

Nation Faces First Ban on Political Party

By Harry Ring

Armed with Supreme Court approval of the Internal Security Act and the "membership" proviso in the Smith Act, Attorney General Robert Kennedy is moving ahead with plans to complete the outlawing of the Communist Party. This move will in turn lay the basis for a broader attack on those holding dissident political and social views. Some 200 other organizations are presently under Justice Department scrutiny as supposed "Communist-front" or

"Communist-infiltrated" groups.

In announcing that he would crack down on the Communist Party to the full extent of the law, Kennedy offered the fake argument that this was justified because the Communist Party is a Moscow-directed "conspiracy," not a legitimate political party. This was only intended to lull those concerned about the dangerous consequences of this first outlawing of a political party in the nation's history.

Kennedy's contention is a complete fraud. Throughout the 15

years of cold-war legal persecution of the Communist Party not a single one of its members has been convicted of anything other than advocating political ideas or "conspiring" to advocate political ideas.

Despite this fact, Kennedy is now trying to force the CP to comply with the provisions of the McCarran Act by providing the Justice Department with a list of its members, a financial report — including names of contributors, and a list of all printing equipment owned by the party — right down to the last mimeograph

machine in a branch office.

The leaders of the party have replied by declaring they will not comply even if it means they will have to "live the rest of our lives in jail."

In response to this refusal to be informers on their members, Kennedy grimly asserted that he would move to bring the full penalties of the law down on the party. And the penalties are incredible. The party can be subjected to criminal prosecution for refusal to comply with the registration order. Upon conviction it

would make a fine of \$10,000 for each day of non-compliance.

This same procedure would then be applied to party officers. They would face \$10,000 fines and five years imprisonment for each day of non-compliance. Finally, each member would be expected to register individually or be subject to the same extreme penalty.

This sandbagging operation is completed by the high court's ruling that mere membership in the party is sufficient basis for conviction under the Smith Act. Thus,

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THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 25 - No. 25

Monday, June 19, 1961

Price 10c

Inter-Party Fracas Throws New Light on Invasion Plot

By George Lavan

If the proverb about honest men benefiting when thieves fall out has any current application, the American people may yet get more details about White House involvement in the invasion of Cuba. In a dramatic June 11 radio and TV statement, William E. Miller, new national chairman of the Republican Party, declared that the Eisenhower administration had not only armed, trained and financed the Cuban counter-revolutionaries, but had also planned on using U.S. air force and naval units in the attack.

The next day Eisenhower told newsmen that on March 17, 1960 he had given the order for the organization, training and equipping of the counter-revolutionaries. He denied there was any specific order for use of U.S. planes and ships because, he said, there wasn't any "exact" plan for the invasion.

Air Cover Essential

But while denying the order for the use of U.S. planes and ships, Eisenhower conceded he had stated that "no amphibious operation could succeed unless it had air cover."

The prelude to the invasion was the attempt to knock out Cuba's small air force. Counter-revolutionary planes painted up with Cuban air force markings bombed Cuban airfields and then landed in Florida claiming they were defectors from Castro's army. Whether this was in the original Eisenhower plan or was a Kennedy gimmick is not yet known. However, the following item from "Pentagon Whispers" in *Newsweek* (May 22) shows how well preparations were made:

The U-2 Again

"Laughlin AFB, Texas — Nothing has been said, but a U-2 photo plane — the same type that did high-altitude reconnaissance over Russia — flew over Cuba just before the abortive rebel landings. The mission — one of the last from this soon-to-be-closed base — gave the CIA a set of near-perfect pictures of Cuban airfields (and the planes on them) and military bases."

There are indications that far from "rescinding" any order about U.S. planes, Kennedy ordered them into action after the second day. But by that time the invasion had been smashed beyond rescue.

Washington columnist Drew Pearson on May 9 described a 3 a.m. emergency conference in the White House on April 19:



Eisenhower

"Some advisers urged that American planes be sent into battle . . . Kennedy finally ordered American planes into action in a last-minute effort to save the rebels from collapse. But when Navy planes got off their near-by carrier, their only contribution to freedom was to help Castro. They shot down a rebel B-26. The rebel planes had the same markings as Castro's planes except for a blue streak underneath the wing. The Navy pilots couldn't see beneath the wing."

Japanese Demonstrations Win Victory over Reactionary Law

Mass demonstrations by workers and students in Japan scored a smashing victory when they forced the ruling Liberal Democratic Party to shelve a bill limiting the right of political protest. More than 30,000 demonstrators chanted and snake-danced outside the Diet (parliament) June 3 as the bill was steamrollered through the lower house over strong Socialist objections.

Protests by labor unions, the national student federation (Zenkakuren) and the People's Council Against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty spread from Tokyo to Osaka and Kyoto when Premier Ikeda tried to push the bill through the upper house. The government mobilized 7,000 police in Tokyo against the demonstrators. The demonstration swelled to 84,000. Ikeda was forced to back down

on his attempt to pass the bill in the upper house, the final step in making it a law. He said he wished to avoid political dissension and disunity. Ikeda is scheduled to visit Washington this month. Slogans opposing Ikeda's visit figured on the placards carried by demonstrators.

The shelved bill would prohibit demonstrations in the vicinity of parliament (such as those that forced cancellation of Eisenhower's visit last year) and give the police new arbitrary powers. As camouflage, several sections against terrorism and assassination were included in the bill. Thus the American press has referred to it exclusively as an "anti-violence" bill. The demonstrators made clear that it was the sections banning protest demonstrations and giving the police added powers that they opposed.

Stellato Elected By Slim Margin In UAW Contest

DETROIT, June 11 — Carl Stellato won his race-baiting, red-baiting campaign for re-election as president of UAW Ford Local 600 in the election held June 7-8. But it was a close thing; he ran into the strongest opposition he has encountered since winning the post in 1950. This time, indeed, he lost in eight of the local's 15 units.

Stellato got 12,466 votes to 10,528 for Harry Philo, leader of the Job Security Slate. John Orr of the Stellato slate was re-elected vice president, with 12,362 votes to 10,087 for Paul Boatin.

The Stellato slate won five of the nine top offices, the Philo slate won one (guide), and run-offs will be held June 28-29 for local recording secretary, financial secretary and trustee because no candidate got a majority last week. Runoffs for the unit presidents will also decide most of the other 15 executive board posts.

Local 600 has around 46,000 members, including 18,000 retired and unemployed workers. Of these, 26,000 turned out at the ballot. Around 1,100 voted for two minor presidential candidates, and another 2,000 either did not vote for president or spoiled their ballots.

Stellato had several advantages to start with. He is better known than Philo. As incumbent, he had the local's large staff working for him. In addition he got plenty of help from International representatives, which was possible only with Walter Reuther's OK.

But Stellato ran scared and used every dirty trick in the union bureaucrat's book. He tried to arouse prejudice against Philo among the older workers by harping on his low seniority status in the local. He cast suspicion on Philo's motive in quitting a well-paying job as lawyer in order to run. (After being laid off in the 1958 recession because of his low

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A. Philip Randolph

Africans to Step Up The Campaign for Freedom in Angola

By Frances James

The war for independence in Angola is expected to intensify following passage of an Afro-Asian sponsored resolution in the United Nations Security Council calling on Portugal to end "repressive measures" in the colony. The present African nationalist revolt in Angola began Feb. 3 with coordinated raids on political prisons in Luanda, the capital, and elsewhere. Since then Africans have gained control of most of northern Angola.

Get Weapons From Enemy

In the fighting, an estimated 500 whites were killed. European army patrols were ambushed almost daily. Exiled Angolan nationalist leaders in Leopoldville, in the Congo, and Conakry, in Guinea, claim to direct up to 20,000 rebels armed with weapons taken from the Portuguese. They say an intensified guerrilla campaign will be the next stage of the independence struggle.

Portuguese dictator Salazar is sending thousands of regular troops and heavy military equipment to Angola for a war of "extermination" against rebel forces. European settlers have formed "defense corps." The colonial government authorized issuance of arms to all white Portuguese civilians — but not to *assimilados* (Africans officially declared in the past to be "civilized" and granted Portuguese citizenship).

Portuguese Troops

Portuguese settlers and troops have already killed an estimated 20,000 to 100,000 Africans—bombing villages, burning houses, schools and missions and decimating the population.

In the UN Security Council, the U.S. voted for the resolution deploing "large-scale killings" and demanding that Portugal cease "repressive measures." The State Department's attempt to pose as a friend of the African freedom revolution disturbed colonial powers allied to the U.S. in NATO. There has even been talk that Portugal will demand a UN investigation of racial segregation in Mississippi if the U.S. continues to vote for African resolutions on Angola.

Minimum Wage Of \$2 Asked by Negro Unionists

By Fred Halstead

A New York area conference of the Negro American Labor Council has called for a national \$2 per hour minimum wage. The conference passed the resolution after hearing New York City Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson declare that the new federal minimum was already inadequate and that at least \$2 an hour is necessary to provide a living standard of minimum decency for a family of two.

Dumpson said there are 860,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City's labor force of 3.5 million, and about half of them are unemployed or underpaid according to the minimum standards of the State Department of Social Welfare.

Thousands of New Yorkers with full time jobs require welfare department relief just to pay rent and feed their families. Ninety-five per cent of these are Negroes or Puerto Ricans.

New York Lowest

The NALC conference was held June 10 to consider racial discrimination in employment in the New York City area, and its sharpened effects on the Negro and Puerto Rican population in view of deteriorated wage levels in the country's largest city. A study released the same day by Joint Council 16 of the Teamsters Union revealed that average factory wages in New York City are the lowest of the 18 major industrial areas in the country. In 1947, New York City factory wages had averaged the highest in a study of seven major industrial areas.

The current average wage for the city's roughly one million factory workers is \$80.36, which is \$30.55 below the weekly income the federal bureau of labor statistics considers necessary to support an "adequate but moderate" living standard for a family of four.

Freedom Riders Jam Miss. Jail

JUNE 13 — Twelve Freedom Riders drew four-month jail sentences in Jackson, Mississippi, yesterday, bringing the total convicted there for challenging segregated travel facilities to 110. The Hinds County jail is now overcrowded and the sheriff has been authorized to transfer Freedom Riders to the Mississippi State Penitentiary.

Two busloads of Freedom Riders, including union representatives, rabbis and ministers, plan to leave Washington, D.C., today to test facilities in North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida. Meanwhile, the temporary injunction against Freedom Riders in Alabama has expired, but Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson warned he may reinstate it later. The Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee announced from Atlanta that it would reopen its Montgomery, Alabama, office 24 hours after the expiration.

Strikebreaking — 'New Frontier' Style

By Tom Kerry

During World War II the employers had no more effective weapon for curbing the union struggle for wages, hours and working conditions, than the tri-partite War Labor Board and its no-strike pledge.

With the WLB holding firm the wage-freezing line against labor while prices and profits skyrocketed, the corporations were enriched at the expense of the working people.

By the time the war ended, the War Labor Board had become a hated symbol of the gross inequality imposed under the hypocritical sign of "equality of sacrifice."

Militant union opposition to the tri-partite hoax mounted in a tidal wave of massive discontent that swept the wage-freezing, strike-breaking, WLB out of existence.

That was some fifteen years ago. Counting on the shortness of memory of the workers, Secretary of Labor Goldberg is today engaged in a truly monstrous attempt to portray the wartime tri-partite swindle as the golden era of American labor.

Tripartitism

Prior to his appointment as Secretary of Labor in the Kennedy administration, Arthur J. Goldberg, whose fat fees as legal counsel for a number of unions made him a rich man, stumped the country trumpeting the virtues of tripartitism as a means of promoting "labor-management" harmony.

It was Goldberg who, as counsel for the United Steel Workers, was credited with master-minding the mutual trusteeship policy in the steel union. Under this "arms-around-the-shoulder" policy, corporation head Fairless and union chief McDonald, paraded the steel plants for the edification and delectation of the steel workers therein assembled.

The co-existence dream was rudely shattered by the 116-day steel strike in which the workers fought off the attempt of the steel bosses to scuttle their union. Now

... Political Ban

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every person whose name was turned over under the McCarran Act would be in jeopardy of prosecution.

This whole frame-up system will be subject to further court test since CP officers and members will undoubtedly refuse to register on the basis of the Fifth Amendment guarantee against self-incrimination.

Invidious enough in its own right, this police-state drive against the Communist Party has the deepest implications for the general political life of the country.

Probe

Last March 6, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover declared: "Some 200 known, or suspected, Communist-front and Communist-infiltrated organizations are now under investigation by the FBI. Many of these fronts are national in scope with chapters in various cities."

Hoover didn't indicate the names of the 200 organizations. But an inkling of what is involved is offered by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's recent effort to establish "Communist infiltration" in the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the current moves of the Eastland group to witch-hunt the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on the same basis.

The Internal Security Act, now ruled constitutional, applies not only to "Communist action" groups but also to groups deemed to fall into the vaguely defined category of being "substantially dominated" by "Communist action" groups.

The need for a united opposition to this political frame-up and thought-control system is urgent.



Arthur J. Goldberg

Goldberg is at it again — this time on a grander scale.

Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 29, Goldberg summed up "the four point approach behind the programs that President Kennedy has presented to Congress," by affirming that "we must take steps to renew the creative partnership between business, labor and Government that existed during the war."

The first step was the creation of the "President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Pol-

icy," composed equally of representatives of the unions, employers and the government.

Although this tri-partite body is presumed to be solely "advisory" the word is out that the ban is on all strikes affecting the national economy.

With the maritime unions and the shipping industry deadlocked in contract negotiations with a strike deadline set for June 15, Goldberg has sent out the word that "he will not tolerate a tie-up in any phase of the transportation industry, particularly shipping."

Recently the May 30 issue of the *Detroit Free Press* carried a banner headline reading: "Goldberg Tells Detroit: We Can't Have Auto Strike."

No Concessions

The auto corporations have already announced they will refuse to grant any concessions that will "boost labor costs." As any concession is bound to increase labor costs this is tantamount to a declaration that the auto workers will be offered nothing.

Since his appointment Goldberg has been busy as a bee buzzing striking workers back to their jobs. His crowning achievement was breaking the strike of the migratory workers in Imperial Valley. "The strikes were broken," charge California AFL-CIO officials, "because of Secretary of Labor Goldberg's refusal for many weeks to remove *braceros* [contract laborers imported from Mexico] being used as strikebreakers." Now there's a man who has really won his coonskin hat as a New Frontier "friend of labor."

... Stellato Wins by Slim Margin

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seniority, Philo went to law school and got a degree, while retaining his membership in Local 600.)

The Trimmings

These were only the trimmings, however. Stellato's main appeal was directed to the most backward anti-Negro and anti-radical elements in the local.

Concocting a fantastic story about a plot by "outside forces" to take over Local 600, Stellato accused the Trade Union Leadership Council of being the chief conspirators behind the Philo slate. The TULC, local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, is actively fighting for Negro representation and equality in the unions and plants. Its leaders have crossed swords with Stellato a number of times because of his alliance with anti-Negro forces in the local.

Stellato presented himself as a crusader against such "outside domination." He rallied the anti-Negro forces behind him by emphasizing the three Negro candidates on the Philo slate, and by refusing to include any Negroes on his own slate.

Paternalism

When asked by a Negro paper why his slate was all white in a local with so many Negroes, he replied paternalistically that he was trying to "protect" his Negro staff members, who would have been "clobbered" by the TULC if they ran on his slate!

Race-baiting usually goes hand-in-hand with red-baiting, and Stellato's campaign was no exception. In the past he has often written articles critical of the House Un-American Activities Committee. In his desperation he now found it necessary to dig down to the bottom of his barrel and use the discredited hearings of this committee to publicize the seven-year old testimony of a stoolpigeon witness accusing Philo of having belonged to a "communist group" in Albany, N.Y.

Stellato knows Philo doesn't belong to the Communist Party, but for smear-artists "anything goes,"

no matter how filthy. He also red-baited Philo for his courageous remarks in defense of Cuba after making a tour there last year.

Against all this dirt, it was to the credit of the Philo slate that it was not distracted from the main issues — the need for a militant and democratic leadership to lead the UAW in the struggle against the corporations for job security, 30 for 40, against the speedup, etc.

