

THE MILITANT

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Gov't Anti-Communist Drive A Threat to Civil Liberties

NOV. 22 — The apparent decision of the Justice Department to move with "deliberate speed" in its prosecution of the Communist Party does not lessen the danger to democratic rights inherent in this first attempt in the nation's history to outlaw a political party.

Report Exposes Police Brutality

What every Negro in this country and most white workers know was put into official language in a Nov. 16 report on police brutality by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The report, unanimously submitted by the six commissioners, comprises the fifth and final volume of the Commission's 1961 study on the Administration of Justice in the U.S. It said that "police brutality by some state and local officers presents a serious and continuing problem in many parts of the U.S. Both whites and Negroes are the victims but Negroes are the victims of such brutality far more, proportionately, than any other group in American society."

Examples of police beatings and killings in various parts of the country in recent years were cited. Described as "classic" examples were the killings in Georgia of Bobby Hall and James Brazier. Both were considered "uppity colored persons" and both died as a result of fatal beatings in the police stations following their arrest on minor charges.

Given as examples of the police standing by while mobs beat unpopular citizens were the assaults on Freedom Riders in Alabama last spring.

A Detroit case referred to, involved a retired Negro policeman who waved at two white cops as he drove past. They did not recognize him as an ex-cop and took offense. They stopped his car, pulled him out, choked and black-jacked him to the ground and handcuffed his hands behind him. When transferred to a hospital after arrest, he was shackled to the bed all night and refused the right to call a lawyer. Later he was charged with reckless driving. No

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If the Kennedy administration succeeds in forcing dissolution of the Communist Party, a precedent will exist which could ultimately lead to the suppression of all political opposition.

The Justice Department had given the Communist Party until Nov. 20 to turn over its membership lists, financial records, etc. The demand was based on a ruling, approved by the Supreme Court, that the party must register under the Internal Security Act as a "foreign agent." Prior to the deadline, party spokesmen declared they would not jeopardize members and supporters by turning over the information. (Recent high court rulings make mere admission of party membership sufficient basis for imprisonment under the Smith Act.)

The Justice Department had originally declared it would prosecute immediately if the party didn't meet the deadline — the law provides fines of \$10,000 a day and stiff prison terms for non-compliance. When the Nov. 20 date passed, the department said it would delay action until after a second deadline on Nov. 30 when party officials are supposed to register individually. It said if this second deadline wasn't met, action would be taken against the party as an organization.

The measured nature of these moves suggests that Washington is concerned with laying a solid legal foundation for its moves against the party and, also, for the proper political climate for any arrests it may be considering.

This persecution of the Communist Party mocks President Kennedy's Nov. 18 attack on the ultra-rightists who peddle fear of "communism." While reiterating the fake claim of a "communist danger" from abroad, Kennedy ridiculed those who are "convinced the real danger comes from within."

On the same day, his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, was stressing his determination to prosecute the Communist Party.

It is precisely this kind of federal witch-hunting which spawned McCarthyism and which is today providing the fuel for the current crop of neo-fascist, anti-communist "crusaders."

Cuba Rips U.S. Aggression Against Dominican Republic

By Harry Ring

NOV. 22 — The Cuban government performed a major service for the Dominican people and for all Latin America when it demanded today that the UN Security Council brand the United States government guilty of aggression against the Dominican Republic.

The return to the ugly days of U.S. gunboat diplomacy with battleships and Marines standing off Dominican shores is not inspired by any desire to help the long-oppressed Dominican people. The

U.S. show of force is intended solely to save the regime of dictatorial President Joaquin Balaguer and to prevent a genuine expression of the will of the people themselves.

At the same time the naked U.S. intervention in internal Dominican affairs helps lay the basis for similar aggression against other Latin countries — particularly Cuba.

The danger of such a move was pointed up yesterday by a *Chicago Daily News* press service dispatch from Guatemala which bluntly stated: "Although this report will probably be denied and de-

nounced, there are unmistakable signs that anti-Castro Cubans are again receiving secret military training in Guatemala."

The dispatch said the leader of the military group is Gen. José Eleuterio Pedraza, one-time top aide of Cuba's ex-dictator Batista, and that it has been reliably established that he has 800 men under his command in Guatemala. It added that Eleuterio may also be in charge of troops being trained throughout Central America.

A report published by *The Militant* Oct. 30 told of a former Batista officeholder now in Guatemala, who boasted openly that between 15,000 and 20,000 men have been trained in Central American countries since the April invasion of Cuba.

A new report received by *The Militant* tells of increased repression by the Ydigoras regime in Guatemala. The report said in part: "The atmosphere of fear increases. Arrests continue, with the added touch that in the past few days people don't know where the victims are taken. A small weekly which is sympathetic to Cuba managed to appear for a while but has now suspended publication. It is expected that more students will be arrested at any time." The report adds that anti-Cuba propaganda by the United States Information Service has been stepped up.

This is the setting for the Dominican power show by the U.S. to save the rule of Baleguer who would not require the threat of U.S. intervention if he had the support of the Dominican people.

U.S. efforts to shore up the

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Rally to Demand 'Abolish House Committee'

NEW YORK — The growing national sentiment for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee will be expressed at a rally here Dec. 6. The rally will also focus on the demand for Christmas clemency for Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden who entered jail for a year last May after defying the House witch-hunters.

An impressive list of notables will address the rally to be held at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Ave. The speakers include playwright Gore Vidal and author Ring Lardner Jr. Both have recently written articles for major-circulation magazines blasting HUAC. Lardner was one of the "Hollywood Ten" who were imprisoned for challenging the committee during the opening stage of the witch hunt.

The rally will also hear Mrs. Jean Wilkinson and folk singer Pete Seeger, who himself faces prison for refusing to knuckle under to the committee.

Other speakers will be Prof. Fowler Harper of Yale Law School, Ernest Mazey, Detroit unionist, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Alabama integration fighter, James Higgins, assistant editor of the *York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily*, and Dr. Otto Nathan, chairman of the New York Council to Abolish HUAC, which is sponsoring the rally.

