

# THE MILITANT

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## Mass Labor Picketline Backs Striking Printers

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, Jan. 16 — A huge throng of unionists — estimated as high as 25,000 — from scores of industries turned out in a mass demonstration yesterday supporting this city's striking and locked-out printers. This great display of working-class solidarity in front of the New York Times building in midtown Manhattan lasted from noon till 2 p.m.

The demonstration was called by the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in support of the daily-newspaper printers who have been out since Dec. 8.

This was also New York labor's answer to the so-called Board of Public Accountability whose phony report on the newspaper shutdown ripped the printers and favored the publishers.

This "Public Accountability" gimmick was cooked up and misnamed by Secretary of Labor Wirtz, Gov. Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner. It consisted of three judges appointed "to investigate the facts of the strike." Chairman was Judge Harold Medina; the others were Judge Joseph O'Grady and Judge David Peck.

The intervention in strikes of boards of this character has been opposed historically and on principle by the International Typographical Union, the oldest union in the U.S. Consequently, the president of striking Local No. 6, Bertram A. Powers, announced shortly after the sudden creation of the board that he would put the question of whether or not the union should go before it up to the membership. A special membership meeting of the union was called for Sunday Jan. 13 at Manhattan Center.

### Backs Employers

But the board was insistent on issuing a speedy report. Judge Medina, whose claim to fame rests on having sent Communist Party leaders to jail, denounced Power's decision to put the matter to a vote of the union's members as "sabotage." He said the hearings would take place at once and without the printers. They did and the board's hastily issued report, blasting the strikers and backing the employers, was a foregone conclusion. The union's demands were labeled excessive. A union plot to bring about the news blackout was charged. "Deliberately to plan such a prolonged shutdown . . . we hold to be a clear breach of . . . duty to the public, and a matter of grave consequence," the choleric judges declared.

Cooked up by Wirtz, Rockefeller and Wagner at a secret hotel-room meeting Sunday, Jan. 6, the so-called Board of Public Accountability was unveiled the next day, began its kangaroo-court hearings and issued its report on Jan. 11. Thus its shotgun proceedings were all completed before the union meeting took place Jan. 13.

The meeting was a remarkable display of unity and support of President Power's stand. Over 4,600 members, the biggest gathering in the 113-year history of Local No. 6 (Big Six), packed Manhattan Center. As Powers walked down the aisle to the platform he received an unforgettable roar of approval and a standing ovation.

Though the question of appearing before the board was now moot, the strikers decided to debate the issue and register their views. Power's stand against participation in arbitration, "fact-finding" or "citizens' panels," tripartite or other such boards was unanimously upheld.

Powers scored Labor Secretary Wirtz for hurting the union and helping the publishers by his role in creating the three-judge board when he knew in advance that the printers' union was opposed to appearing before such bodies.

Wirtz had been told to "jump in the lake" back in 1948 by former ITU President Woodruff Randolph when, as a member of the National Labor Relations Board, Wirtz had ruled that the ITU's book of laws had to be negotiated. The union did not then and has not since become an NLRB-certified union, never signed the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits, and kept the union's laws intact.

Leaders of the Newspaper Guild and seven of the allied printing-trades unions, which are respecting the printers' picket lines, however, did appear before Judge Medina's board. By so doing, they enabled the board to present its report to the public as the product of hearing which impartially con-

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### 'Progress' Washington Loves

## Mass Jailing of 'Reds' in Peru

By William Bundy

JAN. 16 — Not a murmur of protest so far has come from Washington or major U.S. newspapers against the brutal rounding up of some 800 to 1,000 political opponents of the military dictatorship in Peru. On the contrary U.S.

newspapers are gloating over the deed. At the same time it is admitted by newsmen that the excuse given by the military junta for the arrests — a "Moscow-Havana" plan for a coup d'état — is a hoax.

Drew Pearson's column Jan. 9

states: "You can take the headlines of a Communist plot in Peru with a large grain of salt. Real fact is that the military junta which seized control of Peru last July has been looking for an excuse to get more aid from the Kennedy administration, and the best way of getting it is to wave the flag of Communism . . ."

The Peruvian military were having some difficulties with the Kennedy administration because they had seized the government last summer to thwart the taking of power by Haya de la Torre's APRA party. APRA got a plurality in the June elections. It was supported by the U.S. State Department as a safe, anti-Castro party with some liberal trimmings left over from the past. In those early days of its anti-imperialism, long since abandoned, some APRA leaders had been involved in a mutiny in the Peruvian armed forces and the brass hats still carry a personal grudge.

Pearson points out that the military leaders who seized power "had been schooled by the U.S. military." Their coup embarrassed Kennedy and he temporarily broke diplomatic relations with the junta until it promised new elections next June. The plot hoax and the declaration of a state of siege — under which civil liberties and political campaigning are suspended — could well serve as a pretext to cancel the elections or rig them under martial law.

The junta declared the nationwide "state of siege" at 3 a.m. Jan. 5. At the same time all tele-

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## Next Week: A Major Chinese Text

On Dec. 31, 1962, the Peking People's Daily, principal voice of the Chinese Communist Party, published a lengthy editorial outlining the party's views on some of the great political issues now being disputed in the world Communist movement.

In our next issue we will publish the first of three installments of the complete text of this document. There are two reasons why we do so. First, it is the most concrete expression of the Chinese stand yet available and as such is of major political interest. Secondly, we believe the issues under dispute are of key importance to the entire radical movement and that a progressive resolution of the differences requires a free and open confrontation of ideas and that ALL viewpoints be heard.

One might assume that the American Communist Party would assume the responsibility of seeing to it that the radical public is informed of the differing political stands. But it does not intend to do so and, in fact, proposes to use its influence to block presentation of those ideas with which it disagrees.

This was made clear in a Communist Party statement published in the Jan. 13 issue of the Worker which commits the party to unquestioning support of Khrushchev. It falsely equates the Chinese position to that of "certain powerful U.S. monopoly circles" and flatly declares it will oppose any presentation of the "dangerous" Chinese views which, the statement declares, "can only spread confusion."

We doubt that any serious Communist will accept this discredited Stalinist approach and will, rather, demand: "Let all sides be heard!"

## Speech by Fidel Castro

### "We Will Not Stop Being Revolutionists"

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U.S.-Soviet 'Competitive Coexistence'?

— See page 6

Seek to Outlaw New York Youth Group

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## Kennedy: More Cold War, Handouts to Big Business

By Fred Halstead

JAN. 16 — The cold war and big-business-oriented economics dominated President John F. Kennedy's state-of-the-union message to Congress Jan. 14. This 88th Congress is packed with "new frontiersmen" as a result of the Democratic Party election victory last November, but social-welfare and civil-rights proposals got short shrift from Kennedy.

Medical care for the aged through social security was the single significant welfare proposal made by Kennedy, and this is one that will — if it is finally passed — cost very little.

The only civil-rights legislation even hinted at was a possible outlawing of literacy tests used by Southern racists to keep Negroes off the voting rolls.

Federal aid to public schools was not even mentioned, nor was the housing problem.

On domestic questions, the message subordinated all other issues to the question of a proposed tax cut of \$10 billion over the next three years as a stimulant to the lagging economy.

Said Kennedy: "We must move along the path to a higher rate of growth and full employment. For this would mean an end to the persistent slack which has kept unemployment at or above 5 per cent for 61 out of 62 months — and an end to the growing pressures for such restrictive measures as the 35-hour week, which alone could increase hourly labor costs by as much as 14 per cent, start a new wage-price spiral of inflation, and undercut our efforts to compete with other nations."

According to Kennedy, the only way to eliminate unemployment is to make it profitable for big business to eliminate it. The tax cut will help do this, he says, provided the U.S. also wins enough foreign markets to let the corporation expand. But the shorter work week won't do because that would cut into the profits of big business.

Kennedy claimed his tax-cut proposals favor the lower income groups. Actually, a family of four with a \$3,000 yearly income would save \$18. A family with an income

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### Young Paraguayan Visits SNCC Office

ATLANTA, Georgia, Jan. 11 — The President of a Paraguayan student organization that is trying to oust General Stroessner, that country's dictator, visited the Atlanta offices of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) today.

