

Castro's Speech on Marxism-Leninism

By Harry Ring

Fidel Castro's Dec. 2 nation-wide television speech declaring his adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrine is now the subject of a major campaign in this country, pivoting around the assertion that Castro declared he had been a "Communist" since his university days but had concealed his views in order to gain power. This is a flat lie. (See editorial, page 3). The running theme of the speech, published in the Dec. 10 issue of the Havana magazine, *Bohemia*, is that his experience since coming to power had convinced him of the correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory and that he was convinced that the united revolutionary party now in process of formation in Cuba must be based upon a Marxist-Leninist program.

The three principal organizations involved in the creation of the new party are the July 26th Movement, the Communist, or Popular Socialist, Party and the Revolutionary Directorate.

"All the members of the various revolutionary organ-

izations are eligible to enter the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, with equal rights and considerations," Castro declared. "Having been a member of the Socialist Party [PSP] for 20 years will bring no special privilege, nor will it be any special distinction to have been a member of the July 26 Movement or the Revolutionary Directorate. All enter with equality of rights!"

The program of the new party? "It will be a Marxist-Leninist program, adjusted to the precise objective conditions of our country. That is, in our program, we will adapt the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to our situation."

A government "based on a revolutionary party, democratically organized, and working through a collective leadership" is best, he said, because such a government "does not aspire to be eternal, but simply transitional."

This is true, he added, "if democratic norms are functioning, if the norms of collective leadership are functioning. . . . If democratic norms are not functioning, the system can be as terribly bad as any other system. But if the fundamental principles of internal democracy and

collective leadership are maintained, then there is no doubt that this is the most perfect method of government and, above all, of government for a country in a stage of revolutionary transition."

"What does this mean?" Castro asked. "First, that this Party is not an agglomeration, but a party of selection, the best citizens of the country enter such a party . . . with long years behind him in a process of apprenticeship, of direct experience . . . It is not a question of a demagogue or a theatrical man. In a party where such norms prevail as discipline, principles, selection, internal democracy and collective leadership, no simpleton or idiot or adventurer can get to be head of the state . . . Only those with a real political vocation, a real spirit of sacrifice, will be the ones who rise to leadership."

At the outset he indicated why the difficulties confronting the revolution demanded such a regime. "It has always been said, and rightly so, that it is easier to take power than to keep it, that winning power is easier than governing . . . the less difficulty in coming to power,

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THE MILITANT

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Kennedy's Wage-Curb Stand Puts AFL-CIO Tops on Spot

By Fred Halstead

The recent week-long AFL-CIO convention began Dec. 7 with a speech by President John F. Kennedy. It was an appeal for support from the union leaders for the administration's program of putting U.S. business in a better competitive position with the European Common Market economies. An essential part of this program, according to Kennedy, is "restraint" in wage demands on the part of unions.

As his strongest selling point, Kennedy said that if more European trade were lost, the government would have to withdraw its troops from Germany, France and other foreign bases in order to stop the drain on U.S. gold reserves. And the AFL-CIO leaders wouldn't want that to happen, would they?

Perish the thought! AFL-CIO



George Meany

president George Meany took the floor after Kennedy finished to say, "Don't worry about us. We will cooperate one thousand percent."

On the record of the convention, this turned out to be an overstatement. Before the week was over two resolutions had been passed unanimously, which without mentioning Kennedy's speech, rejected any implication of a wage freeze and called for AFL-CIO affiliates to press in collective bargaining for higher wages and shorter hours as a solution to unemployment and technological change.

It is not that the labor leaders changed their minds between the time Meany accurately voiced their collective sentiments in reaction to Kennedy's speech and the time the resolutions were passed. It is just that the bureaucrats are living in a contradiction.

Their overriding tendency — and this goes for the Reuther wing as well as Meany — is to go along with the capitalist government and its plans for world-wide empire, and to avoid any general fight with the employers. But the growth of capital, even in the U.S., still means the growth of the exploitation of labor in one way or another, and the employers have been pressing the point.

One form of this is the process of attrition against the economic security of the working class. This

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Calif. Socialist Defends Right To Be Teacher

A direct descendent and namesake of the famous abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, defended his own right to hold minority political viewpoints and still be a teacher at a public hearing at Fullerton Junior College, in Fullerton, California.

An overflow crowd, including many students sympathetic to him, heard the teacher, Wendell B. Phillips, a welding instructor, defend himself before the Board of Trustees of the school Dec. 18. Phillips had been suspended from his teaching post Dec. 3 under the direct pressure of *Americans On Guard*, an Orange County, California, newspaper with views similar to those of the John Birch Society. Phillips requested that the hearing be public.

"I have been brought before this Board," he said, "as a result of the latest campaign by the followers of the John Birch society to impose their ultrareactionary outlook on the educational system of our country." He answered all questions put to him in the two-hour interrogation except when he was asked to inform on other individuals. He said he was a socialist and had been for over 25 years.

"I do not advocate the forceful or violent overthrow of the government," he said, "nor have I knowingly belonged to any organization which so advocated." He said he had joined the Communist Party in 1938 "to defend Amer-

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Rights Fight Grows In Southern States

By William Bundy

DEC. 20 — The struggle for racial equality in the South reached a new level this month when mass actions by local residents of several Deep South communities sparked by young Negro leaders and led in some cases by new organizations. The actions resulted from refusal of the younger, more militant civil-rights leaders to confine the struggle to court proceedings after initial desegregation attempts were met with racist violence and legal subterfuge on the part of local officials.

Actions of mass civil disobedience occurred this month in Albany, Georgia, Baton Rouge and New Orleans, Louisiana. In addition, Freedom Riders under the sponsorship of the Congress on Racial Equality, sat in by the hundreds in restaurants along U.S. Route 40 where it passes through Delaware and Maryland approaching Washington, D.C.

In Albany, Georgia, the Negro community is now engaged in a boycott of white-owned stores following five days of mass marches on city hall in which more than 700 protesters, mostly local Negroes, were arrested.

The Negroes are demanding desegregation of the city's parks, hospitals, libraries, buses and jury service and equal employment opportunities. Their organization, the Albany Movement, was first set



Rev. Martin Luther King

up after members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee organized a school there for training Negroes to pass voter registration tests. Local leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People participated in the Albany Movement, a united front of several groups, but not in the recent demonstrations.

SNCC, which originated in the sit-in movement and played a key role in the Freedom Rides in Alabama and Mississippi last summer, had set up a similar school in McComb, Mississippi. There, its members sparked a strike and demonstration by 100 local high school students protesting violence against Negroes attempting to register to vote.

In Albany, a city of 55,000 with 26,000 Negroes, the mass demonstrations began Dec. 12 over the arrest of seven Negro and four white Freedom Riders in the bus station. Five protests were held,

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Renew Prosecution Of Lincoln Brigade

In the wake of Supreme Court approval of the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party, the government has reactivated its efforts to compel the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board as a "Communist front."

The VALB is composed of surviving American anti-Franco volunteers of the Spanish civil war. In 1955 the SACB ruled it should register as a "Communist front" and the group filed a plea for reversal with the U.S. Court of Appeals. The appeal was put aside pending outcome of the Communist Party case.

On Nov. 30, Moe Fishman, VALB executive secretary, was summoned by the Court of Appeals for a pre-conference hearing to reactivate the case against it.

The group is currently supporting the campaign for amnesty for all Franco's political prisoners and sending relief packages to families of prisoners. The VALB office is at 49 East 21 St., New York 10, N. Y.

New York Colleges Reverse Ban on Communist Speakers

NEW YORK — An important victory for free speech and academic freedom was won Dec. 16 when the Administrative Council of the City University reversed its ban on speeches by members of the Communist Party on city college campuses. Imposed Oct. 26, the ban evoked strong protest from students and faculty members.

Within 48 hours of the reversal, the City College student government issued an invitation to Communist Party leader Benjamin Davis to address a campus meeting. College officials said they had no objection and he will be speaking Dec. 21. In accepting the invitation, Davis said he considered the lifting of the ban "a tremendous victory for academic freedom."

The school authorities had imposed the ban immediately after the head of Queens College had revoked an invitation extended to Davis by a campus club.

In dropping the ban, the Administrative Council ruled that each college could approve or disapprove invitations to Communist Party members. This was the rule in effect before the curf was imposed.

At the time it decreed the ban, the council justified its action on the basis of the Supreme Court ruling that the Communist Party is a "foreign agent."

But after nearly two months of effective pressure, including picket lines, boycotts of classes by students and public statements by faculty members, the Administrative Council decided to concur with a finding by the Committee on the Bill of Rights of the New York City Bar Association which concluded: ". . . it is our considered opinion that a faculty or administration of the City University is legally entitled to permit known United States Communist Party members or officers to speak on their campuses."

How to Fight 'Tyranny' By Joining With Fascist

Two headlines on the front page of the Dec. 17 *New York Times* summed up the double-talking hypocrisy of Kennedy's "New Frontier."

One headline read: "Kennedy, on Visit, Hails Venezuela As Aiding Liberty — Urges End of 'All Tyranny' Within South America."

The second headline read: "Rusk Sees Franco and Praises Spain as Anti-Red Ally."

Draftees Face Thought Control After They Do Time in Army

Threatening undesirable discharges, the army brass is trying to impose political thought control on draftees after they have satisfactorily completed their time in the army but must, under the present draft laws, spend another six years as members of the unorganized reserve.

This is the nub of a case reported in the November issue of *American Civil Liberties News*, published by the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California. It tells how army officials have filed security charges against a 25-year-old University of California student because of his alleged socialist associations in the period since his honorable separation from the armed forces.

Three charges have been filed against the U of C student: (1) "Since 1959 you have been a member and attended numerous meetings of the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, also known as the Young Socialist Alliance, at San Francisco, California. The Socialist Workers Party is the controlling force of the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance." (2) "On 5 April 1959, 3 May 1959 and 17 May 1959, respectively, you attended meetings sponsored by the Mark Twain Club, also known as Mark Twain Marxist Study Club, in San Francisco, California. The Mark Twain Marxist Study Club is the successor to the Labor Youth League in the San Francisco area and is composed of the same membership." (3) It is charged that in filling out a form on Sept. 2, 1960, the student "materially falsified an official document by failing to list thereon your membership in the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance and attendance

at meetings of the Mark Twain Club."

In regard to the third charge, the *ACLU News* says: "On the form are a number of general questions as to whether the individual has been a member or affiliated or associated with any Communist organization or a group which advocates the violent overthrow of the government. Neither of the groups in question is on the Attorney General's list. In effect, the allegations claim that at one and the same time the young man had Communist and Trotskyite associations."

Service in the unorganized reserve is only nominal. Members of the unorganized or inactive reserve are not subject to active duty except by a call of the President in an emergency.

In the case of the U of C student cited by the *ACLU News*, he had done his two years in the army and received an honorable separation and five of his six years in the unorganized reserve had already elapsed. Now the militarists are refusing to give him an honorable army discharge because of his alleged attendance at meetings and associations with socialist student groups.

The case allows a glimpse at the high-degree of surveillance of student political activities already being carried out by army undercover agents. If the army brass succeed in their attempts to penalize student political activity and association in the six years following army service by the issuance of retroactive undesirable discharges, militarist thought-control of campus life will have taken a giant step forward.



WENDELL B. PHILLIPS, JR. He is fighting efforts to oust him as a teacher because of his political views.

... Calif. Socialist

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ican democracy and promote the cause of socialism." He dropped out of the party in 1951, he said, "after developing serious doubts about the correctness of its policies."

In 1957, said Phillips, he joined the Socialist Workers Party. "I am a member at the present time, convinced that the program of this party provides the best guide to achieving socialism in the United States."

"No one," said the teacher, "should be persecuted or penalized for his political ideas or affiliation . . . I shall defend my right to teach through all administrative and legal channels. This is necessary to halt the Birchite attempts to silence everyone who disagrees with their ideas — all the way from Eisenhower to the socialists."

"At the same time," Phillips told the board, "I support the right of a socialist to teach as a crucial test of freedom and democracy in our schools. Academic freedom has no meaning when it is restricted to those who conform to majority opinion."

No Quarantine

"How," continued Phillips, "can students cope intelligently with the problems of nuclear war, unemployment and insecurity if their minds are put in quarantine? The very survival of humanity may depend on the right of our people to have free access to all trends of thought."

"I firmly adhere to the American traditions of democracy," Mr. Phillips said. "Since my ancestors came to this country in 1640, members of my family have participated in every important struggle for freedom. As a matter of principle, as one who has consistently defended the civil liberties of all Americans," he concluded, "I can take no other course."

Mr. Phillips' attorney, Marshall Ross, said the next step in the procedure would be for the county attorney to advise the board whether the suspension should stand. If it does, said Mr. Ross, the case will be appealed.

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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116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

FBI 'Closes File' on Beating Of Monroe Freedom Rider

The Department of Justice has informed civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, that it intends no further action in the case of Freedom Rider Richard Griswold who was brutally beaten in a cell in the county jail in Monroe, N.C., last Aug. 27.

Lynn had submitted to Attorney General Kennedy a handwritten signed confession from Howard Stack, the white prisoner who had done the beating. In it Stack told how "the Monroe police and deputy forces" had promised him that if he beat a Freedom Rider, whom they would put in his cell, all charges pending against him would be dropped. He was being held on two assault charges and five of passing bad checks.

Stack carried out his part of the bargain and was released. Two weeks later, however, he was re-arrested on the same charges. Infuriated, he wrote the confession and smuggled it out to a representative of the CAMD.

The Justice Department has for some time been very reluctant to investigate conditions in Monroe, which has a long history of racial injustice. This refusal to act in Monroe, where Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges, ex-governor of North Carolina, has political and family connections, became most blatant in the past year when appeals for protection and investigation of attempts on his life by NAACP branch president Robert F. Williams were completely ignored.

Lynn originally demanded a federal investigation, based on Stack's confession, on Oct. 6. It is known that some investigation followed in that Richard Griwold and a second Freedom Rider were interviewed by FBI agents. They also interviewed, or attempted to interview Stack. How far this interview got is not known since Stack allegedly had a "fit of insanity" at the time.

Then, Lynn received a brief note, dated Nov. 30, from Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, curtly stating that investigation "had failed to reveal sufficient evidence" and that "we have closed our file on this matter."

Journalist William Worthy, writing about this case in the Dec. 16 *Afro-American*, commented: "Observers familiar with the genuine legal difficulties of proving

the role of police officers in cases of brutality, regarded Stack's confession and the readiness of two reputable Freedom Riders to testify as providing the federal government with a virtual airtight opportunity to prosecute."

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants declared that in addition to providing legal defense for the victims of "kidnap" and other trumped-up cases growing out of the Aug. 27 white-supremacist riot in Monroe, it will also seek out all the details of the police-inspired beating of Griswold.

Contribution to further the work of the committee should be addressed to CAMD, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.

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has been proceeding apace with automation. The labor leaders have to answer this or face revolt in the ranks. Hence the increasing tendency for union officials to talk about a reduced work week — and, hence, the two resolutions passed at this convention.

The other tendency in the bureaucrats bones — to avoid struggle — is seen in contract negotiations, where (with minor exceptions) they have quickly abandoned demands for the shorter work week. There is no reason to assume the AFL-CIO leaders will be any more serious about the recent resolutions than Walter Reuther was about the 1957 convention decision of his own auto workers to fight for the shorter work week in 1958.

While passing resolutions which could only be implemented by a militant policy, the convention failed to deal with other questions in a manner which would prepare the movement for a serious struggle. Two basic needs in that respect are a united labor movement and the solid support of labor's allies, particularly the Negro people.

In a pure and simple attempt to stay in the good graces of the Kennedys, Meany had the convention defer indefinitely the question of reunification with the 1.5 — million-member Teamsters union. On civil rights, a somewhat stronger resolution than the one of the last convention was passed. But enforcement of the AFL-CIO's own constitutional provision against jim crow is still in doubt.

... Southern Rights Fight

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In each of which the marchers themselves were arrested. The Reverends Martin Luther King and Ralph D. Abernathy, top figures of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, arrived in Albany to participate in the final march in which they and 260 others were jailed.

(A report appeared in the Dec. 28 *New York Times* that a break had developed between SNCC and the older group, SCLC, with the latter attempting to take over leadership of the movement. M. S. Page, a 60-year-old native of Albany and secretary of the Albany Movement, denied that the SCLC had assumed charge.)

At first Dr. King declared his intention to remain in jail and Rev. Abernathy called for nationwide support for the Albany struggle. But on Dec. 18 Dr. King posted bail after an agreement was reached between leaders of the Albany Movement and city officials. The agreement, which was not in writing, called for a halt to demonstrations.

The city officials stopped attempting to enforce segregation in the interstate bus terminals but granted no other demands. The arrested demonstrators were released as they posted bail. Charges against them are held in abeyance. White officials declared that nothing had been granted to the Negroes. M. S. Page declared: "We have just begun to fight." The informal boycott began. White merchants said Dec. 19 that business had fallen off about 60 percent.

In Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, 23 Negroes were arrested Dec. 14 for picketing lunch counters and businesses which won't hire Negroes. This sparked a protest the next evening by 1,500 students from Southern University, the country's largest Negro institution of higher learning. This demonstration, which was quiet and peaceful, was brutally broken up by police using tear gas. Fifty students were arrested.

This in turn sparked a protest march through the streets of New Orleans. Police arrested 292 Negroes and white participants in the march. Eleven more persons were arrested the following day in a protest march sponsored by the Negro Consumers League of Greater New Orleans which together with CORE, has been picketing major department stores protesting discrimination in hiring.

New Orleans City Attorney Alvin J. Liska promised the white racists that he would deal "firmly" with demonstrators. "We just want to keep the peace," he said, "especially at Christmas time."

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Celebrate New Year's Eve with the Young Socialist Alliance. Dancing, entertainment, refreshments. Sun., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. 777 W. Adams. Contrib. \$1.

DETROIT

New Year's Eve Party. Refreshments, films, dancing, prizes. Sun., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Ring in the Third Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution at the New Year's Eve Dance of the Militant Labor Forum. Sun., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. at 116 University Place. \$2 contrib. includes shrimp dinner.

LOS ANGELES

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Music by Ben Turnes Combo and His Exotic Vocalist

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Sunday, Dec. 31, 9 P.M.

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Mrs. Morton Sobell (center, foreground) and her children, Sydney and Mark, at a White House picket line urging clemency for Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year-sentence on a frame-up charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage." At a Dec. 16 White House vigil sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, the Rev. James D. Andrews of Boone, N. C., was arrested for kneeling at the White House fence. Bond was posted for him by Rev. Donald Harrington of New York's Community Church, who expressed hope for a "speedy commutation" of Sobell's sentence.

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Monday, December 25, 1961

A New Lie Against Castro

From the outset, the government in Washington and the daily press have been lying to the American people about the Cuban revolution. The capacity of the government to resort to deliberate lying was dramatically exposed with the notorious U-2 incident. And it was equally exposed when Adlai Stevenson in the UN last April declared that the U.S. was in no way involved in the counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba. It was a matter of days before the whole world knew that the invaders had been financed, trained and armed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The current big lie being circulated in this country is about Fidel Castro's speech declaring his adherence to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the key sections of which we translate in this issue.

The immediate basis for the campaign of falsification was provided by United Press International, which baldly asserted in a Dec. 2 Miami dispatch:

"Fidel Castro said today he had really been a dedicated Communist since his college days but he concealed his views so that it would be easier to seize power."

This was such a raw falsification that *New York Post* editor James Wechsler, no Castro sympathizer, devoted his entire Dec. 14 column to exposing it. "The hard fact," he concluded, "is that much of the country has been duped by a misleading report . . ."

This lie that Castro admitted being a Communist for many years was further parlayed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk at a Dec. 8 press conference. According to the transcript of the conference, a reporter asked Rusk this question:

"Mr. Secretary, Mr. Castro recently announced that he is, after all, a member of the Communist Party. Could you give us your reaction to that . . .?"

Rusk replied: "As to the content of his statement and others that have been made in the last two or three days by other leaders down there, certainly this saves us the considerable task of proving to other people in conclusive terms what we have known for some time, because they now have said it themselves."

With Castro's speech available these lies are refuted. Nor can the government and press wriggle out of it with the assertion that Castro's declaration that he is now convinced of the validity of Marxist-Leninist doctrine is equal to admission of membership in the Communist Party. Every politically informed person knows that many different and even conflicting radical political tendencies declare their adherence to Marxism-Leninism. The Russian, Chinese, Polish, Albanian and Yugoslavian CP's, for example, all declare themselves adherents of Marxism-Leninism. So does the international Trotskyist movement.

Castro's speech warrants careful study as a major new declaration that will profoundly shape Cuban developments. The speech also stands as a refutation of one more attempt by the powers-that-be in this country to dupe the people into supporting their reactionary anti-Cuban policy.

Behind the Katanga Crisis

When it came to undermining and facilitating the assassination of Premier Lumumba, who represented the movement for a united Congo, the UN intervention was quite effective. This was because unification raised the specter of nationalization of the huge plunder amassed by the Belgian, French, British — and more recently U.S. — imperialists there. Hammarskjöld and the governmental representatives of the major capitalist powers agreed that Lumumba represented a threat and had to go — and he went into the hands of Tshombe's killers.

Then Hammarskjöld tried to salvage something of his and the UN's tarnished reputation in the eyes of the Afro-Asian nations by demanding the departure of the white mercenaries who comprise the backbone of the Katanga forces. At that point UN effectiveness broke down.

Cold-war strategist Kennedy, espousing a "broad view," gave some material backing to the attempt of U Thant, Hammarskjöld's successor, to carry out the UN's Katanga resolution. The British and French imperialists balked publicly. Moreover, a bitter cry of protest went up from a powerful force in the U.S. itself. Retired admirals and generals, followers of the late Senator McCarthy, and the new ultra right formed a "Committee to Aid the Katanga Freedom Fighters" — i.e., freedom for the mining corporation there to continue exploiting the ores and the Africans.

Since the beginning of the Congo crisis, British (not U.S.) newspapers have carried items about the Rockefellers buying into the Katanga mining setup. That the *Wall Street Journal* and a good section of the capitalist press generally have taken an anti-UN, pro-Katanga stand would indicate the penetration of U.S. capital there has gone further than was realized.

This international and domestic pressure on the Kennedy administration produced quick results. The U.S. immediately brought great pressure on the UN for negotiations between Washington-approved Premier Adoula in Leopoldville and Katanga "President" Tshombe. This is the first step in a U.S.-imposed compromise which will leave Katanga in the hands of Tshombe and his corporation masters, while that area's secession will be hidden in a weak, ineffectual "federation" form of government for the Congo as a whole.

... Fidel Castro and Marxism

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the more difficulty in maintaining the revolutionary power."

On the need for a united revolutionary party, the Cuban leader said: "The revolutionary movement is just one movement . . . there are, after all, only revolution and counter-revolution. A revolutionary movement may be more or less restricted, a certain range of tasks of a revolutionary type can be achieved with a revolution, and their revolutionary character cannot be denied; at which point the revolution may stagnate and, from that moment on, it ceases to be a really revolutionary movement. Or the revolutionary movement may press forward; that is, a movement may be more radical or less radical, but what cannot be is two, three, or four revolutionary movements. That is absurd . . ."

"But it is a fact that the Revolution did not come to power with one single organization grouping together all the revolutionary forces. Separate revolutionary organizations existed. The separate revolutionary organizations represented separate revolutionary forces . . ."

Offering his estimate of the three principal components of the new party, Castro said: "The Popular Socialist Party represented the most advanced elements of the working class, both in the city and in the countryside. It also had some elements in the countryside. Among the small peasants out in the Sierra Maestra we came into contact with a few members of the Popular Socialist Party. But basically it represented the workers."

"The July 26 Movement," he continued, "represented, in the first instance, the peasants, that is, the entire peasant movement was organized around the Rebel Army; the July 26 Movement also grouped around itself many people who were also of the working class but were not members of any party, or nuclei of workers who had been members of some party of the petty bourgeoisie, honest people who also joined the July 26 Movement. The July 26 Movement also recruited professional sectors, intellectuals, youth elements, students, and also elements of the petty bourgeoisie — the most progressive and most revolutionary elements of the middle class . . . One could say that it was this force that the July 26 represented."

"Similarly," he added, "the Revolutionary Directorate represented the same sectors, more or less, but basically the student sector . . . The Revolutionary Directorate sprang from the student centers and, in turn, drew in workers, intellectuals and peasants. Thus, the revolutionary forces of society were represented in three organizations."

"It is a fact," he said, "and I believe this, given everything we have learned about politics and revolutionary theory, we are now in agreement."

Turning to his own political development, Castro said: "In the first place, let me say one thing: We, with our own Revolution, are going to be passing through a long train of experiences. We revolutionize ourselves in the course of making our own Revolution. With our Revolution we are becoming more revolutionary each day. Was there a time when we were not revolutionists? Yes, there was a time when I, for one, was nothing of a revolutionist. Well, why? Because I was a reactionary, a crooked, thieving or corrupt politician? Nothing of the sort. There was a time when I could be considered completely illiterate in political matters, a consequence of my class origin."

"And did I know, 20 years ago, more about revolutions than Marinello, Carlos Rafael, Anibal, Blas [PSP leaders]? Not on your life. Twenty years ago many of us didn't know a word about revolution, for among other reasons, the fact that many of us weren't even



Fidel Castro

around 20 years ago. I think that 20 years ago Raul [his brother] had just learned to read and write — we were just boys.

"But even when we weren't boys any longer many of us, of those who came from non-working-class backgrounds, and I'm very conscious of that fact, I'm aware of all the effect that one's class origins can have in shaping the mentality of any one of us . . . I was a political illiterate when I graduated high school, and even when I got my college degree."

"I believe that all of us have a lot to study. Am I a convinced revolutionist? Yes, I am a convinced revolutionist — that definitely. For some who have occasionally questioned me — some people have asked me whether I thought at the time of Moncada [the 1953 attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago] as I think today. I have told them: 'My thinking was very similar then to what it is today.' This is the truth."

"Anyone who will read what we said on that occasion will see that many of the fundamentals of the revolution were in that document; which, moreover, was a carefully written document. It was sufficiently carefully written to put forth a series of fundamental points without—at the same time—giving cause for the narrowing of our field of action within the revolution, for limiting, for causing the movement, which we believed could bring about Batista's overthrow, to be small and very limited. That is to say, it was necessary to make the movement as broad as possible."

"And if we had not written that document with care, if it had been a more radical program — even though it is certain that many people were skeptical about the contents of programs and quite often wouldn't pay them much attention — thereupon the revolutionary struggle against Batista would not have attained the broadness it did, which made victory possible . . ."

"By that date [Moncada trial] our revolutionary thinking along general lines was already formed. Nevertheless we were not complete revolutionists; we were much more revolutionists when we came to power. We are convinced revolutionists . . ."

"I consider myself more of a revolutionist today than I was on 1st of January [date of Batista's overthrow in 1959]. Was I a revolutionist on the 1st of January? Yes, I believe I was . . . That is to say, I retain today all the ideas I had on the 1st of January."

Developing this theme, he pointed out that this didn't mean he had learned all there is to know about political theory and history and that it was his intention — and should be the entire people's — to continue studying. He told how, in rummaging through his books, he found that in his stu-

dent days he had read only the first 370 pages of Marx's *Capital* and said that as soon as he had the time he intended to resume his study of that work.

While he had a general appreciation of Marxist theory in his student days, he continued, it was experience in the struggle against imperialism which had made this theory the core of his political outlook. "The more conflicts we have with imperialism," he said, "the better we get to know this imperialist policy all over the world — in South Viet Nam, in the Congo, in Algeria, in Korea, in every part of the world. The more we penetrate and the more we become aware of the bloody grip of imperialism, of the miserable exploitation, of the abuse it commits in the world, of the crimes it commits against humanity, the more we become Marxists in our feelings, in our emotions, and the more we see and discover all the truths to be found in the doctrine of Marxism. The more we have to face the reality of a revolution or the class struggle, and see what the reality of the class struggle is in the theater of revolution, the deeper becomes our conviction of all the truths written by Marx and Engels and the interpretations of true genius which Lenin made of scientific socialism."

Castro then went on to discuss his attitude toward the Popular Socialist Party, stating that he had held prejudices against it and that this was the result of the propaganda of imperialism and reaction against it. "What did I think of the Communists — that they were crooked politicians? No, never. Whenever we got to know Communists, in the university and everywhere else, we found them to be honorable and honest people, all of those things . . . Did I have the idea that they were sectarian? Yes. And why these ideas about the Communists? Simply, I am absolutely convinced that the ideas I had about the Communists — about the Communist Party, not about Marxism — were, as the ideas of many people, a product of propaganda and prejudices inculcated in us from childhood on . . ."

He then touched briefly on the conflicting policies of the July 26 Movement and the PSP during the struggle against Batista, stating: "At certain points, at certain moments in the beginning of the revolutionary process we had some frictions, possibly originating in some misconceptions, in some things which we saw differently; but fundamentally because we did not have talks together."

"The Revolution," he continued, "can today count on all the cadres of all the revolutionary organizations. One highly important contribution of the Socialist Party [PSP] has been its cadres of old militants educated in socialism . . . The contribution of the Directorate is the young cadres. The contribution of the July 26 Movement above all — not being able to contribute politically educated cadres with many years of education — but the contribution of many young people, enthusiastic, professional revolutionists, and the contribution of all the experience acquired in the struggle for the conquest of power."

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.**

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A PAMPHLET REVIEW

Some Hard Facts About the Unions

THE DECLINE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By Solomon Barkin, 75 pp. Issued by Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

American unions face the problems of nuclear war, economic insecurity, racial discrimination, witch-hunt attacks and other vital issues which call for effective leadership. Yet the AFL-CIO officials, gathered this month in convention at a swank Florida hotel, failed to step forward with a decisive union program to defend and advance the interests of the workers and their allies.

What their misleadership costs the workers is reflected in Solomon Barkin's pamphlet, *The Decline of the Labor Movement*. A research director of the Textile Workers Union since 1937, he has access to a good deal of information about the union movement and he deserves credit for his attempt to present objectively some unpleasant facts.

Unionism, Barkin finds, has not preached a broad enough philosophy of human rights to create a crusading movement. The color issue has complicated the use of this approach. Union leaders have at times lined up with conservatives on the issues of civil rights and liberties.

Labor's enemies have put the unions on the defensive. Their attacks have increasingly taken on the character of pre-Wagner Act times. Politicians have found it possible to build careers on exposures of union corruption.

Union strength has declined relatively in proportion to the total work force and absolutely in terms of total membership. Among the causes are shrinkage of employment in organized industries, plants moving to the South and to smaller towns where unionism is weak, also losses suffered in the 1960-61 recession.

Just as the CIO's "Operation Dixie" achieved little, merger of the AFL-CIO did not bring the expected new growth. Industries, areas and occupations that the unions did not reach during the expansive period of the Thirties and early Forties remain relatively untouched. In this connection Barkin deals at some length with union weaknesses in organizing women, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, non-manual workers, low-wage service employees, government workers, professional and technical employees.

Loyalty of the members of the unions is well ingrained, he finds,



United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald (l) has been making eyes at the steel barons ever since he took over the union. Here he's winking happily at Clifford Hook, then head of the U.S. Steel Corp., during 1956 contract negotiations. McDonald's substitution of sweet talk for a fighting policy has served only to encourage the steel magnates to step up their attack on union conditions.

as shown by the 1946 strike wave and the general resistance to the 1959 corporation attack on the steel workers. Yet the officials can't arouse spontaneous organization campaigns among the workers who acted as the principal recruiters in the 1930's and early 1940's. The task falls mainly on full-time union staffs consisting generally of different types of people from those of the 1930's.

In that era organizers were available who were experienced in the arts of leadership. Many had been trained in the mass unemployed organizations and in radical groups. Few present day organizers have the endurance and unflagging enthusiasm for intensive long-term campaigns. Some are unprepared to deal with the younger generation of workers.

Officials tend to put emphasis less on organization than on administration of the existing union structure. Staff organizers devote much time to building AFL-CIO units to compete with the expelled bakers, laundry workers, teamsters. Jurisdictional fights intrude. Creative organizational work suffers.

Having set down these striking facts in his survey of the union situation, Barkin winds up advocating the same old policy of subordination to the boss class that has been hurting the workers' movement. He sets as labor's goal to make private enterprise function more equitably and humanely. Unions should provide the crucial balance to the economic power of private enterprise. The government of the bosses should help the unions organize and grow stronger.

He fails to present any class analysis of effective union policy, any concept of breaking the grip of the bureaucrats and establishing union democracy to shape meaningful policies and carry them out, any idea of the workers organizing politically as a class to take the government into their own hands to uphold the interests of the toiling masses.

Vital though they are, these weaknesses on policy questions do not strip Barkin's pamphlet of all value. It is well worth reading because of the facts presented about some important aspects of the union situation today.

Farrell Dobbs

Letters from Our Readers

Cuba and the OAS

Cleveland, Ohio

The State Dept. has been pressing the OAS to get the Latin American countries to break relations with Cuba. One would be shocked and amazed to know all the arm-twisting and back-patting going on behind closed doors in the past month.

The representative from Uruguay went to the OAS meeting Dec. 4 with instructions from his government to vote "no" on the anti-Cuba resolution. But when the chips were down he voted "yes." When he returned to Uruguay he was relieved from his post for disobeying government orders.

When Venezuela broke relations with Cuba in late November the people of that country poured into the streets and there were many riots and protests all over the nation. The police and army of Betancourt's stooge government shot and beat many people. Still the protest went on for a week.

Yes, they are voting in Latin America on the OAS sanctions against Cuba, but just who is doing the voting? Certainly it is not the people.

Only the puppet, vest-pocket governments of Latin America have broken relations with Cuba. No doubt these have been bought off with the Yankee dollar.

By far, the large majority of the people of Latin America stand solidly behind the Cuban revolutionary government. The people of Latin America have a far different outlook toward the Cuban Revolution than the citizens of this country. Could it be they are not brainwashed?

I receive mail from a friend in Holguin, Cuba every week or so and he tells me the people there are living far better than ever in their lifetimes and are perfectly happy and satisfied. He told me in the last letter that Fidel Castro was in Holguin recently and the people nearly ran over each other just to get a glimpse of him. He said that the children gathered around him like ants around honey and they nearly worship him. He said Fidel tried to talk and laugh with as many of the children as possible. Yet I read in our papers that the government is shaving the children's heads and putting them in communes.

When are the American people going to wake up to all the lies and deceit we are being fed every hour of every day of the year?

C.G.

Season's Greetings

Chicago, Ill.

Merry Xmas to all of you and may 1962 see greater unity of all progressive forces. You deserve much credit for your efforts in this direction.

Nellie De Schaaf

Berlin and Katanga

Youngstown, Ohio

I am enclosing \$5, use \$3 to renew my subscription. The other \$2 is a contribution to be used any way you see fit. I am convinced *The Militant* is the finest paper out. I like it much better in its present format, though I look forward to the time when you can add two or more pages.

I have nothing but scorn for our present foreign policy. Our Berlin policy is utterly idiotic and imperialistic. Our president, John (Windbag) Kennedy is quite fantastic when he squawks about our so-called rights in Berlin. If West Germany is such an independent state, as our statesmen claim, why

are the allies still protecting our so-called World War II rights in Berlin? It is plain to see that West Germany is just as much a satellite (or puppet) state of the U.S. capitalists as East Germany is of Russia. What a farce. The U.S. won't have diplomatic relations with East Germany because it's a Soviet satellite. It's certainly evident that West Germany is nothing but a U.S. satellite.

As for the United Nations, if anything, I have even more scorn for it. It is nothing but a tool for U.S. and world imperialism.

Our action in Katanga is proof of American imperialism. I don't support Tshombe, but our support of UN aggression in Katanga is proof enough of the world capitalists' plans to gain control of Katanga's natural resources, especially the mines that are located there — the richest resources of the Congo.

R.A.L.

Defend the Communist Party

Oxford, Pa.

I took a trial subscription to your paper to see what you were driving at and had decided that I had learned enough when this government moved to call the Communist Party an agent of a foreign power, punish them if they didn't register as such, or prosecute them for perjury if they denied it.

Then I read in your latest issue:

"Defense of the Communist Party is everybody's business."

That is worth \$3 by itself. So I enclose a check.

New Reader

Student Backer

Carbondale, Ill.

Enclosed find \$1 for *The Militant*. Sorry I haven't replied before and also that I can't send much more, but I'm a student with very limited funds.

Keep up the battle!

J.P.

A Complaint

New York, N. Y.

As a fan of *It Was Reported in the Press*, I think I have a right to complain.

In the Dec. 18 issue you reported that Tiffany's is offering earrings for \$15,400, federal tax included (yet!).

I'm not complaining about inclusion of the item. I'm sure it helped solve shopping problems for a lot of poor, confused husbands who just don't know what to get the little woman. But you should be more practical in handling such items.

Every woman knows that the most frustrating thing in the world is to lose one earring — and it always happens. You should have reminded shoppers that at such bargain prices, it's foolish not to buy two matching pairs so that there's always a spare on hand.

M.S.

Bouquet for Our Printer

Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed please find \$6.50 money order — \$3 to renew my subscription for one year, \$1.50 for a six-month trial subscription I am placing as a gift for a friend and the \$2 balance a Christmas gift for *The Militant* to strengthen its financial position.

Most surprising is the technical quality of the paper — snow-white paper and print outstandingly readable. You don't give us slop for our money. Would it not be wise if other publishers were to decide to follow your pattern?

S.T.R.

Thought for the Week

"Our children need education for peace, not war, preparation for life, not disaster. The children of New York need adequate homes, not fallout shelters; more open space, not underground catacombs; more schools, not shelters in unsafe and obsolete schools." — From an open letter to Gov. Rockefeller and civil-defense authorities distributed by the Women's Direct Action project of the Civil Defense Protest Committee during a Dec. 7 demonstration.

It Was Reported in the Press

Birchites Missed Point? — The John Birch Society may be interested in this bit of information in relation to its statement that ex-President Eisenhower is a member of the Communist Party. In a Dec. 11 speech, Julia Brown of Los Angeles, who spent nine years as an FBI "counterspy" with the Communist Party, said that party discipline was very strict. She said one member was threatened with expulsion because he "played too much golf."

Wonder Why? — James Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, devoted his Dec. 18 column to a memorial tribute to Heywood Broun, the distinguished columnist who died on that date 22 years ago. The tribute recalled Broun's passionate concern for freedom and justice — his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, etc. But, curiously, Editor Wechsler made no mention of what the late columnist rightly considered the major accomplishment of his career. Broun was the principal organizer and founding president of the American Newspaper Guild.

While They Last — From our favorite shop, Tiffany's: "12 goblets, 12 champagne, 12 claret and 12 sherry glasses. \$2,750."

Appraisal — *The New York Times* reported from Carlsbad, N.M., Dec. 10: "The Atomic Energy Commission shook the New Mexico desert today with a surprisingly volatile atoms-for-peace explosion . . . The blast burst through a cavern shaft, ignited a chemical charge prematurely and jolted observers five miles away . . . the explosion released a stream of radiation and kicked up a rolling cloud of dust from the desert floor. This cloud was quickly carried aloft by winds of more than 15 miles an hour." *The Times* reported the next day that the AEC termed the test blast "a qualified success."

Special Message — Because we only publish weekly we may be late in reaching some of our readers with this, but on Dec. 14 the American Medical Association urged mankind to "stop worrying about radiation fallout and concentrate on getting ready for Christmas."

Between and Between — James Edwards, Jackson, Miss., Negro businessman who was a delegate to the 1956 Republican national convention, was shown the door when he tried to attend a recent dinner in Jackson where the Republican national chairman was speaking. "I don't know whether I'll vote Republican any more or not," Edwards told newsmen after his humiliation. Then he added: "I couldn't get in a Mississippi Democratic dinner either."

He Can Say That Again — Harrison F. Dunning, executive vice president of the Scott Paper Company, says he personally is opposed to reducing contents by a change in package size that is not readily apparent to the consumer. But, he adds, "This is a competitive society."

Missing a Few Buttons? — We don't know how long the offer will hold, but Sulka's of New York had a Yule special of a set of seven solid gold buttons for sports jackets. Only \$330 and the shop will sew them on for free.