S.'s from Jenkins, Minn. And last but not least the wonderful feeling of intimacy in the letter of Mrs. D. M. from Salt Lake, Utah.

What a wonderful land it is with so many good people calling out to each other to unite as brethren and make the world a happy realm.

Enclosed is money order for \$1.50 to help publish *The Militant*.

S. T. R.

## Our New Secret Weapon

# Why There's No Sleep in the Kremlin

"Whatever may be the difference of opinion about the consequences of the summit meeting there can only be agreement about the consequences of Jacqueline Kennedy. . . . Will historians, scurrying among their footnotes, remember that at a fateful moment in the political struggle for the world, when the great cold warriors faced each other and the earth's foundation shook, a beautiful woman stole the show?"

"... What she stands for is quite central to the struggle for the world. In that struggle the idea she symbolizes is one of the secret weapons the free world possesses. . . . We talk a great deal about communism and tyranny. But we talk very little of communism and beauty. . . ."

"I am certain that right now there are lights burning in the Kremlin far into the night, while some commissars and their flunkies worry about exactly this im-

act of the Jackie image, and how to counteract it." — Columnist Max Lerner in the June 6 *New York Post*.

As one useful footnote for the scurrying historians we offer a few verses from a satirical skit about Mrs. Kennedy which was banned by the British censor from a London musical revue. The producer was particularly puzzled, he said, since an equally irreverent skit about the British royal family was not touched.

"Of course Jack and I have a normal family life and we are bringing up our daughter Caroline to be a normal child. Caroline, put down that Secret Service man, you don't know where he's been."

"Yes, since I married Jack, how Dame Fortune has smiled,

For his temper is sunny, his outlook is mild.

Though we don't discuss Cuba in front of the child,

We shall tell her the facts at 16."

"Caroline, darling, those nasty old reporters are bringing up the subject of Uncle Castro again. Now I want you to put on mummy's old girdle and toddle into the conference room. Then, if you act cute enough, we'll have the whole world laughing with and not at us."

"While he fumbles with Russia, I use all my guile  
So the press and the public won't guess for a while,  
He's just like Ike dressed up Madison Avenue style.  
Which is why he tells me every night

Just as long as I can bless you, Jacqueline, I'm all right."

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Theirs But to Do and Die** — "In my opinion a most unfortunate philosophy has been advanced in recent years. This is that a soldier must know what he is fighting for and all the reasons behind it. A properly trained soldier does not have to be convinced of the righteousness of his cause." — From a May 27 speech by Lt. General Leslie R. Grove, wartime head of the atomic bomb project.

**Alcoholics Automated** — An automatic martini mixer — the "Cocktailmatic" — has been introduced. It can be pre-set to mix martinis "dry," "extra dry" or "dusty."

**And Especially by Coca Cola** — James A. Farley, former Democratic postmaster general and now president of the Coca Cola Export Co., says: "... should President Kennedy elect to order the armed forces of the United States into action against Communist Castro, his action would be hailed by the free world governments and the free peoples of the world."

**Middleman on Top** — Consumers paid more for their food in 1960 than they did in 1947, but farmers got lower prices for the food they

produced. In 1947 the farmer got 51 cents of every dollar spent for food but by last year his share had dropped to 39 cents.

**Hurts Him More Than You** — A "stinging blow" is often helpful in curing phobias and other psychological problems, says Dr. Ian Stevenson, chairman of the department of neurology and psychiatry at the University of Virginia. One example he offered of such a salutary blow to a patient is a deliberate boost in the doctor's fee.

**But Sometimes Gets Expelled** — An inscription on a Brooklyn Branch building of the Manufacturers Trust Co. reads: "Commerce defies every wind, outrides every tempest and invades every zone."

**The Silver Lining** — The Chamber of Commerce reports that individuals, corporations and the federal, state and local governments are now in hock for more than one trillion (that's 100 billion) dollars. However, the Chamber notes, there is no cause for alarm since one man's debt is another's credit.

**Shrewd, Man** — Morton Rosenfeld, a Mt. Vernon, N. Y. real estate

dealer, has won a civil defense citation for the excellency and ingenuity of design of his home-made bomb shelter. One of the shelter's features is its location. Rosenfeld figured the main blast would come from New York and located his shelter so that when his house is blown over it will fall away from, not on top of, the shelter.

**City of Progress** — For the fifteenth consecutive year, New York City Health officials have reported that four of its 14 bathing areas are free of pollution, six are "marginal" and four are dangerously polluted.

**Our Rational Society** — An estimated ten per cent of the labor force now depends for employment on federal war preparation expenditures. The Defense Department spends about \$42,000,000,000 annually, or more than 50 per cent of the entire national budget.

**Urges China Recognition** — The Pittsburgh chapter of Americans for Democratic Action has urged that the U.S. recognize the People's Republic of China and that the ban on travel to that country be lifted.