Osvaldo Rosa, president of the Federation Universitaria Del Paraguay, compared the Southern student protest against segregation with the fight in Paraguay against an oppressive government.

Students in Paraguay have been demonstrating for several months against Stroessner's regime.



BLACK MUSLIMS picket in front of Manhattan's Criminal Courts Building Jan. 11 while two of their Muslim brothers are tried inside. The two, Hugh Morton and Albert Reese, were arrested at gunpoint on Christmas day for selling the movement's newspaper Muhammad Speaks in Times Square. They were booked on charges of assault, disorderly conduct and inciting to riot and were convicted of the first two counts. The trial was attended by several hundred Muslims, a group of whom sold copies of Muhammad Speaks in front of the court building without being arrested.



## James Baldwin on Radio Show Blasts Persecution of Worthy

NEW YORK — Opposition to the Kennedy administration's persecution of newsman William Worthy was strongly urged by James Baldwin over the Barry Gray radio show Jan. 11. The distinguished novelist called on his listeners to support the picket-line protest against the Anti-Defamation League's "democratic legacy" award to President Kennedy.

The protest action springs from the federal conviction of Worthy for "illegal entry" into the U.S., of which he is a citizen by birth. The trial resulted from a trip Worthy made to Cuba and came after he toured the U.S. reporting on the accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution.

Baldwin, in an exchange with Gray, declared: "It isn't conceivable that a native-born citizen can re-enter his own country illegally. We must not allow the persecution of William Worthy to become a precedent."

"Worthy is a journalist whom I respect," Baldwin said. "He happens to be a colored journalist, and that certainly has something to do with his indictment. But the main point is that no government on earth has a right to tell any writer what he can and what he cannot go to see. If it happens to Bill Worthy it can happen to me."

Also participating in the panel discussion was Vera Rony, national secretary of the Workers Defense League which is handling Worthy's legal defense. She told how the Afro-American correspondent had lost his passport in 1957 for making an "unauthorized" trip to China. This loss of passport laid the basis for the 1962 indictment for returning to the U.S. from Cuba without a passport.

Baldwin spotlighted the oppression of Negroes in this country and dealt vividly with the failure of most whites to comprehend the mood and thinking of Negroes.

"I don't want to be accepted by you whites," he told Gray. "I just want to live here. But you also ought to be aware that I might prefer Havana to Miami."

Meanwhile, the growing radicalization of Negroes was described by Worthy at a meeting the same



John F. Kennedy

evening of the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee. He said that on a just-concluded national lecture tour he had found this radicalization developing at a "startling" rate. A further encouraging sign he said, is that in many areas local leaderships are developing which are not only responding to the new militancy but are helping to crystallize it.

For example, in Oakland, Calif., he said, the Afro-American Association headed by attorney Donald Warden can mobilize 500 people for a civil-rights demonstration on short notice.

The African independence struggle is having a deep impact here, Worthy reported. "More and more you hear people saying that the lesson of Africa is that people don't get their freedom until they start shooting. It is totally irrelevant whether you endorse or disagree with this sentiment. The hard fact is that it has become a part of the thinking of a significant section of the colored community."

At the same meeting, Washington's role in the Congo was scored by Daniel Watts, chairman of the Liberation Committee for Africa. He said that the U.S. backed moves to oust Tshombe because he had lined up with British and Belgian interests as against the interests of U.S. capital.

Sino-Soviet dialogue, Kennedy's bid is unmistakable. He said: "Let our adversaries choose. If they choose peaceful competition, they shall have it. If they come to realize that their ambitions cannot succeed — if they see that their 'wars of liberation' and subversion will ultimately fail... then surely the areas of agreement can be very wide indeed: a clear understanding about Berlin, stability in Southeast Asia, an end to nuclear testing, new checks on surprise or accidental attack, and, ultimately, general and complete disarmament."

In other words, Kennedy is saying, if the Soviet Union co-operates in putting the damper on revolutionary movements throughout the world, maybe the U.S. will consider taking the heat off the Soviet Union. Maybe, that is. No guarantees, of course.

On Cuba, however, Kennedy had no conciliatory words. Instead, he re-asserted the "right" of the Pentagon to violate Cuban air space by cynically invoking the name of the pilot Kennedy had sent to his death over Cuba. "We are proud," he shamelessly boasted, "of Major Rudolph Anderson who gave his life over the island of Cuba."

"You have got to unite in the same labor union and in the same political party and strike and vote together, and the hour you do that, the world is yours." — Eugene Victor Debs.

## 19 Young Pickets Jailed in Canadian Anti-Bomb Protest

A youth ban-the-bomb demonstration in Toronto, Canada, on Dec. 22 resulted in 19 arrests. The demonstration was organized by an ad hoc committee led by the New Democratic Youth, the Canadian High School Students For Disarmament, and the Committee of 100. Its objects were to protest against the pressure being put on Canada to accept nuclear arms from the U.S. and to demand a national vote or referendum on the question. This was amply testified to by the slogans on their signs: *Let Canada Lead the Non-Nuclear Club; No Nuclear Weapons for Canada; No Military Alliance with Nuclear-Armed Nations; and Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms.*

The 100 youth demonstrators, mostly high school and college youth, picketed the headquarters of the two leading Canadian capitalist parties — the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party — and then marched on to City Hall. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* stated, "Several marchers handed out literature urging a referendum on Canadian nuclear armament. Public reaction was mixed. Most passersby accepted the handbills; a few refused them, scornfully. There were no jeers or catcalls..."

As soon as the demonstrators arrived at City Hall and Peter Horbatiuk, one of their leaders, started to speak, police moved in to break it up. When Horbatiuk was arrested others jumped up to take his place and were arrested in turn until 19 in all were taken in. They were charged with creating a disturbance.

Horbatiuk later declared: "Demonstrators have never been arrested in such numbers in Toronto. It might be the start of a crack-down." He pointed out that police do not interfere with religious speakers on street corners.

## Set Senate Smear Of Pacifica Radio

An investigation of the Pacifica Foundation, a non-profit educational corporation organized in 1947, which operates radio stations WBAI in New York, KPFA in Berkeley, California, and KPFF in Los Angeles, has been launched by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Mississippi Senator Eastland.

Eight persons connected with the foundation were subpoenaed, including six from California, one from New York, and one from Washington, D. C. Those subpoenaed were primarily executives of WBAI, although also included was Dorothy Healey, Southern California Communist Party spokesman, who appears on KPFF commentary programs. Although the Pacifica Foundation has in the past also presented political talks by spokesmen of the ultra right, the witch-hunters will most likely try to capitalize on the appearance of Dorothy Healey as well as other spokesmen of radical groups.

The American Civil Liberties Union called for the cancellation of the hearings, scheduled originally for Jan. 10. The Pacifica Foundation has likewise taken a very forthright stand in its own defense. It sees this investigation as a violation of the First Amendment in that it curbs freedom of the press and other communications media. The Foundation has declared it will not cooperate in any way with the Senate inquisitors.

A study on the ownership of wealth, by Prof. Robert Lampman of the University of Wisconsin, shows that the wealthiest one per cent of the U.S. population owns 76 per cent of all corporate stocks and 100 per cent of all state and local bonds, interest on which is tax free.



The expected quick settlement of the East Coast and Gulf longshore strike has failed to materialize. It was expected after the key issue — the company demand for reduction in work gangs — was shelved, with both sides agreeing to submit it to a government study committee for 15 months. The employers have been hanging tough on wages and fringe benefits, hoping for government intervention. ILA leaders are reportedly willing to settle, but feel the need to obtain a significant wage increase in order to get the ranks to go back to work.

Peculiarly enough, money is not considered the real issue. The automation issue lurks in the background. The ranks feel the need for a union victory of some kind, in order to be steered for the job-security fight in the future.

The 5,800 members of the Transport Workers Union, employed by the privately-owned Philadelphia Transportation Co., shut down that huge city's public transportation system in a strike which began Jan. 15 when the old contract expired. The central issue is the company's insistence on work-rule changes and the elimination of a "no-layoff" clause in the contract under which a man must be given another job if his regular one is eliminated by technological change. Essentially the same issue — job security in the face of automation — is involved in the East Coast longshore and New York newspaper strikes.