Shook Myth

Thanks to this, their main asset, they were able to win the support of a majority of the younger members, the production workers and the Negroes. They shook the myth of Stellato's prestige in this, their first campaign. They won a number of important unit posts and probably will win others in the runoffs. If they continue along the lines they started out on, they have a good chance of restoring Local 600 to the position of leadership it used to have in the labor movement.

In any case, they have demonstrated that new and independent currents are beginning to run inside the unions that have been so tightly controlled by conservative and demagogic leaders for over a decade. Although narrowly defeated, their campaign is a clear omen of better things to come.

The Influentials

In 1940 the average U.S. daily included 13.75 pages of news and 10.4 pages of advertising. In 1959, 14.39 pages were devoted to news and 23.11 to advertising.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

Introduction by Richard Gibson

16 pages 15 cents

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

Cuba Offers Liberty for Liberty

(The following is the text of a June 6 message from Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to the U.S. "Tractors for Freedom Committee" as published in an unofficial translation by the *New York Times*.)

With all respect I want to tell you the following:

This committee has not taken any practical steps to carry the negotiations to a positive and immediate result.

The delay in the negotiations is only useful to those who need this time to carry out against Cuba a campaign as hypocritical and hateful as the rest of the criminal proceedings against our fatherland that have been carried out by forces organized, equipped and managed by the government of the United States.

The Revolutionary Government (of Cuba) has expressed with complete clarity its points of view about the questions, while those who should have been the most interested in repairing their grave violation of international law and morality, and their great political practical errors that led the United States into one of the most disgraceful episodes of its history, have only been zigzagging, pretending and indulging in ambiguities.

The responsibility of the government of the United States for the invasion of Cuba and for the deaths and destruction that it caused in our country is thoroughly known by world public opinion and recognized by the authors of the aggression themselves.

The only way to have avoided this embarrassing situation would have been respect for the sovereignty and integrity of our country, in conformity with the law of nations, large or small, and universal morality.

Cuba does not bear the blame, but only and exclusively the United States, for the maddening situation and the discredit that its policy of aggression against Cuba has created. It is also to blame for the fate of its mercenaries who launched themselves on an illegal and immoral adventure against Cuba.

Cuba has the right to impose exemplary sanctions against those who committed, against their own country, the crime of high treason from the moment they acted under the orders of a foreign government, as the President of the United States himself has confessed.

It would be a grave error to interpret the gesture of Cuba toward liberating these prisoners except those responsible for previous crimes — with the sole condition that material damages be indemnified — as weakness, inhumanity or negotiations of a material type.

The government of Cuba has indicated willingness to renounce all material indemnity if the United States Government will free, and ask its allies to free, an equal number of North American, Spanish, Nicaraguan, Guatemalan and Puerto Rican patriots who are jailed for fighting against fascism, racialism, colonialism, tyranny and imperialism. These allies are

Francisco Franco of Spain, Luis Somoza of Nicaragua, Miguel Ydigoras of Guatemala and Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico, the last three being accomplices in the aggression against Cuba.

Neither the government of the United States nor this committee has deigned to say a single word about the possibility of this real exchange — liberty for liberty — while, on the other hand, Cuba is willing to renounce all material indemnity if the United States and its partners are willing to renounce the desire to keep in jail Pedro Albizu Campos, Henry Winston and other true patriots. They would be exchanged for an equal number of invaders who, in the inglorious and treasonable role of soldiers of exploiting monopolists, attacked their country with the escort of ships and planes of the powerful United States.

Your committee knows exactly the type and amount of material indemnity Cuba asks, since this was given to you in detail by the delegation of prisoners. The government of Cuba will adhere strictly to this without entering into a shopkeeper type of haggling.

It has become known that in the aggression against Cuba, the Central Intelligence Agency invested \$45 million, while the United States Treasury did not skimp a cent that would serve to destroy the lives of Cuban men, women and children and cause great material damage to our country — which permits us to call ridiculous and disgraceful the attitude of those who oppose the indemnity for material damages.

The raising and negotiating of this problem cannot be made only by cablegram, and it is better that a delegation should be sent to Cuba. In this there should be one of the principal members of the committee, preferably Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt or Milton Eisenhower, whose names, because they are better known in political spheres, would contribute to the solution of the matter.

If the committee is in the honorable position of being willing to mediate in this problem, without hesitation or timidity, it should send the delegation, which has been mentioned in previous communications, to deal with the Cuban government either on the payment of the indemnity or the question of liberating an equal number of North American, Spanish, Nicaraguan, Guatemalan and Puerto Rican prisoners.

Is the committee perhaps afraid to discuss the liberty of other men jailed for political motives in the United States, Spain, Nicaragua, Guatemala or Puerto Rico? Does not this type of case appear doubly humane?

The Cuban government states with all clarity that in making these suggestions it is not following underhanded political aims and that it will not desist from its generous attitude.

Permit me to express to the members of the committee our thanks for its reiterated affirmations that it is acting on motives of human interest to demonstrate its friendship to the Cuban people.

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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. 25

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Monday, June 19, 1961

Draper Writes Again on Cuba

Our readers are familiar with the fact that the historian Theodore Draper helped the State Department prepare for the April 17 invasion of Cuba by taking part in the propaganda front. His principal arguments (see *Castro's Cuba — A Revolution Betrayed?*) were refuted by Joseph Hansen in a series of articles in *The Militant* (later printed by Pioneer Publishers as a pamphlet, *In Defense of the Cuban Revolution*).

The failure of Kennedy's first armed attempt to smash the Revolutionary Government has now forced Draper to attempt to justify his position all over again. He has written a second pamphlet, *Cuba and U.S. Policy*, which the social-democratic *New Leader* published as a supplement to its June 5 issue.

Draper adds little new to his rather frenetic exposition of the counter-revolutionary cause. We are told that "what was wrong with the conception, as well as the execution" of the U.S. invasion of the tiny island republic was an "inversion" of the "outside invasion" and the "internal rebellion." In brief, the imperialist sneak assault on Cuba is reduced to — bad timing.

We will answer Draper's latest rationalizations in future issues. At the moment we will consider only one point, his attack on *The Militant* for defending the Cuban revolution:

"A writer in the Trotskyist paper, the *Militant*, has chided me for shedding 'a few sympathetic tears' for Conte Agüero. How little this Trotskyist has learned from the history of his own movement! In the first years of the Bolshevik regime, Trotsky helped to crush the Kronstadt rebellion, the Social Democrats and opposition groups within the Bolshevik party. When his turn came, he was defenseless. The irony is that the Trotskyists can expect as short shrift in Cuba as they got in Soviet Russia, and it will be because the issue was not Conte Agüero but the way he was silenced.

"Indeed, the Cuban delegation at the First Latin American Youth Congress in Havana in the summer of 1960 issued a long denunciation of the Trotskyist delegates from Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Paraguay. It used the following language: 'The project of the manifesto presented by the Trotskyists repeats in its observations on the Cuban revolution the same counterrevolutionary calumnies that issue daily from the imperialist arsenal by the mouthpieces of the United States State Department.' (*Revolución*, August 5, 1960)."

Only one of these arguments deserves serious attention. It is a variant of the view heard in radical circles in the United States when the leaders of the Communist party became victims of the Smith Act: "The Stalinists violate the civil liberties of others; consequently their civil liberties should not be defended." Part of the "proof" of this contention was that the Communist party leaders had joined in witch-hunting the Trotskyists, who were the first victims of the Smith Act.

The Communist party leaders dealt a terrible blow to united defense of civil liberties for everyone when they shouted for the imprisonment of the American Trotskyists. But to have refused to join in defending them when they became victims would have dealt an even worse blow to the cause of civil liberties. It would have meant that not a single organized tendency in the United States was willing to defend civil liberties on principle.

The same reasoning applies to the Trotskyist defense of both the Russian and Cuban revolutions. These revolutions, whatever the errors and backslidings — including Stalin's crimes — mark great forward steps in the history of humanity. They must be defended on principle.

We know that among some of the Cuban Communists the Stalinist tendency to witch-hunt working-class opponents is very much alive. (See the Sept. 5-12, 1960, issue of *The Militant* for a report on the incident at the youth congress.) There is also the danger that the Soviet government will attach political strings to the indispensable material aid it is furnishing the beleaguered Cubans. This was discussed a year ago in *The Militant* in connection with some remarks by Waldo Frank on the subject.

Lately under the heavy pressure of the invasion, civil liberties have suffered in Cuba. Carleton Beals, an outstanding defender of the Cuban revolution, has pointed to some dangerous signs, including increasing prominence of the Cuban Communists, "who have done a marvelous about-face on the Revolution and indeed are to be feared." (See his letter in the April *Liberation*.)

The White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency and Congress have been doing their utmost to bring down the Revolutionary Government or to reduce it to such straits that it is compelled to curtail democratic rights. They have succeeded in the latter to some extent. For example, many mistaken arrests occurred during the nationwide effort to meet the invasion.

This, however, does not justify the propagandists of the counter-revolution who have been predicting concessions to Stalinism. It is simply another measure of how much the defense of the Cuban revolution must be strengthened, especially in the United States where the counter-revolution has its main and only substantial base.



When the Batista tyranny was overthrown the people of Havana danced in the streets. After 30 months of impressive social gains under the revolution their hopes are becoming realities.

Three Reporters View Cuba

The gains of the Cuban revolution are so impressive that even the frenzied hate-Cuba campaign in this country cannot prevent some of the facts about those gains from coming through. In recent weeks there have been several reports here that give at least a partial picture of the new Cuba.

The New York *Herald Tribune* carried a series of articles from June 2-7 by Zell Rabin, an Australian journalist who is no partisan of the revolution. But some of the reality of the new Cuba emerges from his account.

Explaining why the invasion was smashed, Rabin reports: "Best informed Western diplomatic sources in Havana estimate the government's popularity at somewhere between 80 and 85 per cent of the population, with about half of Cuba's six million people pro-Castro to the point of idolatry."

Rabin got an idea of what this support is based on when he visited a cooperative farm: "The Los Pinos cooperative, an estate once owned by a son of ousted dictator Fulgencio Batista, grows a variety of vegetables, rice and pepper. It has 3,500 pigs and a modern dairy.

"It has introduced hydroponic farming — vegetables grown in gravel beds without soil, but with chemically treated water containing everything the plant needs . . .

Dignity

"Isidro Sanchez, a 27-year-old agricultural engineer in charge of the project, with its 200,000-gallon water tank, said: 'Our people are well fed, they have homes and shoes. They have schools and they have dignity. We never had these things before and we don't worry about communism taking over our country.'

"The cooperative has just completed 250 duplex bungalows. Each has three rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. The residential area is softened by trim lawns and flower beds . . .

"The cooperative has a general store with prices averaging ten per cent lower than in the city. Farm hands are paid 100 pesos a month with margins for skilled workers. The nominal value of one peso is one dollar. Housing, education and medical care are free.

"The atmosphere on the farm was one of pride and friendliness."

The June 10 issue of the *New Yorker* carries a "Letter from Havana" by Hans Koningsberger, a Dutch journalist who, while no revolutionary, leaves the reader with the impression of an honest journalist. His description of Cuba is in sharp contrast to the cur-

rently standard reports of a grim and somber "garrison state." He writes:

"In the weeks since the invasion there has been very little sabotage on the island. Public buildings are guarded by the militia; at some, such as the television station, visitors are frisked, and even have to show their cigarettes. (Incendiary fuses can be hidden in a pack of 16 cigarillos.) I have never seen so many armed people in a town, not even during the last war. In Havana I have met writers, television people, clerks, students, an actress who looks like Françoise Rosay — all of them part-time militia men or women and all of them carrying rifles, tommy guns, or pistols. Yet, because they're so relaxed and untrigger-happy about it, I have not felt intimidated or Gestapoized . . .

"I've stood a foot away from Castro without having been searched or even asked who I was. Within the past three weeks I have driven a thousand miles through Cuba and have been stopped only once — when I went through a red light on Havana's Avenue #5."

Havana

He describes Havana: "The night town is lively, with brightly lit thoroughfares and flashy neon ads, and even the signs bearing messages like 'VIVA NUESTRA CUBA SOCIALISTA' look as if they had been designed by Madison Avenue. All in all, there is a lot of Batista's showiness left in Havana's appearance, with the result that the town has so far avoided the drabness with which state economy and communal activities blanket cities like Belgrade.

"The bodega — combination bars, drugstores, and grocery stores — are packed, and stores offering whole suckling pigs, sausages, fruits and hard-boiled eggs line the sidewalks. There is no inflation . . .

"As a European I have become alert to the first indications that the law of supply and demand is going awry — a sudden disappearance of silver coins, of paper towels in restaurant washrooms, and of things like pocket combs and shoelaces.

"Cuba needs many American products it cannot get now, but it does not show any of these initial signs of a ruined economy. Perhaps I am painting a disturbingly rosey picture, but that is how things look as of this Sunday, May 21, 1961."

In the June issue of the *Progressive*, editor Morris Rubin gives a

first hand report on Latin American, including Cuba. These are some of the things he found on the island:

"I spent an hour at the Julio Reyes Sugar Mill in Jovallanos watching the sugar-making process. As I was about to leave, I was introduced to the mill's chief fabricator. I asked him if he cared to compare conditions now with those prevailing before the revolution. Tears came to his eyes as he replied:

"I have worked in this mill for 52 years, ever since I was 11 years old. We used to work under slave labor conditions. Now we are the bosses, and we are proud, and we work hard and we work overtime, and we know it is for us, the people, and not for some wealthy Cuban lying by his swimming pool or a foreign investor living on our sweat and profiting from our hopeless conditions. Mister, I can't find the words to explain the improvement.' But he had, vividly

A Dismal Scene

"One of the most dramatic experiences I had in Cuba happened in Manzanilla, in the foothills of the Sierra Maestra mountains of Oriente Province. It was a dismal scene that confronted me when I arrived. Manzanilla is a tiny fishing village whose people are wholly dependent on their catches. The fishing community consists of 400 to 500 *bohios* huddled together near the sea, with docks so rotten they are near collapse, and a fleet of rotten boats that have been cheating Davey Jones' locker. The families of the village live on the ragged edge of despair. I saw their children running around naked in the afternoon sun their bloated bellies told the cruel story of malnutrition . . .

"We left this dying village and drove several miles down the road that curves along the green-blue Caribbean. Suddenly, there loomed on a hillside acres of neatly terraced new homes — 500 of them, of five rooms each, of varying colors and design, all with lighting, plumbing and kitchens. These new buildings, each with its own little plot of land, were to become the homes this spring of the fishing folk we had just left behind in their miserable *bohios*.

"Nearby, there are new shipways building, new docks, new boats — everything new to make a fresh life for the fishermen and their families. The contrast was awesome; it was like traveling a thousand years in time from a medieval dungeon to a new modern concrete home complete with garden."

A PAMPHLET REVIEW

No 'Cooling-Off Period' in Cuba

How Cuba Unrooted Race Discrimination. By Harry Ring. Introduction by Richard Gibson. 16 pp. New York: Pioneer Publishers, June 1960, 15¢.

At just this moment in the history of our own country, when the Negro people of the South are pushing as never before for full equality, and when the federal government is trying every device to dodge the issue and is appealing for yet another "cooling off period," the fact that the Cuban revolution has conquered Jim Crow in less than three years is of extraordinary interest.

This pamphlet describes that fact and how the Cubans accomplished it. Ring presents documentary evidence on racial discrimination in Cuba before 1959. There, as in our own North, its most obvious result was in jobs and income. The revolution, in attacking the social problems of poverty, lack of education, slums and unemployment, quite naturally changed the lives of Negroes as well as whites, but race discrimination was also tackled as such, and in a most dramatic and effective way.

"The Cuban victory over Jim Crow explodes the theory of

'gradualism,' says Ring. "Resolute revolutionary action in Cuba has accomplished more in 30 months than has been achieved by a century of 'gradualism' in the United States."

"At the same time, in my opinion," Ring continues, "revolutionary Cuba also demonstrates the incorrectness of the Negro Nationalists who preach that Negroes must separate themselves from whites because they can never win equality in a country where whites are a majority of the population."

Cuba's practical method of abolishing Jim Crow was by striking "directly at the economic and social roots of Jim Crow . . . not by futile appeals to the 'hearts' and 'good will' of those who profit directly from the Jim Crow system." Employers were forced to hire from a union list of qualified personnel without knowing the race of those listed. Hotels, restaurants and social clubs were told to desegregate or close down. The government made the most of its own example, filling its top posts without regard to race no matter who was offended, and launching a widespread and authoritative educational campaign against prejudice. Castro himself lectured over the air on the evils of race dis-

crimination and the folly of prejudice. Referring to his own Spanish ancestry, he pointed out that Moors from Africa dominated Spain for 800 years and that all of "us" have Negro blood.

Ring documents this process and gives his own eyewitness impressions of the results. The pamphlet also contains a section on race prejudice from the Cuban Civic Training Manual, a widely used handbook of the current educational campaign and the text of a statement placed in U.S. newspapers by prominent Afro-Americans protesting the invasion of Cuba.

In an excellent introduction, Richard Gibson, acting executive secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, says that along with the victory of the Cuban Negroes, "the white people of Cuba also won their economic, social and political freedom. Without one there never would have been the other. This is one of the most important lessons that the Cuban Revolution has for us in the United States, as well as demonstrating once and for all that the forces of racism and oppression in the hemisphere are not invincible."

William Bundy

The American Way of Life

Damn Their Eyes!

By Herman Chauka

If the world will beat a path to your door when you build a better mousetrap, what will it do when you develop a better cheese for the trap?

Perhaps we'll never find out. American know-how has created such a cheese but a rhubarb with Washington is blocking free enterprise from doing a job in this field. The story is one that should arouse every partisan of our way of life. Many will feel it points up why we're losing the cold war.

For years the Swiss — one of many nations lacking American get-up-and-go — have indolently let nature develop the holes in their Swiss cheese instead of doing it themselves. This medieval practice caught the fancy of a lot of people, including otherwise good Americans. They have even been duped into paying higher prices for Swiss cheese with holes in it just because it tastes better.

This foreign esoteric way of thinking even infected the federal Food and Drug Administration

which laid down specifications in 1950 for American-made Swiss cheese. It stipulated that "blind" Swiss (no "eyes") could be used only for blending with other cheeses to impart a Swiss flavor. But the product could be labelled the real thing — and command a higher price — only if it had "eyes."

Such a regulation could only hamper production. An unsung, true-blue American went to work on the problem. He came up with a drill especially designed to produce natural looking holes in Swiss cheese.

This not only eliminated the need for cheese lying idle but contributed to solving the unemployment problem. The drill worked so well that a firm was established to mass produce them. Cheese-makers received literature extolling this great new technological breakthrough and, like any good product, it sold.

But on June 1 American enterprise suffered a setback. The FDA impounded 2,700 pounds of drilled Swiss cheese. A churlish spokes-

man for the agency charged that the hole-drilling procedure was "a deliberate and calculated" scheme "to give the perpetrators a few cents a pound additional profit at the expense of the consumer."

The FDA man also took exception to manufacturers' efforts to give the consumer a more attractively packaged Swiss cheese.

Some companies, he pointed out, "have further promoted the concealment of inferiority by rearranging or facing the outside of cellophane wrapped sliced Swiss with slices having well developed eyes and placing in the middle of the package some slices with no or fewer holes."

So you see, when you're contending with bureaucrats you're damned if you do and you're damned if you don't. They don't like the beautifully drilled outside slices and they don't like the solid inside slabs.

Next thing you know, they'll be cracking down on the craftsmen who drill the worm holes in some of our finest antique furniture.

Letters from Our Readers

Only One World

Glenn Ellen, Calif.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter that I sent to President John Kennedy.

* * *

This past Sunday I caught part of your TV message to Congress. Although you will never see this letter, I feel that I must speak out against this "Moon Madness." The Pentagon must really have you brainwashed to make you believe that all Soviet scientific achievements represent a menace to us. I am wondering if your real motive isn't to get additional taxes for additional armaments to put some of the millions of unemployed back to work? Our capitalist system is really sick when its success must be based on the continuous threat of war.

You are following in the same sad footsteps of your predecessor, who when caught in the U-2 incident first tried to lie out of it, and then brazenly accepted full responsibility. After your Cuban adventure, which I believe is one of the blackest episodes in our entire history, I'm surprised that honorable men can remain in your administration. I have been in Cuba, and have seen how the poor people had to live under the sugar interests, I'm for Castro as long as he is for the poor people whether he be Communist, Socialist, etc. There is a movement throughout the world for the exploited and underprivileged people to expect something better, and it behooves us to heed this movement rather than waste our energy on getting on the moon. It seems to me we have plenty of things here in our own backyard to worry about. When I saw on TV how those people in New Orleans were carrying on against those four little Negro girls, I was ashamed to be an American. I might say I was ashamed to be called a human being.

I have been a registered Democrat all my life, but after hearing you and Nixon debate on TV, I came to the conclusion that you were both stooges of the Pentagon, and I voted for the socialist candidate. Your talk of democracy and freedom is so much hogwash. Any fool knows this country is a republic and never has been a democracy. How much freedom did the ordinary voter have in the choice of presidential candidates in the last election? You know the answer, Jack. How much freedom do our millions of unemployed have in finding jobs that don't exist?

We are like the spoiled child, who if others won't play the game the way we want it, we will strike out and destroy everything around us. I don't believe that we have the right to destroy the world just because our generation hasn't the leadership to cope with the situation. Political systems may come and go, and can be changed, but there is only this one world.

D.S.R.

A Canadian View

North Surrey, Canada.

Thanks for your May 29 issue; as always, the paper is unique and good.

Read with great interest your discussion on the terms "Negro" vs. "Afro-American." In my opinion it is very simple: The Aryan is called the white man, the Chinese the yellow man, the Indonesian the brown man, so is there anything against calling the Negro the black man?

But whatever term we may use, to me he is just another member of the human race; the color of a

man's skin is important only to those who are either snobs or stupid, and their opinion is of no importance to civilized people.

The only thing worth fighting for is the brotherhood of man, without distinction of race or color. We'll never reach that objective under capitalism with its numerous status seekers, but under socialism it is possible.

Keep up the good work.

A.A.

Knows Which Side He's On

New York, N.Y.

Like many others of your readers who week by week look to *The Militant* for a reasonably accurate portrayal of that revolting state of affairs which the cynical exploiters of our country see fit to characterize as "The American Way of Life," I, too, feel prompted to record my protests against this obscene tragi-comedy called the "American Dream" (perhaps, more appropriately, the "American Myth") via whatever channels that have not as yet been choked off in the name of "voluntary" (!) censorship.

Your paper is one such channel, and the fact that you dare to continue such protests in your columns merits far more than a mere letter of thanks for your inflexible determination to align yourselves with the forces of Truth as opposed to the infinitely more formidable forces of the Lie; and in general with the just demands of a downtrodden and exploited humanity as opposed to the demands of a greedy and vicious capitalist elite.

I say it merits more, but I know full well that only rarely do the ironies of history combine in such a way that the courage of the few like yourselves is repaid with the gratitude of the many. So, for the moment at least, I can do little more for our mutual cause than to promise to sustain the spirit you exemplify in every facet of my existence and to assure that should the time ever come when exploiters and exploited join together in definitive struggle I shall know where my allegiance belongs.

J.S.

1,000 Billion Pardons

New York, N.Y.

Your column *It Was Reported in the Press* is one of the first things I read in each issue of the paper. It offers refreshing flashes of wit, some human touches and valuable bits of information upon which I have come to rely.

So it was a bit disturbing to find this comment in the column on June 12: "... one trillion (that's 100 billion) dollars."

Did something happen to your Univac?

F.D.

Three Cheers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Three cheers for Fidel Castro who has thrown the yoke off the Cuban people, broken the invasion and is getting rid of the black-robed parasites who are the world's trouble makers.

F.L.

Wants Encore

Rockaway Beach, N. Y.

Herman Chauka's "There's Dough in Bomb Shelters" in your May 15 issue was so funny! Let's have more by him.

There is a difference between *The Militant* and other newspapers.

R. F.

Thought for the Week

"A cold assessment might begin by contending that the paramilitary idea does not in fact represent a toughening of U.S. military doctrine . . . True, it is tougher than just talking; it is tougher than trying to buy countries with aid money. Unquestionably it is a doctrine which could concentrate on brutalities performed in the dark; honorable men of high rank now sit in this city calmly discussing the possibilities of such things as methodical assassination of Communist leaders abroad." —From a May 16 Washington dispatch in the *Wall Street Journal*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Tender, Loving Terrorists — Forty six Cuban children were burned when a phosphorous bomb was hurled into a Pinar del Rio theater. Cuban exile Manuel Ray, who claims to head the counter-revolutionary underground, expressed disbelief that his followers had been responsible. Said Ray: "Our men don't plant bombs in theaters where there are children."

From the Windy City — Humorist Bennett Cerf reports that a Chicago politician recently declared: "What we have got to do for our fair city is to restore to our fair city all those wonderful things it never had."

Brass-Hat Scientists — "If a student comes to me and says he wants to be useful to mankind and go into research to alleviate human suffering, I invariably advise him to go, rather, into charity." —Dr. Albert Szent-Gyori, research scientist at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Massachusetts.

The Persuaders — U.S. Information Service agents in Laos show

films in villages explaining why Communism is "bad." A sample bit of dialogue: Woman — "What is Communism? I don't understand it." Man — "Look, a fellow cuts off his arm and then tries to persuade everybody that it's better to have no arm — that's Communism."

Begin at Home — Fifty-eight per cent of those interviewed by the Gallup Poll were opposed to Kennedy's proposal to spend \$40 billion to put a man on the moon. A typical reaction was: "The money could be put to better use on this planet."

Freedom Fighters — Two counter-revolutionary survivors of the Cuban invasion are in the Miami hoosegow. They joined the invasion while out on bail pending sentencing for shooting up four downtown Miami business places. Picked up on their return, they told the judge that a CIA agent had assured them "everything would be OK."

A New Weapon — U.S. firms owning outstanding art works have been urged to lend them for a special exhibit in conjunction with

the slated International Industrial Conference in San Francisco. A spokesman for the city's museum of art explains this "will help disabuse current notions abroad that American business is entirely crass and materialistic." The representative of the arts adds: "In its own way, the exhibit can contribute to success in the cold war."

Our Affluent Society — The Census Bureau reports that about ten million of the nation's 45 million families had incomes of less than \$3,000 in 1960.

Alliance for Progress — "The U.S. seeks better intelligence pipelines near Red borders to seek out Communist guerrillas. Strategists aim to cultivate grass roots sources: village leaders, merchants, smugglers, black-market operators." —The June 2 *Wall Street Journal*.

Fact of the Week — "Contrary to a thoughtless though widespread impression, the history of Russia did not begin with the Communist revolution of 1917." —Brooks Atkinson in the *New York Times*.