Significant support has been won for the clemency campaign for Wilkinson and Braden. Wilkinson was victimized by the committee because he had stumped the country urging its abolition, while Braden had earned the hatred of the racists on the committee by his courageous civil-rights activities as field representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Last week a distinguished group of religious leaders went to the White House and Justice Depart-



Frank Wilkinson

ment with petitions urging clemency for the two men. The petitions bore 3,000 signatures from 48 states and included such prominent names as those of Rev. Martin Luther King, Harry Golden, Thurman Arnold, Archibald MacLeish and Walter Millis.

Earlier a similar appeal was directed to U.S. authorities by 27 British Members of Parliament, writers and clergymen. Their appeal declared that Wilkinson and Braden, "like many others who have suffered persecution, are not acting in their own narrow interests, but are striving for all their fellow-Americans, to regain that measure of liberty which was theirs."

Previously a clemency petition for Braden was signed by more than 1,800 integration leaders and a second petition for both prisoners was signed by another 2,000 persons.

Warde, Aptheker Speak in Chicago

CHICAGO — Over 400 people attended a meeting at the University of Chicago's International House Nov. 18 to hear William F. Warde and Dr. Herbert Aptheker give their answers to the question: "Where Is America Going?"

Warde is a contributor to *International Socialist Review*, a magazine reflecting the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party. Dr. Aptheker is editor of *Political Affairs*, which similarly reflects the views of the Communist Party. The appearance of spokesmen for these two viewpoints on the same platform itself made the meeting, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, a unique event.

Each speaker made a 40-minute presentation of his views. This was followed by a wide-ranging question period from the audience.

There were questions about the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing, the Hungarian Revolution and the SWP position on Cuba.

On a number of issues the speakers were in agreement. Both called for the formation of a labor party; both agreed the U.S. would not escape the world revolution of our times.

In response to a question about the Communist Party's refusal to back the defense of 18 SWP Smith Act victims in 1941, Warde expressed the hope that this mistake would not be repeated by others in regard to the current persecution of the CP and called for solidarity of all defenders of civil liberties with the CP's fight against the McCarran and Smith Acts.

Both speakers and the audience registered their protest against the persecution of the CP under the McCarran Act. This, plus the healthy, open confrontation of differences by the speakers, made the meeting highly successful.

What Khrushchev & Co. Are Now Saying About Stalinism

[The following are excerpts from speeches and news accounts of the proceedings of the recently held 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). All the material, except explanatory words in brackets, is from official Soviet sources. One excerpt is translated from the official Moscow paper, *Izvestia*, the other two are from *Soviet News*, English-language publication of the Soviet Embassy in London. While the speeches and articles are intended to pin responsibility for the crimes of the Stalin era on the "anti-party" group, rather than on the bureaucracy as a whole, the information gives part of the picture of what was happening in the Soviet Union during those years. EDITOR.]

[From the Oct. 27 *Soviet News*

account of the speech by Alexander Shelepin, chairman of the State Security Committee.]

The anti-party group, and above all Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov, he said, were against a decisive turn towards the restoration of socialist legality in the country.

"They realized full well," he continued, "that in taking to the road of restoring socialist legality they would be coming out against themselves, would be helping to expose their own criminal actions before the whole people."

Shelepin said that there were numerous documents irrefutably proving that the members of the anti-party group were guilty of illegal reprisals against many party, government and Young Communist League officials and military men and bore personal re-

sponsibility for their physical extermination.

He declared that Stalin and his retainers Molotov and Kaganovich had used the assassination of Sergei Kirov in 1934 as a pretext for doing away with prominent leaders of the Soviet state who were not acceptable to them. A whole number of extra-judicial bodies had appeared at that period. It had been established that the proposal for their organization was drafted by Kaganovich. The document, in his hand-writing, had been found in the archives.

In November 1937, Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich had sanctioned the trial by a military court of a group of prominent party workers, statesmen and military leaders and their signatures were on the corresponding document. Among those executed without

reason and rehabilitated after their deaths were such prominent party leaders and statesmen as Postyshev, Kosior, Eiche, Rudzutak, Chubar, Krylenko, Unschlicht and Bubnov.

Molotov sanctioned the arrest of Kabakov, the first secretary of the Urals regional committee of the CPSU; Ukhanov, the People's Commissar for Light Industry; Krutov, the chairman of the Far Eastern district executive committee, and many others.

It had been established by documentary evidence that Kaganovich, prior to the conclusion of the court sessions on various cases, had personally edited the draft sentences and arbitrarily amended them at his own discretion.

On Malenkov's conscience there

(Continued on Page 3)

'We Shall Overcome'

[The following are excerpts from a speech by Richard Griswold at a Nov. 18 banquet in New York celebrating the fourth anniversary of the newspaper, *Young Socialist*. Griswold was one of the Freedom Riders jailed for challenging segregation in Jackson, Mississippi, last summer. Together with 17 other Freedom Riders who were in Jackson for arraignment last August, he responded to an appeal by civil rights leader Robert F. Williams to come to Monroe, North Carolina. There, with other Freedom Riders and local Negroes protesting segregation, Griswold was arrested after police-encouraged rioting by several thousand white supremacists.

In the Monroe jail he was brutally beaten by an inmate named Howard Stack. It was subsequently revealed that the police had arranged for Stack to do the beating by promising to drop all charges pending against him.]

I fully realize this is a celebration, a time for festivity, and I wish, therefore, I could respond with an appropriately festive speech. But I am going to talk to you tonight about the fight for freedom in the South; and about this I cannot be festive; I cannot be jolly; I can only be very serious and very intense.

I feel very honored and very humble to have the privilege of speaking to you on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the *Young Socialist*. It is all the more a privilege since I speak as a guest rather than as a member of your organization. However I do not feel at all an outsider here. Admiring as I do both your principles and the dedication with which you honor them, I have been happy to learn that we share many of the same beliefs and objectives.

One of the principles which we hold in common is a firm and abiding belief in the brotherhood of all men, regardless of race, and a determination to secure equal rights for all men, although we may differ somewhat as to methods — as for instance, the debate over the ethics and feasibility of non-violent resistance versus self-defense . . .

Your continued help and, even more, your increased efforts are needed. The struggle for freedom in Monroe is only beginning. Defense funds for the frame-up victims must be raised. Food, clothing, money must be furnished the gallant and suffering people of Monroe, denied both jobs and relief by the segregationist authorities there. Despite their suffering, despite grievous losses, despite Klan and police terrorism, they have not surrendered.