Senator Frank J. Lausche (D.-O.) crossed the picket line of the Newspaper Guild at the *Cleveland Press*. The Guild has been on strike for eight weeks for a new contract including a union shop clause. Lausche entered the building to visit the newspaper's editor and when he came out made a statement against the strikers. The Ohio AFL-CIO has denounced Lausche's actions.

The Executive Board of the International Union of Electrical workers voted last month to support the union's president James B. Carey in suspending Al Hartnett from the post of secretary-treasurer. The bitter feud between the two top bureaucrats appears to have been mainly personal, but it involved mutual recriminations over the union leadership's poor showing in the 1961 Westinghouse strike. Hartnett announced he will resist ouster from the post. He remains on salary at \$22,500 a year for the time being. Carey has reportedly threatened to remove him from the payroll if he takes the dispute into the courts. The board's vote went against Hartnett by 22 to 5.

Two union halls and a barber shop in Oxnard, California, were pelted with eggs and daubed with anti-Communist slogans over the

New Year holiday. Two students at Hueneme High School were arrested Jan. 3 after admitting the deeds. Under questioning, the youngsters said they think the Berlin Wall is "terrible" and that they hit the halls of the Bartenders and Teamsters unions because they "don't like unions and think they have too much power." Police described the two boys as "brainy." The precise connection between their political theories and the Top Hat barber shop is not clear.

Over-the-road truck drivers Local 557 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Baltimore replaced its entire hierarchy of 15 officers in an upset election recently. Business Agent in Chief George Willinger, who had held office for 20 years, was defeated by Richard W. Grabowski, who says his program is clean unionism within the IBT. Leaders of the new slate of officers have denied press reports of a move to bolt the IBT and seek an AFL-CIO charter for the local.

The Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, has filed an unfair labor practice charge against the Wisconsin Education Association and the West Milwaukee-West Allis school district. The WEA, a professional organization which includes supervisors and whose present president is a superintendent of schools, has traditionally opposed unionization of teachers. Since the teachers union has become active in the district, however, the WEA has been granted "exclusive bargaining rights" by the district's board of education under the labor law. The board was attempting to exclude the bona fide union.

The WEA, however, is now faced with a dilemma. It claims it isn't a union and yet it wants union rights under the labor law. The new court action is expected to force the WEA to make a choice. Either it changes its character — excluding supervisors from leading positions and in general acting more like a union — or it forgoes the right to use the labor law. If the latter course is followed, the WFT will have a distinct advantage in its organizing campaign. At present the WEA has 30,000 members state-wide while the union has 2,000.

Don't try to treat snakebite with Old Fitzgerald, Cabin Still, Old Elk or W. L. Weller bourbons. Distillery Workers Local 36 at Shively, Ky., has been on strike since Sept. 8, 1961 and they have renewed an appeal for a boycott of the four brands made by the Stitzel-Weller Co. The company has tried to break the union by the use of injunctions, lawsuits and strikebreakers, but the local is still maintaining its picket line "in fair weather and foul."

## ... Kennedy Message

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of \$10,000 would save \$304. A family with an income of \$25,000 would save \$1,144. The top bracket (income over \$200,000) would be taxed at a rate of 65 per cent rather than 91 per cent.

As expected, Kennedy called for increased armaments spending, increased space spending and a reduction of expenditures for other purposes. The war budget, which already exceeds \$50 billion a year will be upped to provide more nuclear-weapons systems and more "anti-guerrilla capacity" in particular.

The only thing even slightly new in the speech was Kennedy's bid to enter the Moscow-Peking dispute by holding out some bait for Khrushchev. In the context of the

### Weekly Calendar

#### DETROIT

The American Indian — A Case of Internal Colonialism. Speaker Prof. Robert Thomas, noted authority on Indian affairs. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

Africa, U.S. Foreign Policy and NATO. An analysis by Daniel H. Watts, chairman, Liberation Committee for Africa. Fri., Jan. 25, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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## SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

# "We Will Not Stop Being Revolutionists"

[The following are excerpts from Fidel Castro's speech in Havana Jan. 2 celebrating the fourth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The excerpts represent more than a third of the complete speech and include all the principal points made in it.]

Distinguished visitors, workers, campesinos, students, citizens all — Mr. Kennedy would say that I am speaking to the captive people of Cuba. In the imperialist concept of things, a concept in which exploitation is just, and crime and aggression are good, in which to be a mercenary is good, in the imperialist concept of things, this people is a captive people. Since this is the way they look at things, everything else that they do is not strange.

In recent days an event took place which, however they may try to disguise it, is an historic event. The imperialists agreed to pay our country the indemnity which the revolutionary tribunals imposed on the invaders of Playa Girón. The Government of the United States tried in every way to avoid official responsibility, to avoid the official acceptance of this fact. This is very much in accordance with the pharisaical mentality of the leaders of imperialism.

## Imperialist Logic

Of course, they do not say that they paid an indemnity. They say it was "ransom." It is logical too that they should say this. For the imperialists, the jailing of a Negro newspaper man for having visited Cuba, the imposition of a \$10,000 fine on him for having exercised a constitutional right, that is justice.

But we don't care what they call it. The fact is that they had to agree to pay indemnity. And for the first time in its history imperialism pays a war indemnity. And why did they pay it? Because they were defeated. Because at Playa Girón the imperialists suffered their first great defeat in Latin America.

What did the President of the United States do? How has he acted? First he assumed the responsibility for the attack on our country. Yet for 20 months they tried to avoid paying that indemnity. When they finally decided to do so and the Revolutionary Government freed the invaders, how did the President of the United States conduct himself? Did he conduct himself like a statesman? Did he conduct himself like a man who holds a responsible office?

No! He conducted himself like a pirate. He conducted himself like a leader of buccaneers because, really, never had a president of the United States so degraded the dignity of his office as that day when Mr. Kennedy met with the criminal invaders of our country.

I have here the little speech which he delivered that day. It

will be worth our while to read it because by reading these things we learn to understand the imperialists.

Everybody knows Martí's story, of that Martí who wore threadbare clothes, of that Martí who did not receive his funds from the Yankee treasury, of that Martí who had to depend on those poor immigrants, on those proletarians, on those tobacco workers, who had to collect penny by penny the funds with which to buy arms, and which, once he had bought them, were taken from him by the Yankee authorities; of that Martí who did not come escorted by the Yankee navy, whose landing was not preceded by Yankee bombers; of that Martí who on a stormy night landed almost alone in a rowboat, on the



Fidel Castro

beaches of Oriente Province. To compare that man of integrity, that enemy of imperialism, to compare the efforts of those patriots with these wretches is an offense to the memory of those men.

For our liberators came to free slaves, to create a nation, a nation which imperialism frustrated, a nation which Yankee imperialism stepped on for 50 years. But who were these mercenaries? Defenders of slavery, latifundists, lumpen, exploiters of gambling and of vice, millionaires, criminals, thieves; all exploiters are thieves.

These people came to enslave, to take from the people their riches, to return our factories and our lands to the monopolies.

Mr. Kennedy, too much blood has flowed between you and us, between those revolutionary soldiers and the Yankee empire. And that blood began to flow many years ago; that blood began to flow in the Sierra Maestra, fighting against the army trained by Yankee military missions, under the fire of Yankee arms, under the bombing of Yankee planes.

And those soldiers saw whole families incinerated by the napalm of Yankee incendiary bombs; and they saw children mutilated, children killed by Yankee shells and they saw many compañeros die in combat.

Mr. Kennedy, between our people and the imperialists, between our fighters and the imperialists, much blood has flowed. There is the blood of the workers murdered when La Coubre exploded, a criminal sabotage prepared by the Yankee agency; there is the blood of the workers who died extinguishing the fires in the sugarcane fields which were set by light planes coming from the United States; there has flowed blood like that of Fe del Valle, who died when terrorists employed by the Central Intelligence Agency set fire to one of our work centers.

Between those fighters and the imperialists there is the blood of more than 100 soldiers and militiamen who died gloriously at Playa Girón; there is the blood of murdered teachers like Conrado Benítez; there is the blood of the

brigade members who were cruelly murdered like Manuel Ascunce Domenech. There's too much blood; there's an abyss of blood between you and ourselves, Messrs. imperialists.

But there is more than blood. There is an abyss deeper still, which is the abyss that separates the workers from the exploiters, the freed slaves from the slave owners; there is the abyss of our ideas, the abyss which separates our ideas; and there is an abyss as deep as that which is represented by the dignity of this people, the dignity of every Cuban man and woman.

What is this that Kennedy says, as it says here, that he can assure them that that flag will be returned to the mercenaries in a free Havana? What does Mr. Kennedy mean by that? What threat is implied by that statement? Why does he dare to say that he can assure such a thing? And in what way is that a promise not to attack our country, a promise not to invade Cuba?

## Want Deeds

That is why we have maintained and continue to maintain the guarantees offered by imperialism are only verbal and that they must be accompanied by deeds. We have more than enough reason to distrust the imperialists, and we know that the imperialists' verbal guarantees are worthless. The guarantees are in our decision to fight, in our decision to resist heroically any enemy attack. The guarantees are in those arms which you saw pass by and in many other arms which did not pass by here. The guarantees are in our hundreds of thousands of fighters. The guarantees are in the heroism of our people a heroism more than proved in difficult situations.

And that is why we took measures to arm ourselves. And that is why we agreed with the Soviet Union to set up the arms which were set up here, because it was our understanding that we were fulfilling two obligations: one obligation towards our country by securing and strengthening our defenses in the face of the threats of imperialism, and an obligation towards the nations of the socialist camp. That is an international proletarian duty.

## Two Duties

We fulfilled two duties: a duty towards our country and a duty towards the workers of all the world, our internationalist duties, in accord with the principles of proletarian internationalism, for patriotism and proletarian internationalism, within the socialist revolution are the same thing, and that was the thinking which guided the thinking of the Cuban revolutionary leadership.

All of you know how the crisis began, developed and ended. We want to say that our people reserves the right always, in the face of its imperialist aggressors to take all measures which it deems proper and to have the arms which it deems proper for a sovereign country to have.

The Soviet government, seeking peace, reached certain agreements with the North American government, but that does not mean that we have renounced that right, the right to have the arms which we deem proper and to take those steps in international policy which we deem proper for a sovereign nation to take.

And that is why we did not accept the unilateral inspection which they wanted to establish here with the sole purpose on the part of the imperialists of humiliating us. And there was no inspection, and there will be no inspection.

And if they want inspection, let them, too, allow themselves to be inspected by us, if not, who do they think they are? From one

sovereign nation to another, we are as sovereign or more sovereign than they.

One must know how shrewd the imperialists are, how crafty and foxy they are in all their acts, in all they do. And that is why we have no faith in the imperialists, and the guarantees we have always believed in are those I mentioned a short while ago and in the solidarity of peoples, in the solidarity of the socialist camp. That is where our guarantees have always been.

Without the solidarity of the socialist camp we wouldn't have



José Martí

had any arms, that is clear, because when we tried to buy arms in a country of Western Europe they blew up the ship and they killed around 50 of our workers and soldiers. And the imperialists prevented the sale of any arms to us. While they prevented the sale of arms to us they armed and trained the mercenaries. And it was the socialist countries which supplied us with all those arms [in the parade].

And the solidarity of the socialist camp has been an effective arm against imperialist aggression. And we do believe in that guarantee, in that guarantee which gives us two things: our determination to fight to the last man and the solidarity of the socialist camp; we believe in that solidarity and not in the words of the imperialists.

If what the imperialists want is to make peace dependent on our ceasing to be revolutionists, we will not stop being revolutionists; we will not haul down our colors for we are an example to the brother people of Latin America, because, Mr. Kennedy, the captive people you mentioned are not the Cubans; the captive people are the millions of Indians and Latin Americans exploited by the Yankee monopolies, exploited by Yankee imperialism in Latin America.

When you speak about "captives," Mr. Kennedy, you say "Cuban captives" but you are not thinking about us, rather you are thinking and trembling about the rebellion of the true captives, the rebellion of the exploited. If only the workers and campesinos of Latin America were armed, as our people are armed, then we would see what would happen; we would see who the true captives are.

Because these people whom you call "captives" are armed "captives"; they are "captives" with tanks; they are "captives" with airplanes. Give tanks and airplanes to the workers and the campesinos of Latin America and you would see who the true captives are.

That would be the surest test. But, there's no need to hurry. We too did not have cannons nor did we have airplanes, but today we have them. We had no arms — like those captive peoples of Latin America — and yet that was no obstacle to the triumph of the people; that was no obstacle to the triumph of the Revolution.

Peoples, when they are de-

termined to fight, can do what we did. And the millions of Latin Americans, exploited by the imperialists, can do what we did. And they are already beginning to awaken, they are beginning to fight.

Today, when all belongs to the people and the fruits of labor to the people, the first duty of the people is to struggle to create all the necessary means to satisfy all its needs. And we have to do that in the midst of dangers, in the midst of threats, and even in the midst of bitter situations, of serious problems which worry all of us in the struggle against the common enemy, in the fight against the imperialists, which are the differences which have arisen in the midst of the socialist family, the public differences which have arisen between the great forces of the socialist camp.

This worries all of us, and it worries us because we see clearly here, from this front-line trench, located 90 miles from the Yankee empire, how much unity is needed, how much all the forces of the whole socialist camp are needed in order to face those enemies.

## Historic Task

Ours is the great historic task of carrying forward this revolution, of serving as an example to the Latin American revolution; and within the socialist camp, within the socialist family which is and will always be our camp and our family!

We believe it our duty to struggle for the unity, based on principles, of the socialist family, of the socialist camp. That is our country's line, the line charted by the political leadership of the Revolution.

Many are the problems and great are the tasks which we have ahead of us; above all we have to face up to the imperialists. Many other peoples find themselves in the same situation; the people in colonies subjected to imperialism find themselves in the same situation.

That is why that unity is so necessary; that is why it is so necessary to present a united front to the imperialists. And I am sure that that will be the outcry of the peoples who are threatened, of the peoples who struggle for their independence, of the peoples who struggle against the aggressions of imperialism.

## A Guide

To our people we give this guide, that our task is to work for unity, within and without, to eliminate all that may divide, within and without; to struggle for all that will unite, within and without. Unity based on principles, that is our line!

Patria o Muerte, Venceremos! (Dr. Castro comes back to the microphones and says:)

What are we going to call this year? We are going to call this year "The Year of Organization." Why? Because we should direct our main efforts towards that end; our principal efforts have to be directed towards achieving better organization, the organization of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution; the development of the organization of our masses, that is to say, of our mass organizations; the organization in the administrative units and the organization of the economic units.

This does not mean that the year after this will not also be the year of organization, or that this is not the year of education. A [special task] for a year is chosen and the main efforts are directed towards that end.

All years are years of education, and all years will be years of organization, but we should put our principal efforts this year towards achieving better organization and that is why it will be called the "Year of Organization."

## The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought

A speech by

FIDEL CASTRO

16 pages

15 cents

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 21, 1963

## They Like Uncle Tshombe

The United Nations forces in the Congo have gained virtually complete control of Katanga province and the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe is at their mercy. The UN is now maneuvering to give Tshombe a post in the new government set-up provided he does no damage to the mining installations in Katanga. In so doing it is showing contempt for the people of the Congo as well as for its own resolutions.

Moise Tshombe is one of the murderers of the first Congolese premier, Patrice Lumumba. On Feb. 21, 1961, shortly after the murders of Lumumba and his ministers Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution deciding "that an immediate and impartial investigation be held in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues and that the perpetrators of these crimes be punished."

Lumumba was in Tshombe's custody when he was killed. In announcing the death, Tshombe claimed that Lumumba had escaped Tshombe's jail and had been killed by villagers as he fled. The UN investigation was held and the investigators duly reported that Tshombe's story was a tissue of lies. Lumumba was, the UN investigation proved, murdered by his jailers who were under Tshombe's direct command.

The maneuvering to give Tshombe some government post is another in a long series of insults by the UN to the Congolese people. Tshombe should be arrested forthwith, and turned over to a tribunal of the Congolese people for trial and punishment for the heinous crime of the murder of the principal leader of the Congolese independence movement.

## New Facts About Vietnam

Reports of the defeat suffered by helicopter-borne South Vietnamese and U.S. forces Jan. 2 expose the claim that the setbacks are being inflicted by invasion forces from North Vietnam. The pretense of the existence of such forces was the U.S. alibi for sending troops there. A Jan. 5 AP report of the battle in Mekong Delta flatly conceded that the weapons used to inflict the defeat on the South Vietnamese troops and their U.S. "advisers" were captured U.S. material and were not supplied by North Vietnam.

How this happens was explained in a Jan. 13 UPI report from Saigon which said: "The struggle has more the semblance of an insurrection than an invasion" and, "Today, as eight years ago in the fight against the French, the black-clothed peasant in his rice field is peaceable by day but often violent by night."

The dispatch tells how the guerrilla forces have won the backing of the peasants by offering them a program of struggle against the oppressive tool of the landlords — the Diem dictatorship — and against the hated American occupiers who participate in the indiscriminate shooting of peasants.

The UPI report opines that the answer "is not in the fort, barbed-wire mentality. Nor is it in armed repression alone, even by the best of modern methods. The answer lies in the relationship between the peasant and government."

Even the biased news reports make clear that the peasant will feel he has a good "relationship" with the present government only when he has abolished it. Meanwhile, why should GIs die for this hated regime? Wouldn't it be far better if Washington were compelled to bring them back home?

## The Big Wind from Oklahoma

The usual cloud of hypocrisy which billows up over Washington with the beginning of Congress each year and then spreads across the land has been reinforced and made more nauseous this time by the fulsome funeral eulogies for Senator Robert S. L. Kerr.

Governmental figures from Kennedy on down and newspaper editors are proclaiming the great loss the country has suffered with Kerr's death. Simple honesty requires that we puncture this pious blather by speaking frankly of the dead.

The "Big Wind from Oklahoma" or "The Oklahoma Gusher," as he was called, faithfully served the oil industry and the Kennedy administration but not the American people.

The richest man in Congress — his fortune was estimated to be at least \$35 million — his main efforts were always to protect and further the financial interests of himself and the other oil and natural gas barons. In recent years his interests stretched to include uranium. Pushing legislation favoring the oil and natural gas interests at the people's expense, he was never bothered by conflict-of-interest scruples. For him what was good for oil was good for the U.S. — and if not, so what.

One of the most powerful men in the Senate and the Democratic Party, he was pre-eminent in lining up fellow legislators behind legislation and give-aways sponsored by the oil monopolies.

If Satan has converted to oil or natural gas, Kerr is undoubtedly consoling himself with the thought of how much his companies are overcharging on the operation.

# The Japanese Student Movement

[The following is the translation of an interview given by Hisroshi Kuwahara, member of the International Secretariat of Zengakuren, Japan's militant student organization, to "Bandiera Rossa," the Italian Trotskyist newspaper whose office in Rome he recently visited.]

**Question** — Would you like to give us a few facts on the history of the Zengakuren, on its ideological and organizational development and on its activities?

**Answer** — Following the Second World War the Japanese students who went back to the university after the bloody battles of the war organized the League of Japanese Students Against War. From this organization came the Zengakuren, which is the "Pan-Japanese" organization of the autonomous students and which has about 350,000 members. The organizational structure consists principally of a dozen secretaries, who form a part of the Central Executive Committee, and of a hundred members of the Central Committee which makes the decisions for struggle. For example, in the course of the 32nd session of the Central Committee which took place Oct. 10-11, 1962 with the participation of 300 students as observers, the CC decided upon a general strike against the proposed reactionary law on control of the University. Generally the CC meets twice a year, draws up a balance sheet of experiences and defines the perspectives and tasks for the future.

### Continual Zig Zags

During its first period the Zengakuren was quite badly led, with continual zig-zags on the part of a leadership composed of members of the Japanese Communist Party, who considered the American army an "army of liberation" and therefore collaborated in the repression of the first general strike of the workers and students.

Just the opposite during the Korean war, this same leadership ordered the workers and students to organize armed revolts despite the absence of revolutionary conditions, with rather negative results.

After a precarious period of development, the Zengakuren experienced a period of decline.

Meanwhile in 1957-58, a majority of the students in the Japanese CP came into conflict with the CP leadership and ended by leaving the party to form "The Communist League," which was influenced by the Trotskyist ideas of the Revolutionary Communist League. In this period the newly-formed Communist League won the leadership of the Zengakuren.

In the struggle against the treaty with American imperialism — a struggle in the course of which even Blanquist tendencies sprang up — the Zengakuren played a very important role. And its action made even more strikingly apparent the absence of a true revolutionary leadership and the opportunist, "left parliamentarian" character of the Communist Party and Socialist Party. These two had transformed the peace movement into a petty-bourgeois pacifist movement and attacked the Zengakuren students, treating them as "Trotskyist provocateurs."

But after the struggle of June 1960 there was a new crisis within the Zengakuren leadership which had manifested Blanquist and petty-bourgeois tendencies.

The Communist League dissolved quickly enough and while passing through many experiences the majority were won over by the National Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League or were directly influenced by it.

**Q.** — What is the Zenjiren, the student organization led by the Japanese Communist Party?

**A.** — Hostile to the revolutionary activity of the Zengakuren, the Japanese CP has always tried to split the student movement. When, after animated discussions with the supporters of the Revolution-



**SNAKE-DANCING JAPANESE STUDENTS** in Tokyo demonstrate against U.S. remilitarization of their country. Protest action was called by Zengakuren, principal Japanese youth organization.

ary Communist League, the Communist League dissolved, the Japanese CP wanted to organize a second Zengakuren which was called Zenjiren.

It was not actually a matter of a real organization but of a "Conference for a League of Democratic Youth."

After the change of leadership in the Zengakuren there was a violent debate with the Zenjiren at the 17th National Congress of the Student Movement. The partisans of Zenjiren were severely beaten and in fact the Zenjiren never succeeded in organizing its First National Congress.

Thus, and particularly in the struggle against the atomic bomb — Soviet as well as American — the influence of the CP on the Japanese student movement was rapidly eliminated: supporters of the CP no longer have the means of leading the movement of the mass of the students.

Today the anti-war movement is developing; the Zengakuren is supported by the Marxist League of Students and by the Marxist League of Young Workers which are both under the ideological influence of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League. These organizations are working to build a revolutionary mass party based on an undogmatic assimilation of Leninism and Trotskyism.

**Q.** — Could you give us some more concrete details about the strikes recently led by the Zengakuren?

**A.** — Before the formation of the Marxist League of Young Workers, the revolutionary anti-Stalinist movement was composed of students and intellectuals.

With this league, the student organization was able to start participating directly in the class struggle.

On March 31, 1962, the workers in the railroad unions launched a national strike for higher wages.

This was a result of the pressure exerted by the youth within the Marxist League of Young Workers on the leaders of the socialist unions.

Last March 30 the students of Zengakuren went to the central station in Tokyo to help the young workers and spent the whole night on the steps singing revolutionary songs.

At five in the morning the railway workers began their strike in a decisive way, stopping all trains and organizing pickets.

Meanwhile the general secretary of the Socialist Party started to

deal with the government behind the back of the workers, seeking a shameful compromise.

The union leaders decided to end the strike out of fear of the stoppage.

Nevertheless the workers and students condemned the leaders' opportunism and continued to occupy the stations and depots. For the first time in history the directors of the station called the police who came into the station and expelled the workers and students after an hour of battle. If the workers had been in the forefront they could have been photographed and exposed to reprisals by management and even to disciplinary sanctions by the union leadership. That is why the Zengakuren students stationed themselves in the front and fought the cops to defend their worker comrades.

### Carnival Atmosphere

It is important to note that the same day the students were fighting, the CP — to celebrate the anniversary of one of its leaders — organized a party with well-known actors and singers. This party had the atmosphere of an election carnival.

Thus, the CP, rejecting participation in the revolutionary struggle, devoted itself to fishing for votes among the middle class.

After the March 31 experience the revolutionary Marxist League of Young Workers rapidly gained adherents and a growing number of young students and workers wanted to fight against the degenerated leadership of the Stalinists and social-democrats.

The League proposed the formation of a united front for the struggle against Stalinism and the social democracy and this among other things brought new youth into the Zengakuren for the struggle against the American and Soviet nuclear tests.

Since last September the Zengakuren has undertaken a mass struggle against nuclear testing by the U.S. and Soviet Union and has won more and more sympathizers among the young workers.

On Oct. 5 the Tokyo Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Marxist League of Students and the Marxist League of Young Workers organized a meeting of 4,000 persons. Because of the heavy participation of workers, that is to say, of the class which can deal a blow to war preparations by stopping production, this demonstration marks an important date in the development of Japan's revolutionary movement.



# Letters From Our Readers

## African Students on Tshombe

London, England

The African Student Committee voted President Tshombe as Uncle Tom of the Year 1962. Some called him the Black Judas, a tool of the giant monopoly combines, namely the *Union Minière* with headquarters in London, Paris, Brussels and New York. These monopolists, colonialists and neo-colonialists are the real obstacles hindering the political and economic unification of Africa.

The colonial policy of divide and rule is obvious in the Congo. Note: When the UN took to the offensive after months of fruitless negotiations with Tshombe, this Black Judas rushed into the arms of the Great White Father — Sir Roy Welensky. Who pulls the strings of this puppet? Who are the backers of Tshombe? Today, when all Africans should be striving toward a united front, Tshombe decided to play the colonials' game.

Long live the spirit of Lumumba!

Kenneth J. Dyken

## Victimized for Rights Stand

Brooklyn, N. Y.

We have been "adjudged" guilty of "neglect" of our children — and face the legal kidnapping of Douglass, Carr and Melanie, as well as prison sentences — because we insist on their proper education by the Board of Education of the City of New York. We appeal to an aroused public to prevent this discriminatory action.

Our family is in its unique position because the City of New York, through its Board of Education, operates two separate school systems; an inferior group of schools forcing maleducation and misedu-

cation on the overwhelming majority of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the city; and a modern administration dedicated to the task of offering children in "white" schools education on a par with the best in the nation.

We have withdrawn our children from Public School 282, a segregated and inferior school and are "sitting them in" at Public School 200, a segregated ("white") and superior school. We have told the Board of Education that we will send our children to any school designated by it, provided that the school meets the following standards (which are not extraordinary among "white" schools and which are not high by national educational standards.):

A) A median reading level of 6.5 or higher in the sixth grade;

B) A median arithmetic level of 6.5 or higher in the sixth grade;

C) A proportion of permanently licensed teachers not lower than the city norm.

The difference between our struggle in Brooklyn, New York, and that of James Meredith in Mississippi is one of degree — and small degree at that. This difference itself will disappear if the City of New York is allowed to kidnap our children and send us to prison.

Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Bibuld

## Items on Vietnam and Illinois

These two items in the *Detroit Free Press* might be of interest to you. An article from Vietnam said the latest "picturesque" name picked by the Vietnam government for a military operation is "Operation Waves of Love." It said others have been called, "Sunrise," "Blue Mountain," "Sea Swallow," etc.

To me this sounds much like our (the USA's) war psychology and slogans of "liberty," "democracy" and "freedom." It's all "glory of war" inspiration.

Another item said Illinois has enough standing timber to build a five-room frame house for more than half the families in the state.

Under socialism this would have significant meaning.

Enclosed is \$2 to help keep the ink wet on the presses. Yours for real socialism.

A. K.

## Cuba's Achievements

Cleveland, Ohio

A revolutionary leader has to be an extraordinary character with courage, ability, intelligence and popular appeal. A revolutionary leader cannot be a weak or timid man. If he is to be successful he must pull no punches.

Fidel Castro hath put down the greedy and evil and exalted those of honesty and goodness.

The people of Cuba now know that their misery before the Revolution was not the will of God or Destiny but was due to the selfishness, inefficiency and corruption of their rulers both at home and in the United States.

The Cuban peasants, 60 per cent of the population, and most city dwellers were living at not much better than a subsistence level before the Revolution.

The Cuban people now have a government that really cares for them, wants to help them, and is helping them. The peasant is now getting better clothing, a new and decent home, schools for his children, medical care and roads. For

the first time in Cuban history proper attention is being paid to public health in such matters as digging wells and providing shoes for the poor children that never had the slightest hope of ever having a pair of shoes of their very own.

In the U.S. one hears or reads nothing about one of the most extraordinary features of the Cuban Revolution — its civic honesty. This is the first honest government that Cuba has had since Columbus discovered the island.

Fidel Castro is without a doubt the most outstanding leader in the Western Hemisphere today. He has brought social justice to Cuba and perhaps in time all America will follow his path.

G. C.

## Discouraged

Chicago, Ill.

It would seem clear that it would take a catastrophe to make the U.S. socialistic. The approach of the various radical parties are as ineffective as a fundamentalist would be at Harvard University. There is no working class consciousness in this country. The workers have been beguiled by soft-living — that is, those who could offer leadership. The poor are abandoned to their fate. The times are one of groping.

C. P.

## Bouquet Dep't

Toronto, Canada

I have been reading *The Militant* off and on for nearly a year and have found its pages very rewarding. This is especially the

case regarding civil rights issues in the U.S. and news from Cuba.

If any newspaper deserves the label "All the news that's fit to print" it's your own.

Enclosed therefore is \$1 for your special introductory offer. It will be supplemented I hope by a more permanent subscription.

Keep up the good work and I wish you a Happy New Year of continued growth of influence.

R. H. P.

## Kennedy's Gusanos

Anaheim, Calif.

Sorry I did not know my subscription was due. Would not miss a copy for the world!

Congratulations on your clever coverage of the "commander-in-chief's" welcome to the *gusanos*. [Spanish for "worms," or, currently in Cuban idiom, "counter-revolutionary."] EDITOR.]

B.M.

## What About the Funnies?

Queens, N. Y.

The newspaper strike and "blackout" has turned out to be a real vacation for me. Besides allowing me more time to devote to more important pursuits, I realize I can survive without the torture of having to read between the lines of the distorted and prostituted capitalist press.

By contrast, *The Militant* is like a ray of sunshine that I look forward to eagerly each week. I hope to see the day when it becomes a daily so that I don't have to depend on "information" that mainly misinforms me.

E.B.

H.C.

## The Worthy Case

New York, N. Y.

I notice in government briefs in the case of William Worthy that presidential decisions on the right to travel to such places as Cuba are the sole right and power of the president and are not subject to court review. This, it seems to me, is a very interesting conception since the much vaunted system of "checks and balances" is supposed to be the very heart of our "democratic" system.

Maybe all the jokes about the royal Kennedy family won't turn out to be so funny after all.

J.A.

# World Events

## Gloomy Prospects

Here are some of the thoughts that came out of a survey of international prospects for 1963: Dr. Karl Brandt, former economic adviser to Eisenhower, notes that prices have fallen on tea, sugar, coffee, cocoa, lead, zinc, copper and tin. "That means economic woe for African, Asian, and South American countries so dependent on the export of these items," he said. "There is a question whether many of these underdeveloped countries have not already become bankrupt." R. G. Folis, chairman of Standard Oil of California, said, "In the face of the collapse, they may turn to communism just for something different."

## Guerrilla Army Forms

Military authorities in Brunei, which is a part of British-owned Borneo, said that an estimated 1,500 "hard-core" rebels are hacking their way through the steamy jungles of Sarawak and North Borneo toward the Indonesian border. They have been refused independence by the British and will now operate as a guerrilla army. The British threaten to use helicopters to pursue them in the same fashion as the U.S. is now operating in South Vietnam.

## Trade Pact

On Jan. 5 it was announced that Pakistan and China had concluded their first long-term trade agreement, which provides an exchange

of Chinese coal for Pakistan's raw cotton and jute. This was followed with a statement on Jan. 7 by Pakistani President Ayub that the U.S. and Britain — "our very old friends" — should have consulted with his government before sending arms to India in its border dispute with China.

## The "Art" of Banking

According to the Jan. 7 *National Observer* the legal rate of interest in most Latin American countries is 12 per cent a year, but these rates are meaningless because there are gimmicks to get around the law. If you can figure it out, here's how it goes: The banks set up "financieras" or "finance companies" which may sell shares or accept savings deposits, issue bonds or borrow funds, and re-lend at rates "higher than the legal bank rate. In Brazil the "legal" rate is 12%; in Argentina it is 15%, but in both countries the "financieras" charge up to 40% a year. The same banks pay 8% interest on bonds or deposits.

## Doctors Strike

On Jan. 2 doctors in all Italian hospitals struck for one hour to call attention to their demands for pensions and retirement at 65 for doctors and medical assistants in government institutions and hospitals. This was followed on Jan. 11 by a 48-hour strike of 83,000 doctors to protest government red tape and to demand a raise in medical fees. Skeleton staffs covered emergency cases in hospitals while the rest of the doctors closed their offices to visitors and answered only urgent calls.

## Cops Threaten Strike

A Reuters dispatch from Helsinki on Jan. 1 reported: "Almost all of Finland's provincial policemen, 5,500 officers and men, have threatened to resign at the end of January unless their pay demands are met."

## Emergency Credit

In order to enable Brazil to continue essential imports the U.S. granted a credit of 30 million dollars, the State Department announced. "Brazil has been beset by protracted inflation, a sharp decline in U.S. capital investments and political strife," stated the AP dispatch.

## Retires From Front

President Miguel Ydigoras of Guatemala said that his country would retire from "the front line of the fight against Castro-communism." Ydigoras, who was a leader in the anti-Castro bloc in Latin America, declared in a New Year's speech that he wanted to promote peace in preparation for this year's presidential elections.

## Break with Tradition

Burma's Independence Day is Jan. 4. Fifteen years ago, after consulting astrologers, Burmese leaders chose 4 a.m. as the hour for the Declaration of Independence from Britain and ever since then the Minister of Culture has raised the flag at that hour. This year it was decided to change and the flag was raised at a more convenient hour.

## Congo Republic Woes

The Dec. 24 *U.S. News and World Report* has this to say about the situation in the Congo: "The Congolese treasury is not only empty but overdrawn. Right now the government deficit is climbing at the rate of 10 million dollars a month. That happens to be about what the U.S. is pouring into the Congo in aid. Congolese teachers have received no pay for months, but members of the Congolese Parliament voted themselves a raise in pay from \$2,000 a year to \$12,000 a year. That's paid promptly. Fringe benefits include travel expenses . . . The economy is riddled with shortages, including such things as meat, matches, etc."

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"U.S. casualties in Korea have risen to 128,721, an increase of 191 since last week. Included are 20,317 killed in action, 12,985 missing and 95,419 wounded.

"In addition to the killed in action, 2,150 have died of wounds and 216 originally reported missing have been found dead." — Jan. 19, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Jim Crow won another victory this week as War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt ordered the 'indefinite' postponement of an open hearing on discriminatory employment policies of the railroad industry which had been scheduled to open in Washington Jan. 25 under the auspices of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

"The railroad hearings, for which FEPC attorneys have been preparing for a month, were regarded by Negro leaders as a 'key test' of McNutt's attitude toward the FEPC and the whole question of Negro discrimination in industry. McNutt's decision is in such flagrant violation of the administration's public declarations on this question that members of the FEPC refused to assume the responsibility of announcing the postponement of the hearing . . .

"Last summer Roosevelt transferred the FEPC to the jurisdiction of McNutt. In reply to protests he stated in December that the FEPC would continue to enjoy 'free and unhampered operation' even under McNutt . . . McNutt's action in calling off the railroad hearings, in opposition to the expressed wishes of the FEPC members, indicates how well this promise has been kept." — Jan. 16, 1943.

## Thought for the Week

"The old Cuba is gone. It was a Cuba [with] an economic system wherein private U.S. interests ran much of the show; a Cuba of oppression, illiteracy, hunger and disease . . . This is the Cuba that was transformed by the revolution led by Castro. And it will never be again what it once was, no matter what happens to Castro or his colleagues."

— From a Jan. 8 editorial in the *York, Pa., Gazette and Daily* blasting President Kennedy's war-mongering Miami speech to the returned Bay of Pigs invasion prisoners.



## The U.S.-Soviet Conflict

## Is 'Competitive Coexistence' the Answer?

By Tom Kerry

In this paper's letter column (Dec. 24) Jim Campbell of Detroit requested elaboration of one aspect of the problem of "peaceful co-existence" neglected in my Dec. 3 article dealing with the general subject; namely, "competitive co-existence."

For those who do not have the Dec. 24 issue available I quote the pertinent section of Campbell's letter:

"I can agree that the Communist Party concept of peaceful co-existence — i.e., abandoning the principle of independent, class-struggle politics in favor of supporting capitalist parties — is as phony as a \$3-bill. But how does one answer the question in the form it was raised by Khrushchev during his visit to the U.S.? In the speech where he said something about 'We will bury you yet' he gave a concept of co-existence as meaning peaceful 'competition' between states with planned economies and capitalist states."

"Can one conclude that, given a measure of equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the U.S., that their economic system will 'out-run' capitalism? Doesn't this have some truth when one considers the influence on world politics exerted by the rising aspirations of the colonial world? Their aspirations tend to 'freeze' the equilibrium and to give some credence to the theory."

## Sounds Plausible

There is no question but that the theory of "competitive co-existence" has a plausibility about it for those who see it as the only alternative to nuclear war. But it is based on a number of assumptions, some outright false and others of dubious validity. Considered in the abstract, given an extended period of "peace," the organization of production on the basis of a planned economy would demonstrate its superiority over the anarchic capitalist system of production for the market.

In fact, the Soviet system, based on the nationalization of the means of production and a planned economy, has already proven its historical superiority. The decisive criterion in this connection is the comparative average rate of increase in labor productivity. By the simple mathematical device of extrapolation, that is, by extension into the indefinite future of the observed divergences in the rate of labor productivity, one can easily arrive at the conclusion that Soviet productive capacity will overtake and then surpass that of the United States.

It is by the use of such abstractions that Khrushchev arrived at his conclusions in the now famous "we will bury you" comment upon which he expatiated during his tour of this country in 1959. I quote from the question and answer period following Khrushchev's speech at the National Press Club in Washington on Sept. 16.

"Question: It is frequently attributed to you, Mr. Khrushchev, that you told a diplomat at a re-

ception that you would bury us. If you didn't say it, you could deny it, and if you did say it, could you, please, explain what you meant?"

"N. S. Khrushchev: There is only a small section of the American people in this hall. My life would be too short to bury every one of you if this were to occur to me. (Laughter) I did speak about it, but my statement has been deliberately misconstrued. It was not a question of any physical burial of anyone at any time but of how the social system changes in the course of the historical progress of society."

"Every educated person knows that there is now more than one social system in the world. The various states, the various peoples, have different systems. The social system changes as society develops. There was the feudal system. It was superseded by capitalism. Capitalism was more progressive than feudalism. Capitalism created better conditions than feudalism for the development of the productive forces. But capitalism engendered irreconcilable contradictions."

"As it outlives itself, every system gives birth to its successors. Capitalism, as Marx, Engels and Lenin have proved, will be succeeded by communism. We believe in that. Many of you do not. But among you, too, there are many people who believe in that."

"At the reception concerned, I said that in the course of historical progress and in the historical sense, capitalism would be buried and communism would come to replace capitalism. You will say that this is out of the question. But then the feudal lords burned at the stake those who fought against feudalism and yet capitalism won out."

## "Must Co-Exist"

"Capitalism fights against communism. I am convinced that the winner will be communism, a social system which creates better conditions for the development of a country's productive forces, enables every individual to prove his worth and guarantees complete freedom for society, for every member of society. You may disagree with me. I disagree with you. What are we to do, then? We must co-exist."

"Live on under capitalism, and we will build communism. The new and progressive will win; and the old and moribund will die. You believe that the capitalist system is more productive, that it creates better conditions for social progress, that it will win. But the brief history of our Soviet state does not speak in favor of capitalism. What place did Russia hold for economic development before the Revolution. She was backward and illiterate. And now we have a powerful economy, our science and culture are highly developed..." (From the publication, "Let us Live in Peace and Friendship," by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1959.)

This mechanistic view of the historical development has nothing in common with Marxism. Feudalism did not peacefully depart when capitalism demonstrated its capacity to create "better conditions" for the "development of the productive forces." The "old and moribund" feudal ruling classes did not simply wither and die to conveniently make way for the "new and progressive" rising capitalist power.

Feudalism had to be forcibly overthrown in a series of revolutions, wars and civil wars, extending over an entire historical period. During the several centuries in which capitalism was extending its sway, the "old and moribund" continued to "co-exist" with the "new and progressive" until capitalism conquered on a world scale. And in some instances both shared the power during the period in which capitalism was establishing its pre-eminence.

This was possible because both

capitalists and feudalists were property-owning classes, both were based upon the exploitation of labor, and when confronted with the threat of working-class revolt, both united in bitter struggle to preserve the exploitative system based on the private ownership of the means of production. From an examination and study of the actual historical development, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, together with all those who considered themselves orthodox Marxists, arrived at the incontrovertible conclusion that no exploitative ruling class in history ever has, or ever will, "peacefully" surrender its position of power and privilege without a violent struggle.

That is the lesson history teaches. Has anything happened since the turn of the century to controvert that lesson? The greatest event in the 20th Century was the Russian Revolution of 1917. For the first time in history the working class seized state power and proceeded to expropriate the expropriators and to organize production on the basis of nationalized property and a planned economy. Capitalism strove mightily to destroy the revolution and failed.

## With Due Respect

With all due respects to Khrushchev's historiography, what were the views of Lenin, who expressed the prevailing opinion of the leadership of the Bolshevik party? To Lenin, the Russian Revolution, signified the opening phase of the world revolution. Our epoch, he affirmed, is an epoch of wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings. The two irreconcilable systems, Socialism and Capitalism, cannot continue to exist indefinitely side by side, he insisted, one or the other must prevail.

Has Lenin then been proven wrong? One has only to review the historical development since the October Revolution of 1917 to find ample confirmation of his prognosis. Did he then disavow "co-existence" with capitalism and preach war as the alternative? That is what the Khrushchevites charge against those who differ with their "peaceful co-existence" policy. Lenin viewed the struggle between the two systems as part of an inexorable historical process encompassing a whole historical period. So long as the extension of the revolution was delayed there was no alternative to "co-existence" — but it has been far from peaceful.

Lenin never entertained the view that, pending the outcome of the historic conflict, the Soviet Union could proceed to "build socialism in a single century." That concept is pure Stalinism. Nor did the idea ever enter his head that capitalism would "peacefully" abdicate if and when "socialism" demonstrated itself as a "new and progressive" means of developing and advancing the productive forces. Such an idea would have been anathema to him.

To Lenin the essence of the problem was political. He never tired of explaining that politics is generalized economics. That the political struggle will decide. And acting upon his words he officiated at the formation of the Third (Communist) International which he viewed as the vanguard of the working-class struggle for overthrow of the "old and moribund" capitalist system. Stalin dissolved the Third International, true, after it had become a stinking corpse, in deference to his policy of "peaceful co-existence."

Now Khrushchev goes Stalin one better and announces that, having established "socialism" finally and irrevocably in the Soviet Union, they are now proceeding to build the communist order. Providing of course, that there is peaceful competitive co-existence, during which the Soviet Union would first overtake, and then surpass the productive capacity of the United States.



SOVIET PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV and East German President Walter Ulbricht, shown together on a previous occasion, are presently engaged in similar public demonstrations of cordiality and political closeness as they prepare for debate with Chinese at Communist Party congress in East Germany.

According to orthodox Marxism, "socialism" would only begin at the highest point reached by the most advanced capitalism. According to Khrushchev the Soviet state has already left "socialism" behind and is rapidly advancing to its "communist" goals. In a recent pamphlet, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, entitled: "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union," these goals are outlined by the author, Fred Warner Neal. Neal is highly critical of the belligerent Washington policy toward Moscow which he contends is based on an incorrect appreciation of the Khrushchev "co-existence" line.

"In 1959," writes Neal, "Khrushchev declared that the U.S.S.R., alone — was on the verge of entering the Communist stage: a sort of 'communism in one country.' Communist economic plenty, he indicated, would be no consumer's cornucopia in the American fashion but simply satisfaction of essential consumer needs by Soviet standards. To prove that he really meant it, Khrushchev literally inundated the Soviet Union with propaganda commitments to overtake U.S. production in certain key items."

"Such promises," adds Neal, "of limited economic plenty in the U.S.S.R. — whether American production is actually equalled by 1970 or not — is within the realm of possibility, but only on one condition. The condition is that substantially fewer resources than at present be devoted to military purposes."

Therein lies the catch. At the recent confab of the Supreme Soviet Congress, the Russian leaders were compelled to take cognizance of the turn of events since the height of the Cuban crisis. With its "cold war" victory in the Caribbean, Washington adopted an even more aggressive foreign-policy posture than ever before. At the same time, it was disclosed that there was a growing "missile gap" that made it necessary for the Soviets to allocate a larger proportion of its productive capacity for military armaments. This must inevitably set back the target date for the achievement of Khrushchev's utopian goal.

In the meantime, Washington has increased its pressure on its European allies, to enhance their economic viability through the instrumentality of the Common Market. The pressure of the productive forces has long since outgrown the political barriers of the national states. With the advance of technology the expansion of the productive forces are more and more dependent on the world market. This is as true of the Soviet Union as it is of the capitalist states.

To the representatives of the capitalist ruling class in Washing-

ton, "competitive co-existence" consists of organizing the capitalist world for economic warfare against Russia and its allies while increasing its political pressure by expanding its enormous outlays for military "hardware" to compel the Soviet Union to keep pace.

What then is the solution? It is none other than the one envisioned by Lenin. The victory of October, in the last analysis, can be guaranteed only by the extension of the revolution, especially to the more advanced capitalist countries. Since Lenin's day the isolation of the Soviet Union has been broken. Today the workers' states encompass a substantial section of the human race and a large part of the earth's surface. But the policy and practice of "national communism" is a major barrier, although not the only one, to uniting the countries of the Soviet bloc in defense of their social conquests.

I think Campbell puts the matter upside down when he refers to the "rising aspirations of the colonial world" as a factor that tends "to 'freeze' the equilibrium and to give some credence to the theory" of competitive co-existence. On the contrary, this is a factor of the most explosive revolutionary potential. That is, if what is meant by "rising aspirations" refers to the aspirations of the people for a better life and not the fruitless "aspirations" of the leaders to find a solution within the framework of the capitalist system.

I am afraid that what does tend to "freeze the equilibrium" is the policy of "peaceful co-existence" as applied by the Khrushchevite bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and aped by their disciples throughout the world. For it is a policy which is based on maintaining the status quo in a world bursting with revolutionary energy so as not to upset the utopian scheme of "building communism in one country."

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This is to announce the complete success of the *Militant* sub drive for 1,200 new subscribers. The total is now 1,209 and this effort, despite reports throughout the country of zero weather and below, is testimony to hundreds of friends and their amazing persistence. We in the *Militant* office were overwhelmed when we received, after the end of the sub drive, still more new subscriptions in the mail. Denver, for instance, which could not make its quota, mailed in six subscriptions the day after the campaign ended.

The success of this campaign was due to those who not only made their goal but went over it. Detroit, New York, Chicago, Connecticut and Bloomington were especially active and certainly responsible for a large share of our new readers.

We would like, however, to quote part of a letter from our friends in Cleveland, one of the cities unable to fulfill its quota: "We're extremely sorry we couldn't make our quota, of course. But I can assure you that this experience has made us so conscious of our deficiencies as *Militant* salesmen that you can expect a continuing, year-round effort from this area in sending in subs. However, no more promises. The proof of the pudding will be in the subs you'll receive."

Truly, every cloud has a silver lining and, knowing our friends in Cleveland, we are sure they will carry out this promise. Others have written that they, too, intend to devote more effort to *The Militant*. In fact there is no such

thing as an end to a sub campaign. It should become a part of our everyday life. Some trades have what they call a slack season but not a socialist newspaper. Oppression, injustice and exploitation certainly have no slack period, nor can we.

San Francisco mailed in 16 new subs this week and though they were unable to fulfill their quota on time it looks like they are going to get to work on it. All we can say is just keep going. Another city heard from is Seattle. We can expect more from them in the near future.

### Scoreboard

Area	Quota	Total	Pct.
Bloomington	10	43	430
Baltimore	10	16	160
Detroit	100	160	160
Connecticut	30	47	157
Boston	25	36	144
Chicago	90	123	137
Oakland-Berkeley	75	88	137
New York	150	199	133
San Diego	30	36	120
Twin Cities	100	111	111
Milwaukee	25	24	96
St. