

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 25 - No. 30 Monday, August 7 & 14, 1961 Price 10c

Analysis of New Soviet Draft Program

— See page 5 —

Canadian Labor Launches New Party
Carleton Beals on Prensa Latina Fight
Socialists in Detroit Election Campaign

— See page 2

— See page 5

— See page 2

The Cuban Revolution — A Balance Sheet

Statement by Political Committee Of the Socialist Workers Party

A million Cubans—more than one-seventh of the entire population of the island—assembled in Havana July 26 to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the attempt to take the Moncada fortress at Santiago. The fervor of the enormous crowd that heard Fidel Castro's address was reported to be the highest yet seen since the downfall of Batista and the beginning of the profound changes that have put Cuba on the road to socialism.

The reasons for this enthusiasm deserve careful study, especially by Americans, who, whether they like it or not, are most intimately involved in what happens in the small republic only ninety miles from our shores. The July 26 celebration offers an appropriate occasion for drawing a balance sheet on the achievements and shortcomings of two and a half years of the Cuban revolution and estimating the perspectives and dangers it faces.

Immediate Gains

The Cubans were able to register an immediate significant rise in the standard of living after their political victory. Rents were slashed as much as one-half, rates for electricity were reduced, the cost of important food items cut. Peasants began receiving title to the land they occupied. Co-operatives were organized on the big estates; and these, by diversifying crops, provided immediate year-round job opportunities. The deep-going agrarian reform, in the highly favorable climatic and agricultural conditions enjoyed by Cuba, speedily increased the available supply of food. The country should now soon be able to grow its own basic food crops while still retaining a world lead in sugar production.

The agrarian reform has been matched in the past year by an "Urban Reform." Under this revolutionary law, rent is applied as purchase installments so that every tenant, simply by continuing to pay the low rent already in effect, automatically becomes a home-owner within five to twenty years, depending on the age of the building. Landlords are compensated by

life-time government pensions ranging up to \$600 a month.

Housing projects were launched immediately after the revolutionary victory to replace the slums of the cities and the unhealthy bohios of the countryside with comfortable modern homes. The remarkable progress of this program is visible throughout Cuba.

In prerevolutionary Cuba, more than one-third of the adult population could neither read nor write. A nationwide campaign to erase illiteracy is now nearing successful conclusion. In two and a half years, with a crash program of setting up schools and classrooms, the Revolutionary Government has accomplished more in public education than all the previous regimes in the sixty years of American domination. Cuba will be the first Latin-American country to liquidate illiteracy, the first to establish free education as the normal right of every child. This is an achievement of historic importance.

Increase in Jobs

One of Cuba's worst social evils, the permanent unemployment of approximately one-third of the labor force—a rate comparable to that of the depression of the thirties in the United States—has been greatly ameliorated. In fact, in some areas signs of labor shortage have already made their appearance.

This major change was made possible by ending capitalist control over hiring and firing, by the introduction of a big program of public works, including ambitious projects to industrialize Cuba and mechanize its agriculture, and by the establishment, above all, of a planned economy which permits the rational utilization of the nation's most precious asset, its labor power.

Together with this improvement in Cuban society, the revolution ended discrimination due to prejudices over race, sex or age, establishing full equality at once without any if's, and's or but's. Today all colors in Cuba enjoy equal rights; the equality of women is recognized in all fields of public life; youth



During his visit to Cuba last year, Farrell Dobbs (second from right) talked with hundreds of people in various parts of the island. He returned to make defense of the Cuban revolution a central theme of his campaign as presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The only presidential candidate to support Cuba, he opposed U.S. aggression on speaking tours and over national radio and TV. His defense of Cuba typifies stand of Trotskyists throughout the world.

occupy positions of greatest responsibility. Children now in school can look forward to a tuition-free college education and a future of widening opportunities in whatever career they choose for their life's work.

These truly great steps toward building a better Cuba were not achieved with any help from American capitalism. In fact they had to be undertaken while defending the tiny country against savage pressure from the world's mightiest industrial, financial and military power. The pressure included diplomatic quarantine; the closing of Cuba's major market; the refusal to sell essential goods supplied to the island at a handsome profit for decades; the financing and supplying of terrorists and saboteurs who engaged in indiscriminate bombings, shootings and arson; a campaign involving all the mass media in the dissemination of hate-Cuba propaganda; the lowering of an iron curtain to pre-

vent American citizens from even visiting Cuba to see for themselves what the truth might be; provocative displays of naval force and threats of naval blockade; finally, at risk of precipitating world war, the launching of a counterrevolutionary invasion.

U.S. belligerency toward Cuba since the fall of the Batista dictatorship, fostered and organized by both Democrats and Republicans in collusion with their Wall Street backers, constitutes one of the most shameful blots in the pages of American history. The Cuban resistance against such formidable odds, on the other hand, stands out as one of mankind's most inspiring examples of courage and heroism.

The Castro Leadership

The decisive element making it possible for the Cuban people to move forward successfully in face of such pressures and dangers has been the leadership provided by the team assem-

bled around Fidel Castro. Beginning as a radical petty-bourgeois group fresh from the campus, these youthful revolutionists displayed their capacity to learn and to develop beyond their original positions no matter how little they anticipated the logic of the revolution that brought them to power. This was conclusively demonstrated by the way they responded to the objective necessity to carry the revolution forward from the stage of bourgeois democracy to the beginnings of socialism.

On toppling the Batista dictatorship, the leaders of the July 26 Movement participated in a coalition government with bourgeois figures. But through three highly democratic measures they made sure to block an easy victory of the counter-revolution. (1) They broke up the old standing army with its corrupt generals whose first loyalty was to the American ambassador and the American

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialists, Jobless Buck Boss Politicians in Detroit

DETROIT, July 31 — The presidents of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, Walter Reuther, James Hoffa, the leaders of the NAACP and the leaders of the local anti-Negro homeowners associations, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, are all agreed on one thing:

They support the re-election of Mayor Louis C. Miriani, the conservative Republican incumbent, in the "non partisan" primary election to be held Sept. 12.

Capitalists and capitalist politicians have good reason to support Miriani. He has looked out for their interests faithfully. In the last four years he has helped lower their taxes around 8 million dollars a year. He did this by cutting assessments on business and industrial property 318 million dollars, while forcing an increase in taxes on small homeowners.

But the only reason he has the support of the leaders of the labor and Negro movements is that they are politically bankrupt. Miriani is an Eisenhower Republican who has never lifted a finger to aid the workers or unemployed, and he has consistently supported the anti-Negro policies of his Police Commissioner Hart and the police department.

In spite of this, the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council, at its convention last month, rushed to endorse Miriani and seven members of the common council before most of them had even filed for re-election or stated what their platform would be. All of these councilmen have supported a move to adopt a city income tax, which would put another heavy burden on working people.

Detroit's labor leaders thus rejected the appeal of the Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidates, Robert Himmel for mayor and Sarah Lovell for council, who

have been urging since last April that the labor movement run its own independent slate in this election.

The AFL-CIO Council finished off the job at its meeting last Wednesday. They voted not to give five minutes to Sarah Lovell, who had asked to be heard before they completed their endorsements for common council, and they rejected a request for endorsement by James Sexton, councilmanic candidate of the United Unemployed Organization. Instead, they endorsed two liberals for the remaining two common council seats.

Last Saturday was the final filing date. Twelve filed for mayor. The only worker of the lot is Robert Himmel. Most of the other ten can't even be called liberals. They don't represent anybody or anything but themselves, are running to promote purely personal ambitions, and lack a serious program in opposition to that of Miriani, the choice of the political coalition of capitalist and labor leaders.

The councilmanic contest is similar. 51 have filed (18 to be selected in the Sept. 12 primary, 9 to be elected in the Nov. 7 runoff). Nine are the incumbents — spineless do-nothings, of whom the AFL-CIO has endorsed 7. Most of the other 42 are or would like to be small businessmen and professionals. Less than a dozen list themselves as workers. But only two of these stand for anything significant.

21-Point Program

One is Sarah Lovell, who stands for a socialist change and the creation of a labor party, and is running on a clear-cut 21-point program designed to promote working class rule of Detroit.

The other is James Sexton. His campaign, sponsored by a section of the labor movement, the United Unemployed Organization, stands in favorable contrast to the class-collaborationist policies of the official labor leaders. It is based on the needs of "the forgotten men and women — the unemployed and partially employed" and stresses such militant demands as the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, a big public works program and the reopening of idle factories.

The spirit of the Sexton campaign is expressed by the UWO's "hope that this campaign will serve to encourage independent and unified political action by the labor unions, the unemployed, the youth, small farmers and businessmen, the professional people and the Negro people. The workers, the unemployed and the ordinary people generally should have their own direct representatives in government, responsible to and controlled by them."

For this reason the Socialist Workers Party, while differing with Sexton's politics, regards his independent campaign as a big step forward in the direction labor should go, and endorses him for election.

Earlier this year the Socialist Workers Party appealed to the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor Party to run their own candidates and form a left-wing slate in the city elections.

It was relatively easy to file; no petitions were needed, only a \$100 filing fee. But none of these three parties responded to the appeal. The SP-SDF and the CP are continuing their policy of silent but active support to the Democratic hacks endorsed by the labor bureaucrats.

The Socialist Workers Party hopes to convince the members of the SP-SDF and CP not to support Miriani and Co., but to cast their votes for the candidates who stand for political action independent of the capitalist machines.

Canadian Labor Movement Launches Its New Party

By Ross Dowson
Editor of Workers Vanguard

OTTAWA — Canada's new labor party is under way. Over a span of five days the 1,801 voting delegates assembled in this federal capital adopted a constitution, a program, elected officers, and then scattered from coast to coast to their communities and places of work to organize and set in action the force which they are determined will take office as soon as Diefenbaker's Tory government should call an election.

It was an inspiring convention, dwarfing in size and enthusiasm the capitalist Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit gatherings that had assembled in this Lansdowne Hall only months previously.

All told there were 681 union delegates, representing bodies affiliated to 49 national or international unions. There were 707 delegates representing the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 248 representing white-collar and professional people organized in New Party clubs, and 53 from the militant Newfoundland Democratic Party.

While no farm organizations were formally represented, in the sea of delegates the faces of many well-known leaders from the farm movement were discernible.

Particularly notable were the some 200 delegates from French-speaking Quebec and the scores of youth identified with the anti-bomb movement.

Preparations for the New Party began in 1956 when the Trades and Labor Congress (AFL) and

the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) fused to form the 1¼-million-member Canadian Labor Congress.

One of the most significant addresses to the delegates, who sat with intent interest throughout all the sessions, was that by Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress.

A tremendous outburst of applause greeted his declaration that "a labor movement that is without interest in political matters is a labor movement that is evading one of the most fundamental responsibilities." Similar response followed his reference to a resolution adopted by the pioneer Canadian Labor Congress in 1883 which said "the working class of this Dominion will never be properly represented in parliament or receive justice in the legislation of this country until they are represented in parliament by men of their own class and opinions."

A major portion of his speech was devoted to an attack on the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit federal and provincial governments' failure to tackle rising unemployment and their introduction of legislation "which is aimed at weakening and restricting organized labor."

There was no argument on these questions, just as there was none when he declared, "We want an immediate end to the testing of nuclear weapons" and "We say that Canada should refuse to have nuclear weapons on our soil or in the hands of our forces."

These statements evoked wave after wave of applause. It was only when Jodoin expressed the opinion that Canada should re-

tain membership in NATO that he was met with boos and cat-calls.

The controversy at this mighty assembly was not whether labor, the workers and farmers need a party of their own, but how much socialism should be written into the program.

The biggest debates which forced the constitutional and program committees to make considerable amendments to the draft documents were procedural matters involving the internal democracy of the party; whether the preamble to the program should include formal commitment to public ownership of the basic means of production; and whether the party should commit itself to breaking from NATO which important forces in the assembly saw as an instrument of U.S. imperialism.

The NATO debate, which spanned two days' sessions, saw the top brass of the unions and CCF move with the full power of their machines to defeat the efforts of the left, sparked by the youth, to break the party from this military pact.

Greetings from Cuba

The temper of the rank-and-file delegates was indicated when greetings were announced from many countries. All were passed over in silence. But when the names of the Cuban Confederation of Labor and the Spanish socialists-in-exile were read a tremendous burst of applause swept the hall.

The statement in the draft program urging immediate membership in the Organization of American States was dropped like a hot potato to be replaced with the generality that "Canada increase and broaden its relationship with the nations of Latin America."

The big leadership contest, won by Saskatchewan CCF Premier T.C. Douglas, highlighted the enthusiasm, the determination and the confidence of the delegates that they will reshape Canadian political life.

And they will, for this week they organized a party of their own, independent of and opposed to the political rule of the employers.

The name of the North American continent's first mass labor party is the New Democratic Party. And make no mistake — it's on its way to power.

Garza Challenges Wagner: Back Communists' Rights

NEW YORK — Richard Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, challenged Mayor Wagner to demonstrate the sincerity of his claimed devotion to democracy by speaking out in defense of civil liberty for the Communist Party whose rights have been trampled on by the highest court in the land.

"During an election, every candidate and his brother is one hundred and one per cent in favor of the Constitution," Garza said. "But windy rhetoric is no substitute for a concrete stand. The Supreme Court's decision upholding the registration clause of the McCarran Act, plus its approval of the conviction of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on the sole basis of his one-time membership in the Communist Party is in flagrant violation of constitutional rights. Anyone who means business about his support of the Bill of Rights is duty bound to speak out against this victimization of the Communist Party."

"Disagreement with the policies of the Communist Party," Garza continued, "is no alibi for ducking such a stand. We Trotskyists certainly have serious political differences with the Communist Party, but we don't see this as any reason for not vigorously supporting the democratic rights to which they are as much entitled as any other party in this country."

Garza pointed out that the recent Supreme Court decisions will, if not reversed, in effect outlaw the Communist Party. He said that this was not only grossly unjust to the CP but a serious threat to everyone's political freedom.

He added that the problem of ending the attacks on the rights of the Communist Party was particularly acute in this city where hundreds of school teachers and

other municipal employees have been fired on the basis of membership — real or alleged — in the party.

Garza declared that as mayor he would press for an end to this "disgraceful witch-hunt" and for rehiring all those fired for political beliefs. "Every municipal employee must be guaranteed that his security will not be jeopardized because of his political beliefs or associations," he said.

St. Louis Students Picket for Peace

By Steve Thompson

ST. LOUIS — President Kennedy's saber-rattling TV speech on the Berlin crisis July 25 got a mixed reaction here. The ultra-conservative *Globe Democrat* featured a front page photo the next day of a long line of youth who were volunteering for the Navy. Immediately below, but without a photo, was a story about a group of Washington University graduate students who picketed the recruiting offices in protest against Kennedy's war-mongering speech. They carried placards and handed out leaflets.

The placards read: "Negotiation, Not Mobilization," "47 Billion for War — How Much for Peace?" and "Put the UN in Berlin." The leaflets suggested that Berlin be made a free city with access routes guaranteed by a UN police force; extending an invitation to Khrushchev to discuss a settlement of the problem and ending the arms race.

The students said they decided to picket the recruiting offices while listening to Kennedy's speech. "We didn't like Mr. Kennedy's approach to the Berlin crisis," one of the leaders of the

group said. "You can head for the South Sea Islands, but we thought that wasn't a very realistic answer, so we decided to come down here. I think Kennedy called for a complete military build-up without delineating any clear basis for negotiations."

The demonstrators are members of the Student Peace Union, a campus organization which was formed last spring.

Chicago Rights Fighters To Lead Panel on Cuba

CHICAGO — Otis Hyde and James Nash, Sr., militant leaders in the civil-rights movement here, will participate in a panel discussion entitled: *Race Discrimination — How It Was Uprooted in Cuba, How It Will Be Ended in the U.S.*

The meeting will be held Friday, Aug. 18, 8 p.m. at 302 South Canal St., under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Earl Browder, former Communist Party general secretary, debates Theodore Edwards, Southern Calif. chairman, Socialist Workers Party, on *America's Road to Socialism — Reform or Revolution*. Sat., Aug. 19, 8 p.m. at Park Manor Auditorium, 607 South Western. Contrib. \$1.25. Students and unemployed 50 cents. Tickets available at Los Angeles School of Social Science, 1702 West Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

NEW YORK

The Committee to Defend Francisco Molina invites you to a picnic at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N. J., Sun., Aug. 20. Swimming, games, dancing. Contrib. \$2.50, including bus fare. Buses leave 138th St. and Broadway at 9 a.m. sharp. For reservations call or write Committee to Defend Francisco Molina, 154 Nassau St. WO 2-2264.

WEST COAST

Socialist Educational Encampment at Big Bear Lake, Calif. Aug. 25 to Sept. 4. Educational theme: Cuba and Latin America. Lectures and seminars on Marxism. Swimming, recreation and good food at low rates with special discounts for students. For reservations or brochure address West Coast Vacation School, 1702 East 4th St., Los Angeles 33. Phone DA 7-9851, AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Name
Street
City Zone
State

'... Cuba's Socialist Revolution'

(Continued from Page 1)
military mission. (2) They smashed Batista's police force. (3) They expanded the base of the rebel armed forces by organizing a militia and distributing arms to the people. This gave the population as a whole the power to express its will about the government in the most direct way possible.

The July 26 leaders had promised bourgeois elections but they were also committed to a democratic measure of much more fundamental character — thoroughgoing agrarian reform; that is, freeing the peasantry from the big landholders, both domestic and foreign, who exercised virtually feudal privileges in Cuba. The Cuban landholders opposed agrarian reform, as did the Americans. In solidarity with these reactionaries stood powerful capitalist interests in the United States with big holdings of all kinds in Cuba besides land.

These forces clamored for bourgeois democratic elections. What they were really concerned about, however, was the preservation of bourgeois property relations. To have safeguarded this antiquated property system would have paved the way for restoration of a Batista-type dictatorship. The Castro leadership did not hesitate to choose the democratic alternative from which both the peasants and Cuba as a whole had most to gain. They put through the most far-reaching agrarian reform any Latin-American country has yet experienced and broke up the coalition government.

Wall Street Mobilizes

In response, Wall Street began mobilizing the counter-revolution on an intensive scale while the State Department, the White House and Congress undertook reprisals that left the Castro government no choice but to either back down or go forward with still more sweeping measures.

Again this leadership did not hesitate. To every blow against the Cuban people, the Castro government responded with a counterblow against capitalist property interests. The process that began with "intervention," then nationalization, of the holdings of Batista's most notorious backers culminated in the nationalization by October 1960 of the key sectors of the country's economy. Control over foreign trade developed into a government monopoly. Government supervision of the agrarian reform grew into planned economy, leaving to "free enterprise" only the minor holdings of small business.

Through these measures the Castro leadership established a workers state, taking Cuba beyond capitalism and opening the transitional stage that will eventually lead to socialism.

The ultimate significance of such profoundly progressive changes may not yet be completely clear to the majority of the Cuban people. What is clear to them, since they experience

it every day, is the favorable contrast of the Castro government to everything previously known in Cuban history.

In place of a government of a rich minority, subservient to imperialist interests, they now have a government which they feel is *theirs*. In place of a gov-



Raúl Castro

ernment of corruption, of tyrannical practices, of stifling oppression, they now have a government that is honest, responsive to their will, dedicated to the establishment of economic democracy. In place of unemployment, fear, despair, hopelessness about the future, they now have jobs, a better standard of living, a feeling of genuine freedom, hope in the future, and immense pride in the important place which Cuba has won in world politics.

Democratic Tendency

The main tendency of the Castro leadership is democratic. This is clear from the fact that its principal course has been to displace the tyrannical rule of landlords, capitalists and imperialists, arm the people and establish the economic and cultural conditions for the flowering of proletarian democracy.

Centralized and even dictatorial means were made necessary in carrying out this course, at first because of Batista's tyranny and later because of the need to put the country on a war footing to meet the violent efforts of American imperialism to destroy the revolution. The use of such measures has been forced on every previous revolution and struggle for independence, including our own American Revolution. A well-known precedent that might be cited is Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the use of armed force to carry it out.

The main democratic tendency is not contradicted by the occurrence of errors and excesses, such as those frankly admitted by Fidel Castro involving the arrest of innocent people and supporters of the revolution during the sweeping raids of counterrevolutionary suspects in the extremely dangerous period when the State Department, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency organized the April 17 invasion. The blame for such occurrences falls wholly on the imperialist

forces seeking the destruction of the Castro government.

Just as the main tendency of the Castro leadership is in the direction of democracy and socialism, so the main danger to the Cuban revolution is American imperialism. Having failed in the April 17 invasion, America's plutocrats can be expected to attempt a better organized, better equipped, more massive attempt at a conjuncture in international events favorable to such a "limited," "brush-fire" war.

While they wait for a turn favoring a new counterrevolutionary assault, the American imperialists will not relax their pressure on Cuba for one moment. They will continue their drive to isolate the Cuban revolution, to isolate it especially from Latin America, to blockade it economically, to contain it politically, to undermine, divide and weaken it. Cuba, lying only ninety miles from Florida and already under military penetration through the Guantanamo Naval Base, is exposed to greater dangers from the main power center of world capitalism than any other existing workers state.

The defense of Cuba therefore places on the vanguard of the American working class an exceptional responsibility as well as challenge.

In Cuba itself the defense of the revolution coincides with the struggle to overcome capitalism and develop the new socialist-type institutions at an optimum pace. In this respect the Castro leadership has done remarkably well. It has not sought to sacrifice the immediate well-being of the workers and peasants to the building of heavy industry at an irrational rate; nor has it fostered the abnormal growth of a parasitic bureaucracy. The rise in per capita consumption of a basic commodity like rice speaks volumes for the balance which the government is seeking in growth of national productivity and improvements in the standard of living for workers and peasants.

The Castro leadership has also done remarkably well in developing the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. The main means for this have been television and radio, the campaign against illiteracy, and the indoctrination courses accompanying the organization of the various revolutionary institutions. The militia, the revolutionary armed forces, the trade unions, co-operatives, farm organizations, Revolutionary Defense Councils, cultural associations and special organizations of women, youth and children are playing an increasingly vital role in the life of the nation.

If a weakness in this field is discernible, it is in the organization of a mass revolutionary-socialist party directly headed by the Castro leadership. However, steps have now been taken, apparently, to remedy this. The projected formation, in due course, of a "United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba" has been an-

nounced by Fidel Castro. Such a party, if it opens its ranks to all proletarian tendencies and guarantees a democratic internal life, will enormously strengthen the defense of the Cuban revolution.

Workers Councils

The establishment of forms of democratic proletarian rule, such as workers councils, as the basis of state power would be another very favorable step in the same direction. Here, too, a beginning has been made. Experiments in several areas with the *Junta de Coordinación, Ejecución e Inspección* (JUCEI) led to the extension of these joint councils on a nationwide basis July 23. The juntas, in which representatives of all the other organizations sit, arose out of the practical need to coordinate activities. They are now projected as local organs of state power. Raúl Castro, who is in overall charge of the JUCEI, has explained that the councils are in transition and that in the future they will naturally have to be placed on an elective basis with representatives subject to recall.

In combating the efforts of American imperialism to isolate the Cuban revolution, the Castro leadership has correctly sought to establish diplomatic and trade relations with other governments, whatever their economic and social base. It has just as correctly presented the Cuban revolution to other peoples, above all those in Latin America, as a model with much to offer in showing how to carry through an agrarian reform, stand up to American imperialism and take the road to socialism. In the long run, the example Cuba provides, by inspiring other countries to follow a similar course, can prove decisive in the defense of the revolution.

When the Republican and Democratic machines utilized government power to sever America's trade relations with Cuba as part of the effort to strangle the Cuban revolution, the Castro government had no choice but to seek trade relations elsewhere. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China responded by supplying credits to Cuba for essential goods and contracting to take the sugar which the U.S. government barred from the American market. This aid enormously strengthened and encouraged the Cuban revolution while at the same time serving the true interests of the people of the Soviet Union and China. Cuba's new and shining example showed how well the real defense of these countries in their struggle against imperialism is served by the extension of the socialist revolution.

The immense gratitude of the Cuban people to the Soviet Union and its allies for this timely assistance is as natural and as understandable as the gratitude of the American people for the aid that France gave against the British during the struggle for independence. To

accuse the Castro government of "selling out to Russia" because it accepted Soviet aid is as illogical as to accuse the early American revolutionists of "selling out to France" because they accepted French economic and military support. The hypocrisy of the charge can be measured by the fact that the U.S. propagandists do not level similar accusations against Great Britain or other NATO allies for trading with the Soviet countries.

The great popularity of the Soviet Union in Cuba has, however, led to a special problem. This is the kind of factionalism practiced by the Cuban Communist party (the Popular Socialist party), a factionalism that endangers the unity of the revolutionary forces and threatens the normal development of proletarian democracy thereby weakening the revolution in face of its imperialist enemies.

No Witch-Hunting

When Wall Street's propagandists sought to confuse and divide the various revolutionary tendencies in Cuba by raising the banner of "anti-Communism," the Castro government vigorously responded by denouncing any such political witch-hunting as counterrevolutionary. This correct principled stand, another evidence of the basically democratic outlook of the Castro leadership, stood in welcome contrast to the McCarthyism that has cast a blight on political life in the United States since 1947. An attack on the democratic rights of the Communist party amounts to an attack on the democratic rights of all political parties. No matter what disagreements one may have with the positions or policies of the Communist party, everyone who genuinely believes in civil liberties will defend it against the witch-hunters.

In Cuba, this principled stand was of special importance for it opened the way to a united defense by all supporters of the revolution, no matter what their programmatic or doctrinal differences might be.

Some Communist party leaders, however, trained for decades in the school of Stalinism, defend this principle only when it concerns their own rights. When it comes to the democratic rights of other political tendencies in the working class, they have not hesitated to join a witch-hunt or start a witch-hunt of their own. Through such tactics they seek factional advantage despite the injury to the cause of socialism and the labor movement as a whole.

The general slogan under which the Cuban Communist party leaders conduct their disruptive and antidemocratic factionalism is "anti-Trotskyism." General Secretary Blas Roca made this absolutely unmistakable in his report to the Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist party in August 1960.

"The true role of Trotskyism throughout the entire world is

'... Gratitude for Soviet Aid'

well known," he declared. "In their eagerness to fight the Soviet Union, they went into the ranks of Hitler's apparatus of espionage and provocation and into that of the North American imperialists. Today they are the allies of the Titoite revisionists in everything they do against socialism. Wherever the Trotskyite groups are at work, their only true labor is to introduce confusion in popular movements, promote division, provide arguments for the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaign of the North American imperialists, and encourage the sterile phrasemongering that isolates the revolutionary movement from the masses."

This collection of self-contradictory defamations, repeating some of the long-ago-exploded frame-up charges of the notorious Moscow Trials and Stalin's slanders against the leaders of Yugoslavia with whom Cuba has friendly relations, would seem to indicate that Blas Roca is as yet unaware of the revelations about Stalin's crimes made by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress. But Blas Roca is scarcely that ignorant. He is simply utilizing an old Stalinist formula, branding working-class political opponents as counter-revolutionaries in order to create prejudice against their ideas and, if possible, destroy them. In other words, the Cuban Communist party leaders have their own version of an "anti-Communist" witch-hunt.

The general smear of "Trotskyites" in this witch-hunt includes hundreds of revolutionists who perished in Hitler's concentration camps and gas chambers, and the leaders of the Socialist Workers party who were the first victims to be sentenced to prison under the infamous Smith Act.

Trotskyists Victimized

This is not just a propaganda campaign in the Communist party press. We have received information from Cuba that a functionary of the National Printing Office ordered seizure on May 26 of an issue of *Voz Proletaria*, a Havana Trotskyist newspaper, and the destruction of the type which had been set for publication of Leon Trotsky's book, *The Permanent Revolution*. (Reports in Argentina and England of the incident erroneously listed the book as *The Revolution Betrayed*.) The head of the squad that made the seizure said he was acting in accordance with orders from his superior, Octavio Cabrera, designating the newspaper and the book as "counterrevolutionary." Later, the same night, on orders of the Ministry of Labor, the small printshop was intervened for allegedly "publishing counter-revolutionary propaganda."

Voz Proletaria is a staunch defender of the Cuban revolution. For the issue that was seized, the editors were preparing a round-up to illustrate how Trotskyists the world over have been defending the Cuban rev-



Using whatever tools are available, Cubans are working hard to see to it that every family will have a comfortable home.

olution in their press, over radio and TV, in election campaigns, on picket lines, in demonstrations.

Trotsky's book, written in 1928, is an exposition of the theory which successfully predicted the course of the Russian Revolution some twelve years before the event. The scientific understanding it offers of all modern proletarian revolutions in underdeveloped countries has made it a classic of Marxist thought. The light it sheds on the development of the Cuban revolution gives it special timeliness.

By initiating the suppression of a paper like *Voz Proletaria* and destruction of the type for a book like *The Permanent Revolution*, the Communist party leaders dealt the Cuban revolution a hard blow. Inevitably brought to mind are Hitler's book-burnings and Stalin's suppression of proletarian opposition and independent thought.

Such acts, by bringing into question the democratic character of the Cuban revolution, can easily lead to a most injurious decline and narrowing of active support among independents. The disruptive factionalism of the Cuban Communist party leaders thus sets going a process that facilitates the State Department's policy of attempting to isolate the Cuban revolution. It also plays into the hands of the counterrevolution by appearing to lend substance to the contention that the Cuban people have no practical choice but *Stalinism* or domination by American imperialism.

Sense of Proportion

We think that defenders of the Cuban revolution could make no graver error than to lose their sense of proportion and give up the revolution as lost because the Cuban Communist party leaders, with their propensity to abuse positions of trust, have been making undue headway. It is not likely, in our

opinion, that they can take over and derail the Cuban revolution. There are strong reasons for this view.

First of all, in its origin the Cuban revolution bypassed the Communist party and created an entirely new leadership. This leadership, in its inherent honesty, radicalism, commitments to revolutionary action, political resourcefulness and capacity to learn, stands in the historic mainstream of revolution, not in the backwash of Stalinism. It represents the resurgence of world revolution, not its decline.

Secondly, the Cuban revolution is a profound one. It has stirred the masses to the bottom. This powerful force cannot be contained by an old Stalinist group whose record includes support of Batista — not while the Castro leadership remains in command.

Thirdly, the natural course of the Cuban revolution is to cross its national boundaries and ignite revolutionary conflagrations throughout Latin America. It in reality constitutes the opening of the Latin-American revolution and can be properly appreciated only in this wider context. Some of the countries in Latin America are so ripe for revolution that they will surely take the socialist path long before the Cuban revolution begins to lose its dynamism. Another revolution anywhere in Latin America would enormously reinforce the defense of the Cuban revolution and make still more unlikely the usurpation of power by the Blas Roca type.

Fourthly, it should be noted that Cuba's position is such that the crystallization of a hardened parasitic bureaucracy in the Stalinist pattern would, very early in the process, so weaken the defense of the revolution as to make it easy prey for reconquest by American imperialism. The Cuban revolution does not have much choice but to go

forward on the path of socialism and democracy at home and extend itself to the other countries of Latin America or be crushed by the colossus to the north.

"Now It Reappears"

Finally, the Cuban Communist party itself is not hermetically sealed. The extreme factionalism of the old Stalinist leaders is due in part to their anxiety over the penetration of revolutionary patterns of thought among the ranks. "Nothing had been heard of the Trotskyites in Cuba since the end of the 1930's . . . Now it reappears," Blas Roca complains. "Why?" The General Secretary answers by ascribing it to the "need" of "Yankee imperialists" for "agents."

But in the 1930's and all the years since, to help prepare or advocate a revolution such as occurred in Cuba was, in the Stalinist dictionary — "Trotskism." The revolution itself, in creating its own consciousness, now inevitably engenders the kind of ideology that Blas Roca has been fighting since the 1930's.

The revolution engenders this ideology even in the ranks of the Cuban Communist party as it has in the ranks of Communist parties in other areas of the world where revolutionary pressures are on the rise. The ranks want the revolution to advance, to be taken as an example for similar action in other countries. They don't want any more defeats like the one in Guatemala; they want victories like the one in Cuba.

The top Communist party bureaucrats, representing a conservative tendency, have their eyes, among other things, on the gravy train. They would like the revolution to settle down and avoid "extremist positions," as Blas Roca puts it.

What he means by "extremist positions" was indicated at the Havana Youth Congress in July

last year. A group of Latin-American youth delegates adhering to Trotskyist views distributed a leaflet advocating the extension of nationalizations, the return of Guantánamo to the Cuban people and a struggle against native capitalism. The Stalinists attacked these proposals as "left-wing phrases" designed "to provoke aggression by Yankee imperialism," "divide the unity of Latin-American youth" and "confuse and destroy the Congress."

Two days later, in an address at the Youth Congress, Fidel Castro announced the nationalization of \$800 million worth of American holdings, an "extremist position" to which the ranks of the Communist party responded with the greatest enthusiasm, whatever the reservations of Blas Roca may have been.

In addition to the impact of the Cuban revolution on the ranks of the Communist party, another force is operating that can be expected to have increasing weight in Cuba. The destruction of the cult of Stalin is irreversible. The old Stalinist monolithism has been shattered. Today important differences over policies have arisen repeatedly between Peking and Moscow. In the long run, these cannot be resolved, or even discussed, without taking into account Belgrade. Warsaw has its opinions, too, as does Budapest and Tirana. Havana can certainly be counted on to participate. At one point or another these differences have to be considered on their merits. But this cannot be done without also considering genuinely revolutionary views whether they be labelled "Communist," "extremist," "Trotskyite" or "Castroite."

Let's Redouble Defense

Thus so long as the main course of the Cuban revolution and the main forces affecting it are kept in view, its health and sturdiness is evident. No graver mistake could be made by those who have the interests of socialism or of the Cuban people at heart than to give up defense of the revolution because the Cuban Communist party has penetrated many parts of the apparatus of the revolution and is utilizing its positions for disruptive factional purposes. Against the divisive policy of "anti-Trotskyism," it is necessary to press all the harder for a united movement that makes room for the participation of all working-class and independent radical tendencies that support the revolution.

Truth demands that excesses, errors and injurious tactics be made public and frankly criticized. But the interests of the Cuban revolution itself demand that we put them in proper context. The same necessity makes it our duty to redouble our defense of the revolution. There is no other way to help assure the brilliant perspectives now opening up for the advancement of the Cuban revolution.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 10 to Sept. 4 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. 30



Monday, August 7 & 14, 1961

The New Soviet Program

On July 30 *Pravda* published the 50,000-word draft of a proposed new program for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the first since the one written by Lenin in 1919. Exactly a week later, on August 6, Soviet scientists sent the five-ton Vostok II hurtling around the earth 17 times with cosmonaut Maj. Gherman S. Titov at the controls.

The prolonged flight into outer space had smashing impact as evidence of the Soviet Union's position as a world power. The new program, however, will undoubtedly prove of greater ultimate import, for it spells out the basic meaning of the spectacular technological achievement — at least as top officials of the Soviet Union profess to view it.

The document was evidently written with four main audiences in mind: (1) the "neutralist" countries and colonial areas where revolutionary pressures are on the rise; (2) the working masses of the Soviet Union; (3) the Soviet bureaucratic caste; (4) the sections of Communist parties in many parts of the world that have indicated responsiveness to the covert criticisms from Peking about Moscow's foreign policies.

To the colonial peoples, the program stresses the possibilities socialism offers — in contrast to capitalism — for rapid industrial development and modernization in all fields.

More concretely, the document stresses the willingness of the Soviet government to offer material aid to the underdeveloped countries in their struggles for freedom and an improved standard of living. At the same time emphasis is placed on the willingness of the Soviet Union to collaborate with the colonial bourgeoisie and not to seek to overthrow their rule.

These appeals, coupled with the stress on the genuine desire of the Soviet Union for world peace, will undoubtedly prove most attractive to the colonial peoples. The policy here enunciated of aiding colonial struggles fits in with the limited turn toward the left in this field begun by the Khrushchev regime some three years ago.

To the working masses of the Soviet Union, the document stresses pride in the great accomplishments of the past four decades and the hope that privations and bureaucratism will soon be over. For example, the acute housing shortage will be ended within ten to twenty years. Consumer goods, especially food, will become abundant. The standard of living of the United States will be surpassed and bread will be made free along with rent, medicine, health services, education and vacation resort facilities.

All this hinges on stepping up labor productivity considerably. But even hard physical labor will eventually be eliminated through mechanization of agriculture and automation. The working day will then be made the shortest in the world.

The present disparity in income levels in the Soviet Union will be narrowed eventually by increasing wages. Bureaucratism will be reduced and the people given a greater voice in government and eventually greater control over officeholders.

These glowing promises are of particular interest for what they reveal about domestic pressures.

To the Soviet bureaucratic caste, the promise is made that there will no "withering away" of the state — not even in the "communist stage" which the document proclaims is now opening in the Soviet Union. In fact, even though classes have been liquidated, the domestic "class struggle" will continue. For this, as well as the necessity of defending the Soviet Union against world imperialism, a strong state structure is required.

In connection with gradual democratization, younger echelons of the bureaucracy can expect better opportunities for advancement through a rotating system involving one-third to one-half of the officials in various government bodies.

To members of Communist parties in other countries, the document argues — without naming Peking — for the policy of "peaceful coexistence." This is specified as not meaning simply a friendly contest with capitalism to display which is the best system. The contest also includes the class struggle. The eventual world victory of socialism is inevitable. The document places emphasis on the parliamentary road to power but does not exclude other roads.

The program thus makes at least formal concessions to the viewpoint expressed by leaders of the Chinese Communist party while in substance attacking their position.

The draft does not mention Stalin once. This is an obvious concession to the universal hatred for the late dictator. However, Stalin's theory of building "socialism in one country" is not repudiated. Instead it is developed to the new logical absurdity of building "communism in one country." It is even contended that this can be done while other countries in the Soviet bloc remain at a lower level. The true Marxist view that socialism and communism can be built only on the international technological basis established by world capitalism is not mentioned.

In future issues we will return to further analysis of this document, particularly its contrast to the real view of Lenin on the important issues it deals with.

Carleton Beals Scores Cuban CP

In an article in the July issue of the *Independent*, Carleton Beals, the well-known expert on Latin-American affairs, reveals that the Cuban Communist party has succeeded in capturing key posts in Prensa Latina after a bitter factional struggle over control of the important news agency.

Prensa Latina was founded in 1959 by the Argentine journalist Jorge Ricardo Massetti to provide Latin America with accurate coverage of world events. The need for such a service had long been felt in view of the silence about key happenings, the inaccuracies, distortions and sometimes outright lies characteristic of the American-dominated networks in Latin America.

"Massetti's general formula," Beals declares, "seemed to be that of selecting men who would be wholly loyal to Prensa Latina and to the Cuban Revolution, without regard to their precise political affiliations. In his Havana office were several Communist subordinates. He gave them the sack before the final blow-up. There must have been more among the rank-and-file employees."

"That they were intriguing against Massetti became evident in due time. Presently, through control of the newspaper writers' and newspaper employees' syndicate, they closed in on him, demanding both administrative and editorial rights. When he refused their demands, they moved in on the offices and locked him out. He and his friends stormed back in with submachine guns."

Massetti Resigns

"The uproar brought on government intervention. Massetti resigned but was induced to stay on till things were ironed out — on the promise of a high government post, which has never materialized . . ."

"President Dorticós personally ordered a complete investigation in which every employee was quizzed and foreign representatives were called to Havana to give a full accounting. All the time the Communists were laboring in the vineyard and gaining

increasing power. Employees not following the party line were in hot water and many were squeezed out."

"In spite of the Communists' greediness for power in the organization, even they realized that out-and-out control would end the usefulness of the organization, probably cause its destruction. An acceptable pliant false-front man was chosen . . . the Spanish exile, Fernando Revuelta, till then a columnist for the conservative Mexican daily, *Novedades*."

As indications of Revuelta's new policy, Beals cites his personal experience and, in some detail, the kind of news Prensa Latina has been publishing about certain countries.

Articles "Suppressed"

Beals sold the agency two articles, one of which dealt with David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Mexican painter. The other was an interview with ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas. Both articles were "suppressed."

This, Beals believes, was due to a new policy which puts passing diplomatic considerations above full and accurate news coverage. In the case of Mexico, Prensa Latina is sensitive to the attitude of President López Mateos, who jailed Siqueiros.

As for Cárdenas, he is now somewhat an opposition figure in Mexican politics. "Though Cárdenas has been one of the staunchest friends of the Cuban Revolution and is in good part responsible for Mexico's present semi-favorable attitude toward Cuba, PL must now play him down."

In Brazil, where President Quadros is currently taking a favorable attitude toward Cuba, Prensa Latina has suppressed news of government attacks on striking university students and the seizure of all labor headquarters in the Pernambuco area.

Fair Play Spokesman

One of the founders of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Carleton Beals has actively campaigned in the United States in defense of the Cuban revolution since the

victory over Batista. What course he will now take is not clear.

"The honest friend of Cuba, who has been thus cut off and threatened with the distortion of his statements in Cuba," he observes wryly, "can scarcely be expected to spend much energy and time in trying to correct newspaper and official falsifications about Cuban affairs in the United States or elsewhere abroad."

The *Independent* gave the article front-page display. The policy of the paper, which is edited by Lyle Stuart, publisher of *M-26: the Biography of a Revolution*, is strongly in favor of the Cuban revolution.

Washington Seeks To Bar Stuart from Traveling to Cuba

NEW YORK — Lyle Stuart, editor and publisher of the crusading monthly, the *Independent*, is fighting a State Department decision denying him the right to go to Cuba, a right extended to journalists.

The State Department denied Stuart's request for permission to travel to Cuba on the claim that he is not "a bona fide newsman." The *Independent* was one of the first publications in this country to support the Cuban revolution and to demand an end to U.S. hostility against Cuba. Stuart has published several important works on Cuba including an English translation of Fidel Castro's speech, *History Will Absolve Me* and Robert Taber's *M-26: Biography of a Revolution*.

Wrong Associations?

Stuart has also apparently earned the displeasure of the State Department because of his activity as treasurer of the New York chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, Stuart won a hearing at the passport division of the State Department which was held in Washington Aug. 1.

At the hearing, efforts of the State Department's counsel to prove Stuart is not a "bona fide newsman" revolved around questions suggesting that the *Independent* is financed by the Cuban government. This allegation was tied to the fact that the *Independent* is self-sustaining although it doesn't carry any advertising. Stuart pointed out the paper had been self-sustaining for nearly eight years before the Cuban revolution on the basis of its income from subscriptions.

The State Department was also hard put to explain why it had granted permission a few weeks previous for an *Independent* correspondent to go to Cuba.

Decision on the application is pending and Stuart has announced that if it is unfavorable he will fight out the matter in the courts.

Fair Play Committee Blasts New Eastland Smear Attack

NEW YORK — The Fair Play for Cuba Committee denounced as "patently absurd, contradictory and futile," the latest attempts of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by racist Senator Eastland, to smear it as "a thriving Communist propaganda front."

Eastland made the latest charges against the FPCC in an Aug. 3 press release concurrent with publication of the testimony of Fair Play Acting Executive Secretary Richard Gibson before the subcommittee April 25 and May 16.

Gibson said the contradictory character of the Eastland subcommittee's charges could be seen from its own press release, which at one point accused FPCC of receiving a hidden subsidy from the Cuban government and at another accusing it of milking college students of "funds supplied by their parents to pay for a college education."

"Apparently," Gibson said, "Eastland is astounded at the growth of FPCC adult chapters and student councils. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was formed 16 months ago by 30 persons; today it has more than 7,000 members, with 27 chapters in major cities across the country and student councils on more than 40 college campuses."

Eastland's racism was also expressed in the subcommittee release, which noted that "Gibson, a Negro, is also an officer of the Liberation Committee for Africa,

which staged a demonstration at the United Nations after the death of the Congo's Lumumba."

Gibson commented: "I know that it must strike terror in the heart of the Mississippi bigot and his associates to learn that large numbers of Americans of African descent have supported this organization from its inception. These black Americans have no difficulty in realizing that it is Eastland and his associates who are their real enemies and not Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution, who have wiped out all racial discrimination in a matter of months, rather than the years and centuries predicted even by liberal North Americans."

New York

New York

The New Draft Program Of the Soviet Communist Party

An Appraisal by

WILLIAM F. WARDE

Author of "Long View of History" And "Introduction to Logic of Marxism"

FRIDAY

8 p.m.

AUG. 18

116 University Place

Contribution \$1.00

Students and Unemployed, 50c

Ausp. Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance

Kennedy's 'Alliance for Progress'

Thought Control in Argentina

The communications media in the United States have been whooping it up for Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" as a "bold" and "inspiring" program to bolster democracy in Latin America. However, the real meaning of the "New Frontier" propaganda has been correctly read by one of the main prospective recipients of the proposed dollar handouts.

Arturo Frondizi, president of Argentina, is pressing Congress to pass a "temporary" law that would in effect end civil liberties in the country and make political opposition to his government a criminal offense. Frondizi clearly understands that to qualify for membership in the "Alliance for Progress" club you've got to present proof of "anti-Communism."

Trumanite

The text of the law he proposes, published in full in the July 22 edition of the Buenos Aires newspaper *El Mundo*, reveals how closely Frondizi has studied Truman's "loyalty" purge measures, the McCarran Act and similar totalitarian legislation of the worst McCarthyite period in the United States.

Article 1 of Frondizi's proposed witch-hunt law reads as follows: "Declares illegal any organization that, no matter what its apparent objectives may be, tends to implant, either in an immediate or future way, totalitarianism in the Republic, whether by advocating, maintaining, preparing or supporting the action of communism or of any other regime that might destroy the republican form of government, the fundamental principles of the representative democratic system established by the National Constitution or the individual rights and guarantees that it makes sacred."

Covers Every Angle

"The organizations covered by this article shall be immediately dissolved and liquidated in accordance with the disposition of the law."

This sweeping measure, applicable to any organization that displeases the regime, goes even further. It applies penalties to every member of a proscribed organization. Still more — to get around the difficulty of proving membership, it applies to anyone



Frondizi

who might be accused of association in any possible way:

"The members of the organizations referred to in the previous article who take part in their illegal activities, shall be sentenced to prison from one month to three years."

"The same penalty applies to those who, not being members, participate in said activities."

To cover every possible loophole, the thought-control measure is made applicable to anyone who "in a direct or undercover way carries on any proselyting activity with the aim of advocating, maintaining, preparing or supporting the immediate or future implanting of communism or other totalitarian system . . ."

Foreign-Born

Foreigners are prohibited from entering Argentina if in an "individual way" or in association with an organization they have been involved at any time in the previous five years in the "diffusion of propaganda of communism" or other activities declared illegal by the proposed law.

Foreigners already in the country who might be convicted would be subject up to three years in prison, to be followed by deportation. Naturalized citizens would be subject to the same prison terms, loss of citizenship and deportation.

The main target, however, is not foreign residents or foreign-born citizens, as can be judged from a clause barring anyone guilty of violating the proposed law from voting, or being elected to office, holding government em-

ployment, practicing law whether publicly or privately, or holding elective or appointive office in any educational, professional, employer or labor organization. This also applies to Argentina's government-operated enterprises.

These prohibitions are to continue for three times any prison sentence but not less than three years.

This would seem totalitarian enough. But Frondizi is apparently determined to show Kennedy what a model "anti-Communist" he really is. Under the projected law, a government employee or official can be fired without proof of "guilt." He can be fired even if he is proved innocent. "Independently of the final result" in a case, the "competent authorities" can fire anyone charged with violating the law.

Not even this is all. The Argentine version of habeas corpus and freedom on bail is suspended.

Secrecy

All the preliminary steps following denunciation of an individual must be kept secret by the authorities in charge of enforcing this repressive act. Thus a person can be arrested by surprise and held behind bars while the court proceeds with the case.

Visualizing the possibility that some officials might be reluctant to proceed in the totalitarian fashion demanded by the projected law, Frondizi has provided penalties for such cases, too.

Besides the possible prison term and other penalties provided by the law, any public official who learns about activities "barred by the law" in his jurisdiction and fails to take action is subject to discharge from office.

If the Argentine Senate and House of Representatives pass this totalitarian measure, as Frondizi demands, Kennedy can claim quite a feather for the war bonnet of the "New Frontier."

Them That Has Gets

The June 1961 *Labor's Economic Review* reports that U.S. private investment abroad has expanded rapidly, but almost all the increase has gone to already industrialized countries. The small amount placed in underdeveloped countries has been concentrated in extractive enterprises, not industrialization.

Letters from Our Readers

Fair Play for Cuba

Youngstown, Ohio

I am enclosing \$2 as a contribution. I certainly enjoy your fine paper. It is wonderfully progressive, educational and truthful. The new format of *The Militant* is especially good.

If anyone doubts that President Kennedy and the abominable CIA was behind the Cuban counter-revolutionary invasion I suggest they read that June 24 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* which has an article entitled *The Cuban Disaster*, by Stewart Alsop. Of course Alsop sides with the counter-revolution as any capitalist writer would be expected to do, but the facts speak for themselves, as follows:

(1) The counter-revolutionary attack was backed entirely by the CIA with Kennedy's approval.

(2) It was an uncalled-for aggressive act of war by a powerful country against a smaller one.

(3) Its purpose was to re-establish big-business control of Cuba by U.S. imperialism.

Castro was 100 per cent right when he said the U.S. needs a socialist revolution.

Also, I wish to comment on George Lavan's article on Senator Eastland's persecution of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. I think the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is a fine organization. It's doing a fine thing in trying to bring the truth about Cuba to the attention of the American people. It's offer of a low-cost tour last Christmas so that Americans could see Cuban conditions for themselves was a fine example of its sincere motives.

R.A.L.

Will Do

Rockaway, Beach, N.Y.

How about just running a black-bordered box in the next issue of *The Militant* with:

Justices Frankfurter, Harlan, Clark, Whittaker and Stewart, who upheld the Internal Security Act of 1950, betrayed the American Revolution.

R.W.

Hearst on Fascism

Los Angeles, Calif.

To get the American people to think more and more along the path of neo-fascism, a series of articles was written recently by William Randolph Hearst whitewashing fascist dictators in general and Spanish dictator Franco in particular.

Touching on the background of the Spanish Civil War, Hearst writes that it was primarily a war between Franco, Germany and Italy on one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other. (Where the Spanish people were and to whom they gave their sympathies, Hearst doesn't say.)

For the benefit of those who don't know, he states: "Now for the record let it be known without apology the sympathy of the Hearst newspapers, then as now, lies with those God-fearing people who do battle atheistic communism at any time and any place."

That these "God-fearing" people have slaughtered thousands of Spanish workers and brutally wiped out any legal opposition doesn't bother Hearst at all. The only thing that matters is that Spain is "solidly in the ranks of the West." Spain and Portugal are also hailed as having "compara-

tively flourishing economies." Compared to whom? Certainly not to the rest of Europe since they are at the bottom of the list as far as living standards are concerned.

And then, so we don't forget Cuba, Hearst warns the liberals: "To those who insist that dictators everywhere must go, I say remember Cuba. For my part I'll take Salazar and Franco ahead of Castro any day of the week."

Al Johnson

U.S. 'Sportsmanship'

Baltimore, Md.

Are our leaders as bad sports as our Olympic players?

When the USSR won the majority of all Olympic games, who was the first to holler "cheater"? When the USSR put the first man into space, who was the first to holler "liar"?

Now our leaders are such bad sports that they will not even invite to the U.S. the first Cosmonaut to attempt, or to make a space flight that went 25,000 miles (not 300 miles) and 17,000 m.p.h. (not 7,000) and in a space ship five times heavier than the U.S. capsule.

Major Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin, a man who did not brag of his flight in magazines (for pay) six months before it happened, a man who did not need the eyes of his whole country to get him off the ground should be invited to the U.S.

Unless — the government admits, by the non-invitation, that they fear the American people will give him the welcome he deserves and which the government would deny him.

William J. Murray, III

Philadelphians Flare Up

Philadelphia, Pa.

Usually apathetic Philadelphia has had one of its most revolutionary incidents since 1776, with Mayor Richard B. Dilworth as the target.

During recent weeks the mayor has been promoting a plan for solving automobile congestion. Car owners would pay \$40 a year for the "privilege" for parking overnight on city streets. "People have to learn," said a wealthy lawyer, "that a city street is not a private garage."

The mayor decided to crack down on illegal overnight parking and chose a section of South Philadelphia as the pilot area for his project. The cops broke all records, issuing tickets by the hundreds. Tempers of the people flared.

On July 24, despite warnings, Dilworth attended a scheduled citizens meeting in the area to "explain" his plan. Five hundred aroused citizens jammed into the auditorium. Another 1,500 listened over loudspeakers outside.

For two hours the mayor struggled to be heard. The people shouted and jumped out of their seats with mock Nazi salutes. When the crowd outside heard the mayor say he would continue mass ticketing, they replied with a barrage of rocks that sent flying glass near the mayor. Cops appeared with police dogs and this really enraged the people. The chief inspector ordered the dogs away averting a full-scale riot.

Finally a cordon of cops escorted the mayor to his limousine. It left under a barrage of bricks, garbage and gravel. Earlier hundreds of people had stormed a police car and freed a young man who had been arrested.

Daniel Rodil

Thought for the Week

"U. S. military scientists, quietly exploring the potentials of biological warfare, are coming to some explosive conclusions. Among them: . . . Communist regimes . . . would be particularly vulnerable militarily to biological attack against their croplands . . . Anti-crop warfare could be launched secretly . . . The nation under attack would have to decide whether to blame natural causes or enemy action, whether to retaliate and against whom . . ." — The Aug. 2 *Wall Street Journal*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Progress Report — "... there is almost no American scientist who doubts that the Gagarin and Titov flights were actually made." — The Aug. 9 *New York Times*.

No Welcome Mat — "WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 (AP)—The State Department said today that Japan had turned down an informal request that American atomic-powered submarines be allowed to visit Japanese ports to give their crews shore leave."

Aid to Needy Children — The *Associated Press* reports that President Kennedy's daughter Caroline has received a gift of a pair of foot-high "gorgeously gowned" dolls from the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

Cost of Anti-Cuba Campaign — Washington's trade embargo against Cuba has resulted in a 36 per cent drop in the export of U.S. dried beans.

Socialized Weather — "Let's look at the Weather Bureau. Why should Uncle Sam tell us what kind of weather we have? Is socialized weather any different from socialized medicine? No! Besides, it leads to mediocrity. In the old days, weather predictions were made accurately by a mem-

ber of the family who had corns, lumbago, or a broken bone . . . Federally controlled weather also infringes on states rights. In the South, 'separate but equal' weather is the custom." — Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-N.J.)

Keep It a Secret — William Cardinal Godfrey, Catholic archbishop in London, has assailed sex education for children. "Anyone with knowledge of human nature will know that our young people will thus be tempted to experience for themselves what they have learned," he said.

845 Reasons to Vote Socialist — A current survey shows that 845 of New York's 860 public schools are in need of emergency repairs.

Progress Report — Indicating how rapidly we are moving out of the era of McCarthyism, the Senate Labor Committee voted to drop a requirement that applicants for federal scholarship loans sign a "loyalty" oath. Instead, the committee voted to impose criminal penalties on any member of a "subversive" group who applies for or uses such a loan.

New Boost in Butter Prices? — Since April 1 the federal govern-

ment has purchased 127,000,000 pounds of surplus butter.

Free-World Leader — The coup of the current military dictators in Korea is the greatest thing that's happened there in a thousand years, according to retired Gen. James A. Van Fleet, former commander of U.S. and UN forces in Korea. The general says it's "all right to talk about representative government, but such a system, except in great nations like the U.S. and Britain, lets elements get into the government and destroy it."

Dedicated But Dubious — Half of the 100 Protestant divinity students polled by *Redbook* magazine believe the virgin birth of Christ is a myth. Only 29 per cent believe there is a heaven or hell.

Land of Plenty — There are now nearly 70,000 people in the greater Cleveland area eating federal surplus foods, nearly twice as many as a year ago. A family of four gets about 60 pounds of food a month with a retail value of about \$20.

And More Expensive, Too — Rev. Cyril Blount of London's St. Andrew's church says, "Bingo is a greater sin than sex immorality."