They have reorganized and are

eager to continue their fight for freedom. They are even now appealing for Freedom Riders to return and aid them in the fight so soon after the disheartening events of this past summer. We must not fail them . . .

The revolution in the South is marching to victory over the beaten and bleeding bodies of these young people. And make no mistake — it is a revolution. The Negro students in the South are not going to be satisfied with the right to sit in the front seat of a bus or to buy a cup of coffee in a Greyhound bus terminal.

I have spoken with their leaders and with the rank and file. I have talked with them in their homes and in the jails, and I assure you, they will be satisfied with nothing less than complete equality, complete freedom. They are striking off the chains of slavery and they will not be content until the last link falls.

In their hearts they echo the cry of Danton to the sovereigns and prelates of Europe: "You thought we dared not make a revolution, but we threw you the head of a king." And before they are finished, politically, heads throughout the South are going to roll, including Faubus, Barnett, Patterson and Talmage . . .

Sense of Urgency

Unwaveringly, inexorably, relentlessly these students press on. If there is one outstanding impression I received from these young people while I worked with them, it was the sense of urgency and immediacy. They are saying they have waited 300 years for freedom; they cannot wait one day longer.

Let us join them on this march toward freedom. Do not let them fight alone. Offer them your hands, your heads, your hearts . . .

Many times in Southern jails I heard the lines of this song:

*"I have a brother in bondage;
Oh Lord, I can't stand still."*

As long as we have a brother in bondage, we must not stand still.

There is another song, a spiritual dating from the days of slavery, which, having been sung during demonstrations and at rallies in jails all over the South, has come to be known as the theme song of the Freedom Riders and the Sit-In movement. One verse in particular brings back poignant memories to me from the last two occasions when I heard it sung by my comrades in Monroe. Once was when we defiantly sang as we marched for over a mile through the gauntlet of the mob's missiles and knives, back to the Negro community the afternoon of August 26th. The last time was lying bleeding in my cell in the Monroe jail, aching in every bone and fearful of what was still to come. I heard the words drifting down from the cells of the brave girl prisoners upstairs.

"We are not afraid; we are not not afraid."

We are not afraid today.

Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,

We shall overcome, some day."

From that moment I believed, and still, deep in my heart, I do believe, that hand in hand, black and white together, we shall overcome.

Read the Original Exposé

In 1934, the murder of Sergei Kirov, a Soviet official, was used to trigger the Moscow frame-up trials. Now, at the 22nd Soviet Communist Congress, Khrushchev told of evidence that Kirov had actually been killed by Stalin's secret police.

This charge was made by Leon Trotsky immediately after the killing in a remarkable pamphlet entitled:

THE KIROV ASSASSINATION

Long out of print, the pamphlet is again available. Send 25 cents for a copy.

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LeRoi Jones Urges New Efforts to Halt Anti-Cuba Threats

NEW YORK — LeRoi Jones, newly-elected president of the New York Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, has made an urgent appeal to all members and supporters of the Committee to join with the Chapter in mobilizing all progressive forces to prevent a second invasion of Cuba.

"There is every sign of intensified U.S. preparations for a second invasion of Cuba," Jones said. He warned that many who are concerned that conflict in Berlin or Laos might touch off World War III are still not fully aware that another invasion of Cuba could just as easily provide the spark that would set off a nuclear war. He said there had been a distressing fall-off in concern about the Cuban situation, which was due in part to the relative calm in the Caribbean and to the heightened tension in other world hotspots. "The Kennedy Administration hopes to profit from this lack of awareness here and abroad and to prepare quietly a murderous second attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution."

Jones called for a massive campaign to alert the U.S. people to the dangers, not only to the people of Cuba, but to the American people as well. The chapter needs greater financial support and more volunteer workers in order to do this. The office of the N.Y. Chapter, FPCC, is located at 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

The 27-year-old poet, editor and literary and music critic was elected president of the N.Y. Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at the chapter's annual membership meeting Nov. 9.

Also elected to the chapter's executive committee were Edgar Graham, secretary; Steve Seltzer, treasurer; Dave Dellinger and John Lewine, members-at-large. The membership also ratified the selection of representatives on the executive committee of six chapter subcommittees or branches.

...Dominican

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Balaguer regime have included bringing back opposition leaders Dr. Virato Fiallo, president of the National Civic Union, and Dr. Manuel Tavarez, head of the 14th of June Movement. The State Department facilitated their return, apparently with the understanding that they would enter a coalition government with Balaguer.

But it remains to be seen if Fiallo and Tavarez will be able to swing significant support behind him. Today's *New York Times* reports that Tavarez addressed about 1,500 people in front of the 14th of June Movement's headquarters and that at one point the crowd broke into a chant, "We don't want Balaguer!" The dispatch adds: "There were similar outbursts against the President during the National Civic Union rally."

There is good reason for this sentiment. Balaguer was put into office by the hated tyrant Trujillo and while popular pressure has curbed the worst excesses of the old regime, repressions continue. Six of the people arrested in connection with the assassination of Trujillo are now officially reported to have "escaped" but the Dominican people are convinced they were killed by Balaguer's police. Last Sunday two students were critically wounded by cops during a peaceful "Freedom-by-Christmas" demonstration.

U.S. guns and dollars kept the Trujillo family in power for more than a quarter of a century. But in the end they couldn't save them from the rising revolutionary will of the Dominican people. The life expectancy of the U.S.-backed Balaguer regime is a lot poorer.

—Larry Dolinski—

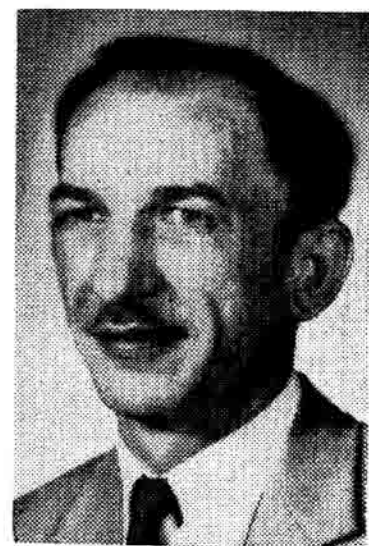
DETROIT — Unionists and socialists here lost one of their staunchest fighters when Larry Dolinski died of a ruptured blood vessel of the brain Nov. 18.

He was on his way to a meeting last night, to hear a talk by William F. Warde at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, when he suddenly collapsed. He was taken to a hospital but never regained consciousness. He was 45 years old.

Larry Dolinski was a militant union man and revolutionary worker all his adult life. Born in Chicago, he came to Detroit during the Second World War. He worked in several auto plants, was a seaman, and a baker. He belonged to the United Auto Workers, being a member of Local 250 at the time of his death.

He was well known in the labor movement as a tough fighter against the bosses and a bitter opponent of the union bureaucrats. There was no injustice that he did not fight.

He joined the Socialist Workers Party in the 1940's. Seven years ago he left the party with a dissident group, but in 1957 he came to feel that this had been a mistake, and reapplied for membership. Welcomed back, he was soon campaigning for public office on the Socialist Workers ticket. He



Larry Dolinski

ran for lieutenant-governor and secretary of state, and for board of education and constitutional convention delegate in Highland Park.

A memorial meeting was held for him at Debs Hall on Nov. 21. Larry is survived by his wife, Rosemary, and two young children. He will be sorely missed by many workers as well as his comrades.

SWP in Berkeley Challenges Anti-Communist "Crusade"

BERKELEY — The demand of Matthew Wise, secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the Board of Education for equal time for a series of six lectures on the menace of fascist and extreme right-wing groups to civil liberties, is exciting considerable comment. The press throughout this

area reported it when the SWP spokesman a month ago originally appeared before the Board with the request. His second appearance made the front page of the *Berkeley Gazette* in a story headed: "Marxists Want Equal Time."

The issue prompting this demand is the Board of Education's sponsoring of six lectures entitled, "Facts About Communism"; the use of school facilities for them; the publishing of 50,000 brochures (without a union label) advertising the series and the granting of credits to teachers for attending. One of the most notorious of the lecturers is Dr. Joost Sluis, Northern California Director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. He recently toured South America with CACC National Chairman Schwarz. Sluis spent a good deal of time and funds in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat leftist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan in the recent election in British Guiana.

The president and the secretary of Alameda County's Central Labor Council have characterized the CACC as "a gathering of 'Right-to-Work' Types" and "extremists who present a threat to the labor and liberal movements."

Though questioning the Board of Education's decision to sponsor such characters as lecturers in an adult education program, Wise declared the "SWP is not opposed to the democratic right of reactionaries to a public platform." He added, "a counter series, granting us equal time, is the only way to keep within the American tradition of democratic presentation of ideas."

...Police Brutality

(Continued from Page 1)

action was taken against the cops who beat him.

In a 1959 Cleveland case a policeman shot a Negro who had stopped his car in front of his home. The cop claimed the man had reached into the glove compartment as if to get a gun. Witnesses testified that the man had both hands on the wheel when he was shot. The killer was not even prosecuted.

Pointing out that victims of police brutality, or their survivors, had "no adequate avenues of legal redress, the Commission report proposed remedying the situation. The Commission however, has no actual power, it can merely "recommend." Since neither of the capitalist parties are interested in backing up the Commission, it is expected that Congress will simply ignore its recommendations.

Rufus Cason, 23-year-old Negro, faces blindness as a result of a beating administered by four policemen in the Lake County, Florida, jail last Sept. 23. Arrested because the car in which he was riding allegedly had a faulty muffler, he was later taken out of his cell with the explanation, "We're going to teach you how to talk about white people." The four cops then beat him with black-jacks.

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Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

Attention Fair Play for Cuba Friends. Don't miss the Get-Together Party Sat., Nov. 25, 8:30 p.m. at 205 East 9th St. (East of 4th Ave.) Dancing, entertainment, refreshments. Informal report on new Cuban developments. Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Scott Nearing, noted socialist author and lecturer, discusses "What Is Freedom" Fri., Dec. 1, 8:30 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Attend a reception for John Lowry, defendant in Monroe, N.C., racist kidnap frame-up, and other Freedom Riders. Refreshments, entertainment. Sat., Dec. 2, 8:30 p.m. at 325 East 17 St. (Between First and Second Ave.) Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

CUBA'S CONGRESS OF ARTISTS AND WRITERS: A report by Elizabeth Sutherland, who covered the congress for *The Nation*. Panel discussion by Irving Rosenthal and Howard Schulman, recent visitors to Cuba. Mon., Dec. 4, 8:30 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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Monday, November 27, 1961

"Doublespeak"

The Kennedy administration has brought the Orwellian art of "doublespeak" to new heights.

Consider these examples:

On Nov. 14, Kennedy met with Gen. Chung Hee Park, head of the South Korean military government. They issued a joint communique which asserted "their determination to intensify their common efforts toward the establishment of world peace based on freedom and justice."

The government of South Korea is a tyranny. It is currently planning to execute three socialist journalists for the "crime" of advocating reunification of Korea.

Memorial Day was the occasion for more "doublespeak." While Kennedy was orating at Arlington, Va., that he was ready to plunge the world into a new war to defend "freedom," Secretary of Defense McNamara was being introduced in Atlanta to a lily white dinner audience by Georgia's rabid racist, Senator Herman Talmadge. McNamara was there to join in tributes to that benighted state's Senator Richard Russell and Rep. Carl Vinson.

Obviously enjoying presidential approval, McNamara insisted on speaking despite heated protests from the NAACP and other civil-rights groups. Fittingly enough, the chairman of the dinner arrangements committee was Robert Troutman, a member of Kennedy's "Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities."

As McNamara dodged protesting pickets to get into the meeting, newsmen asked his opinion of the demonstration. "I have seen no demonstration or heard of any," he firmly replied.

"Turn your head, Mr. Secretary," a reporter said as a group of pickets went by. McNamara turned, but quickly faced front. "Would you tell us now what you think of the demonstration?"

"I still have seen no demonstration."

In a sense, McNamara was right. He didn't see anyone on the picket line who "counts" with the administration. The ones who do were all inside.

Lumumba's Murderers

The United Nations investigation of the murder of Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba dismisses Belgian puppet Tshombe's story that Lumumba escaped his guards and was killed Feb. 12 by savage tribesmen. The report concludes that "the prisoners were killed on January 17, 1961 after their arrival in a villa not far from Elizabethville and in all probability in the presence of high officials of the government of Katanga Province, namely, Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Munungo, and Mr. Kibwe, and that the escape story was staged."

But Tshombe and the Belgian officer in his service, who the evidence indicates fired the fatal shot, and Congo President Kasavubu, named by the investigators as responsible for handing Lumumba over to his bitterest political enemies, do not exhaust the list of murderers. Kasavubu was a creature of the UN intervention. He turned Lumumba over to Tshombe shortly after receiving \$5 million from the UN.

A writer in the anti-imperialist, anti-apartheid paper, *Torch*, which still manages to publish in South Africa, reports that upon the news of Hammarskjöld's death "people have been saying Lumumba's murderer has been murdered!"

Though oversimplified, this verdict of folk wisdom goes to the heart of the matter. The actual murderers and their immediate accomplices were but agents. The UN interventionists connived at and facilitated their crime — in this they were the servitors of imperialism, U.S., no less than Belgian and British.

Rehabilitate Kerensky?

A Nov. 12 *New York Post* editorial notes that Natalia Trotsky has demanded that the Soviet government posthumously rehabilitate her late husband.

The *Post* says that if the record is to be reviewed, it should not stop with Leon Trotsky. "What about the Kronstadt sailors whose Communist-led protest against Bolshevik policies was crushed by orders of Trotsky? And why should historical vindication be limited to Bolsheviks? Among the first victims of character assassination was Alexander Kerensky, the moderate socialist leader of the short-lived democratic regime overthrown by Lenin and Trotsky."

The *Post's* arguments are wrong on each point. The Kronstadt "protest" was in fact an armed rebellion during a period of civil war when the young Soviet Republic was fighting for its life against native and invading counter-revolutionary forces.

As for Kerensky, we fail to see in what sense he was a victim of "character assassination." His regime fell because it failed to meet the demand of the Russian people for an end to war and poverty. The ouster of his regime represented a thoroughly democratic majority decision of the people.

According to the *Post*, "restoration of democracy" in Soviet society is more important than rehabilitation of Stalin's victims. But the very point of the demand for such rehabilitation is precisely the restoration of democracy — the workers' democracy that flourished in the early Soviet days, a democracy yet to be surpassed by anything capitalism has achieved.

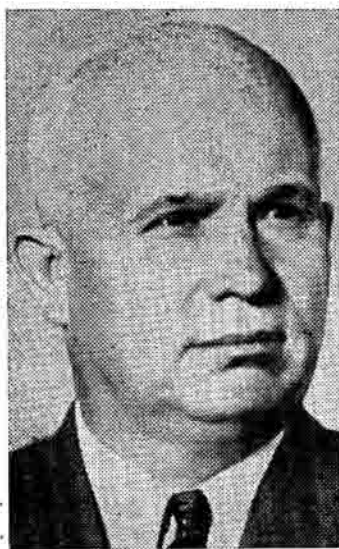
... Soviet Revelations About Stalinism

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also lay the "Leningrad case" and the arrests of party and government officials in Armenia.

Shelepin said that the members of the anti-party group for many years, up to the time when the sworn enemy of the people, Beria, had been exposed, had savagely settled the fate of innocent people.

Shelepin recalled that in June 1957, when the factionists went over to an open attack against the central committee of the CPSU, Bulganin had posted his own guards in the Kremlin and had



Khrushchev

called out additional guards who did not let anyone pass without his permission to the government building, where the presidium of the central committee was in session.

"The plotters were prepared to take the most extreme measures to achieve their vile aims," Shelepin said.

* * *

[From Oct. 28 Soviet News account of the speech by Zinovy Serdyuk.]

Serdyuk told the congress that there were numerous documents exposing the criminal activities of Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov. He read as an example the following document, a communication from Yezhov to Stalin:

"To Comrade Stalin. I am sending for approval four lists of persons subject to trial by the military collegium: 1. List No. 1 (general). 2. List No. 2 (former military workers). 3. List No. 3 (former workers of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.) 4. List No. 4 (wives of enemies of the people). I am asking for sanction to condemn all under the first category. Yezhov."

The lists were examined and endorsed by Stalin and Molotov and each bore the words: "Approved. J. Stalin. V. Molotov."

"Condemned to death under the first category" meant death by shooting.

* * *

[From the speech of Dora Lazurkina, woman Communist, described as member of the party since 1902, as reported in *Izvestia* of Oct. 31.]

"I fully support the proposal of Comrade Spiridonov and the other comrades who have spoken concerning the removal of the body of Stalin from the Lenin Mausoleum. (Stormy applause.)

"In my youth I began my work under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who so loved the party, who was like a father to us revolutionists . . .

"And then, comrades, in 1937 I shared the fate of many. I was in leading work in the Leningrad Oblast Committee of the party, and, of course, was also arrested. When they arrested me and when the doors of the prison closed behind me (and not for the first time — I was in prison and exile many times in Czarist times) I felt such terror, not for myself, but for the party; I couldn't understand why they were arresting old Bolsheviks. For what? That 'for what' was what was so tormenting, so incomprehensible. I explained to myself that something

terrible had happened in the party, obviously some wrecking activity. And this gave me no rest.

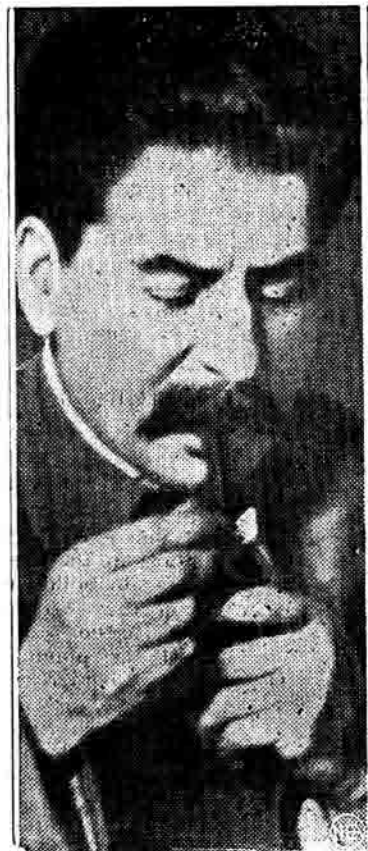
"Not for one minute — neither when I spent two and one-half years in prison, nor when they sent me to a camp, and afterwards in exile (I spent 17 years there) — not once did I accuse Stalin. I constantly fought for Stalin, who was cursed by all the prisoners and exiles . . .

"The great evil, brought by Stalin, consists not only in the fact that many of our best people perished, not only in the fact that there was a capricious brutality, that innocent people were shot or sent to prison without trial . . .

"I will bring to mind only one example that characterizes the situation. In May 1937 the secretary of the Leningrad Obkom was Comrade Zhdanov. Zhdanov gathered us, the leading workers of the Obkom, together and told us: in our ranks, in the Leningrad organization, two enemies have been discovered — Chudov and Kadatsky. They have been arrested in Moscow. We could say nothing. It seemed as if our tongues were frozen. But when the conference was concluded and Zhdanov was going out of the hall, I said to him, Comrade Zhdanov, I don't know Chudov, he hasn't been in the Leningrad organization for long. But I can vouch for Kadatsky. He has been a member of the party since 1913. I have known him for many years. He is an honorable member of the party. He fought against all the oppositions. This is unbelievable! It must be verified! Zhdanov looked at me with cruel eyes and said, 'Lazurkina, discontinue this conversation. Otherwise it will go badly for you.' . . .

"And what kind of a situation was created in 1937? There

reigned a fear to which we Leninists were unaccustomed. We slandered each other, we didn't trust each other, we even slandered ourselves. They prepared depositions for the arrest of innocent people. They beat us so that we would slander. They gave people these depositions, forced them to sign, promised to release them, threatened: if you don't sign we will torture you! But many did not waver, preserved their Bolshevik spirit and never signed anything. (Prolonged applause) . . ."



Stalin

Xmas Book List

THE COOL WORLD, by Warren Miller. An excellent novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *90 Miles from Home*. Special price, \$1.49.

THE SHARK AND THE SARDINE, by Juan Jose Arevalo. Already a classic in Latin America, this brilliant indictment of U.S. imperialism has just been translated into English. \$4.95.

THE INTERNATIONAL, by Alfred Maudslayi. A noteworthy novel about the contemporary union officialdom. \$5.95.

THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER, by George Orwell. Available for the first time in a U.S. edition, this is a masterful account of the jobless in an English mining town. Paper, 50c.

THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE, by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. \$3.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH, by Daniel Guerin. Based on an extensive tour of the Southern U.S. Special price, cloth, \$1 paper, 50c.

ISLAND IN THE CITY, by Dan Wakefield. An invaluable account of Puerto Ricans in New York. Paper, \$1.75.

REVOLT IN THE SOUTH, by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising Southern Negro struggle. Paper, 95c.

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, by Martin Luther King. An account of the non-violent resistance movement. Paper, 50c.

THE UN-AMERICANS, by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil liberties attorney provides a devastating documentation of the fruits of the House witch-hunters' activities. Paper, 60c.

GRAND INQUEST, by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to *The Un-Americans* by a constitutional lawyer. Paper, 75c.

SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, by W. E. B. DuBois. A new reprint of one of the earliest and best works of the famed scholar. Paper, 50c.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA

UN SPEECH, by Fidel Castro. Paper, 25c.

HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME, by Fidel Castro. \$1.

CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT. 25c.

FIDEL CASTRO SPEAKS TO THE CHILDREN. 25c.

THE DECLARATION OF HAVANA. 10c.

CUBA'S SOCIALIST DESTINY, by Fidel Castro. 25c.

MAY DAY SPEECH, by Fidel Castro and ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CUBA, by Che Guevara. 50c.

GUERRILLA WARFARE, by Che Guevara. Cloth, \$3.

90 MILES FROM HOME, by Warren Miller. Now in paperback, 50c.

LISTEN, YANKEE!, by C. Wright Mills. Paper, 50c.

SARTRE ON CUBA, by Jean-Paul Sartre. Paper, 50c.

CUBA: ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION, by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy. Paper, \$1.75.

M-26: BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION, by Robert Taber. Cloth, \$4.95.

HOW CUBA UPROOTED RACE DISCRIMINATION, by Harry Ring. 15c.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA, by Joseph Hansen. 25c.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, by Joseph Hansen. 25c.

MARXIST CLASSICS

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND, by Engels. Back in print and reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.98.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES, by Marx and Engels. \$1.95.

SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS, Vol. 1, by G. Plekhanov. \$3.75.

BASIC WRITINGS OF MARX AND ENGELS, edited by Lewis S. Feuer. Paper, \$1.45.

FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY, by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$3, paper, \$1.95.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

TERRORISM AND COMMUNISM. A classic work of Marxist theory. Out of print for three decades. Paper, \$1.95.

MY LIFE. Recently reprinted autobiography. Paper, \$2.45.

WHITHER FRANCE. The French social crisis as analyzed in the mid-1930's. Special price, paper, \$1.45.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. A brilliant exposition of the role of the artist in a workers' state. Cloth, \$2.98, paper, \$1.50.

WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING? An analysis of the British general strike of 1926 and the perspectives of British imperialism. Paper, \$1.50.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. The views and insights of a veteran socialist as expressed in articles written over three decades. Ranges from the Sacco-Vanzetti case to reviews of Hollywood films. Cloth, \$4, paper, \$2.50.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A participant's account. Cloth, \$2.75, paper, \$2.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. A compilation of articles written during a 1940 political dispute in the Socialist Workers Party. This is a first-rate exposition of the Leninist concept of democratic centralism. \$2.75.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. Stenogram of Cannon's testimony in the country's first Smith Act trial. This is a vivid, vivid exposition of the socialist viewpoint. 50c.

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM. A series of lectures assessing our country's present and future. 35c.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY. Invaluable as an aid to understanding the current conflict in the Soviet countries. 15c.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE OLD MAN. An eloquent memorial tribute to Leon Trotsky after his assassination in 1940. 10c.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Letter from Peru

'Dogs Share the Misery'

The most heart-wrenching sights in Lima are the *barriadas*. Our friends took us by truck into some of them. Hidden from the tourists, they are around the edge of the city. We took pictures through the truck windows because a camera in those places is as startling and as much disliked as a cop walking through the area.

One of the *barriadas* they took us into was enough to make one throw up. A *barriada* is something like the depression-day "Hooverville," except much, much worse. This particular one was built on a garbage dump. The shacks were built of pieces of tin, pieces of cardboard, pieces of adobe brick — anything the Peruvian Indians could get their hands on. The "streets" — alleys between the shacks — were nothing more than open sewers, ankle-deep — rotting garbage, bones, rusty tin cans, everything known to the human animal. Walking was tough going.

At one place we saw people combing through an area of garbage. Our friends explained this had two purposes: 1) They would salvage what they could to sell and to eat. 2) After the garbage heap was levelled, another "house" would be built on the spot (a by-product of the salvage job.)

On every garbage heap not yet used for a shack, lean dogs pawed through the garbage. As I watched one huge tawny-colored dog, he pulled out a long, wiggly object and swallowed it in one gulp.

We asked our friends why so many dogs in such a poverty-stricken area. They answered: "To share the misery."

The area as yet has no electricity (the government promises to put in electricity.) The government has promised for many years to put in water pipes. Finally, the people themselves piped water into the area — one water spout for about every four square blocks. No one knows the number of people living in the area. The government is not interested in these people — "the people of the revolution," our friends called them.

Seventy-five per cent of the people living in the *barriadas* have TB and all those who don't have shoes (a few do) get a foot disease from some kind of worm that eats into the flesh of the foot as it pads along on the garbage.

One of our friends, whose youth was spent in a *barriada* told us that his feet still carry the scars from the disease caused by the worms.

We saw several *barriadas*. But the one I have described in part is the worst, the ultimate, in all my experience with poverty. Families of four, five, six, living in one room, sharing that room with three or four hogs which they are nurturing for sale in the market.

And in all this, we saw in front of one of the shacks, a garden of red geraniums.

Reba Aubrey

Western Designs for Dying

The Garden Shelter

Sunset, the Magazine of Western Living, has a feature in the November issue on how to build an attractive fallout shelter. In the west, you know, gardens and patios are planned for playing, eating and sleeping outdoors. Sunset magazine feels that appropriate landscaping, which will make the shelter an integral part of your garden, is more important out here than in any other section of the country. For example, the air filter and exhaust can be camouflaged to look like garden lights, masked by shrubbery. This is not only charming, but practical, too. Maybe it will fool an irate neighbor who has been gunned out of the shelter and wants to cut off your air supply.

This practical approach, tastefully combined with aesthetic and decorative touches, is evident in the floor plans and furnishings of the various shelters which are photographed. Most of them can be put to immediate use as a play area for the children or a quiet

spot to nap on a hot summer day. One photo shows a "play tower" on the shelter roof equipped with a sandbox and slide. Two children frolic while mother, in an open hatchway, stores boxes of canned food.

True, unexpected problems may arise. One man discovered a liquid petroleum gas tank close to his air inlet. Even without the petroleum hazard, getting adequate air presents difficulties. With a hand crank and five to ten minutes cranking an hour, you can get a complete change, but in case there is a fire near the intake — and I have heard that fire may follow the explosion of an H-bomb — you have to close it up and depend on emergency oxygen in a 2-cubic foot cylinder. They don't say how long this will last.

A variety of shelters are shown with bunks that convert to a sofa, paintings, a record player, children's toys, lamps. The lamps operate on batteries and to pre-

serve batteries, you put them in a plastic bag and freeze them. I hesitate to ask whether temperatures in the shelter will drop below freezing.

For recreation, one shelter features a dart board to prepare you for life when you get out of the shelter and ammunition runs short.

The delicate matter of sanitation is discussed briefly. You will need a ten gallon can with a tight lid.

After a comparison of the merits of pre-fab and "hand-crafted" shelters, the article concludes — "if you have any doubts . . . check with your Civil Defense office or the Better Business Bureau."

One thing I don't understand is why the people building these shelters object to being taxed for the increased property valuation. This is unreasonable — what do they think the shelters are for — survival?

Joyce Cowley

It Was Reported in the Press

Peace Force — A three-day University of California symposium on "Alcohol and Civilization" heard that, in addition to other benefits, liquor contributed toward achieving world peace. Dr. Chauncey D. Leake, a pharmacy professor, said alcohol, used in moderation, "may long remain a major factor in the process of civilizing human beings everywhere, contributing to their tolerance and sympathy with each other, and thus to lowering of individual and social tension and to the establishment of peace." The symposium was largely financed by an association of California wine producers.

Help from Abroad — As a result of publicity on the State Department's stalling past the deadline on granting a visa to British Labor MP Konni Zilliacus, a new visa procedure may be instituted. Zilliacus had applied a month in advance for a visa to attend the annual *National Guardian* dinner in New York. His application was "studied" until it was too late for him to attend. Now, it is reported, visa applications will have to be acted upon within 21 days.

For Kicks — The Nov. 17 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Civil defense men acknowledge that relatively few citizens are building their own shelters. 'It's mostly a fad among the wealthy,' one official claims."

Civilization — New York City Correction Commissioner Anna

Kross revealed that 46 prison inmates — mainly alcoholics and narcotics addicts — died within six days of being jailed last year. None had been hospitalized despite medical records establishing "that each man had presented symptoms of delirium tremens, convulsive seizures, and/or evidence of deterioration, such as undernourishment or dehydration."

Tip to Readers — One investment dope sheet advises: "Don't let INTERNATIONAL TURMOIL or the COST-PRICE SQUEEZE blind your eyes to the profit possibilities of the coming year."

A Rational Voice — "Don't build a fallout shelter. Give yourself credit for having more sense than the ostrich who thinks it is safe with its head in the sand. We will all go together, if we go — and our hope of not going is dependent upon more intelligent action than the construction of a backyard crematorium." — Rev. Alfred B. Starratt, rector of Baltimore's Emanuel Church.

Criteria — Asked to give his definition of a "great" politician, Democratic big-wig James A. Farley replied, "One who wins elections."

Fact of the Week — "NEW YORK, Nov. 9 (AP) — There is plenty of good food available in the United States, but not everyone gets enough of it."

Who Screens the Screeners? — "WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 (AP) — Maurice H. Klein, personnel director of the top-secret National Security Agency, has been fired on grounds he falsified parts of his own government employment application."

Perfect Choice — Chicago Fire Commissioner Robert J. Quinn, who is also the local civil-defense director, has proposed a 350-foot-deep limestone quarry, just three miles from the business district, as the site for an air raid shelter in a nuclear attack. Among the advantages he might have cited is the ready availability of the limestone for tombstones.

War Budget — In 1955, the most recent year for which figures are available, the civilian population of the United States spent \$6,000,000 in the war against cockroaches.

Like Sex Appeal — Such words as "full quart," "mammoth" and "jumbo" on packages are not intended to deceive or confuse, a food packaging expert explained to a Senate subcommittee. They're simply intended to enhance the "psychological appeal" of the package and its contents. "Our entire social structure," explained Louis Cheskin, "depends on the mass production of psychologically satisfying products as much as the individual depends on these products in fulfilling his emotional needs."

Letters from Our Readers

From a Freedom Rider

Excelsior, Minn.

Since I do not get *The Militant* I only recently read the Sept. 25 issue. [The issue featured a letter from Robert F. Williams, then in hiding, declaring his innocence of the "kidnap" charge made against him by Monroe's racist authorities. Editor.]

Everything about Robert Williams was accurate and we Freedom Riders will testify to his worth. Robert Williams was guilty like Christ was guilty. He is a true humanitarian and he's paying for it.

I saw the hateful eyes of the multitude and the doubting of the so-called liberal intellectuals (including the man who owns the town of Monroe who was supposed to be Williams' old friend.) The bitter irony of his situation, while it is historically common, is nevertheless awesome.

But the Robert Williams story is more than the story of the persecuted humanitarian. It points out the tragic element in America — paralytic conservatism and its capturing of the press. This is why I'm writing to you. I'll put in a good word for *The Militant* wherever I go.

Robert Baum

Monroe Coverage

San Francisco, Calif.

Thank you for the excellent coverage of the situation in Monroe and Robert Williams.

N.W.

A Castro of the Andes?

New York, N. Y.

In the Oct. 23 issue of *The Militant* you reprinted an article on Kennedy's Alliance for Progress from *Gaitan*, the independent radical weekly, published in Colombia. Your readers may be interested to know that *Gaitan* has reported the appearance of guerilla bands à la Castro in Colombia.

The Oct. 15th issue of *Gaitan* printed a picture of one group of about 70 men who are active in the area near the Colombian-Venezuelan border. At the beginning of this month six members of this group were reported killed in a skirmish with the Colombian army. The six included two students, two peasants, one worker, and a 19-year-old co-ed. *Gaitan* also announced that a second but smaller group was active in the western end of the country.

The leader of the larger group, Tulio Bayer, is a medical doctor who graduated from the University of Antioquia in Colombia and received another degree from Harvard University in the late fifties. Bayer was removed from a job he held in the Public Health Dept. for having ordered the arrest of a wealthy Colombian and local justice of the peace, who he proved was selling adulterated milk. He also practiced medicine among the working people in the section of Colombia in which he is leading a guerilla band.

Tulio Bayer has published a book in Spanish called *Road to the Sea*. Written as a novel, it describes the conditions he met in his tour as a doctor in the eastern sections of Colombia.

Could this be the beginning of a Castro of the Andes?

P.C.

For Emancipation

New Britain, Conn.

Enclosed you will find check for \$5 as a contribution to *The Militant*.

I am retired, 67 years old, but glad to help the best I can the advancement of all sound views for social and universal emancipation.

A.P.

Thought for the Week

"If you have a Great Dane dog and want him to share your safety in a nuclear fallout shelter, you'd better figure on a substantially increased storage of water." — From a Nov. 1 Associated Press dispatch.

Canadian Boosters

Christina Lake, Canada

Enclosed is \$5 for your use in any department.

We appreciate your wonderful work — and such an amount of it, in so many directions.

Could you please send, as convenient, extra copies for remailing to possible new subscribers?

R. & L.M.

A General Peace Strike

New York, N.Y.

The time has come for a general strike.

A worldwide general strike is the direct action by which people can convince the governments that we want peace and will not allow nuclear testing to continue.

A general strike is a form of protest in keeping with the principles of non-violence. It consists of a work stoppage and of a refusal to participate in the normal functions of the community, except for those absolutely necessary for health and sanitation. This strike will last a week: *From Monday, Jan. 29, through Sunday, Feb. 4, 1962.*

If necessary, this will be the first of a series of general strikes. Such a series will continue until we can live in peace, free from a further increase in the terrible effects of fallout, and free from the threat of a war that might annihilate most, if not all, human beings.

We call on all the people of the world, in all countries, and of all political convictions, to join us in this strike. We beseech those in power to stop testing nuclear arms. We ask them to begin immediate serious negotiations toward settling present differences, and to reopen negotiations for total disarmament. We urge each nation in the world to disarm immediately and unilaterally.

Stopping the tests, negotiations, and unilateral disarmament are practical actions that will both pacify the present situation and help men toward universal peace. In striking, we demand these actions.

New York Committee for the General Strike for Peace, Provisional Committee: Julian Beck, Earl Bissinger, Elaine de Kooning, Douglas Gorsaline, Jackson McLow, Spencer Holst, Judith Malina, Julie Marlowe, Mary Sharmat, James Spicer.

Montana Sub-Getter

Plentywood, Mont.

Enclosed is money to renew my subscription and for three new ones I got around the state.

I hope *The Militant* goes back to the old style. A lot of people look at it and say it's a small paper.

Things are tough out here as there was no crop. Most of the workers are out of work and the small farmers are broke.

Only wish I could do a lot more.

John Boulds

Operation Overkill

Newark, N. J.

According to Rep. Bruce Alger, a Texas Republican, this country has a stockpile of 35,000 to 40,000 nuclear weapons with a total destructive force equivalent to 35 million tons of TNT.

I don't know of any similar figures for the Soviet Union. But I think it's safe to assume that their stockpile is pretty much in the same league.

Even if either government has the insane idea of unleashing such a force, what in the world do they need new testing for? How many times can you hope to overkill the world?

B.R.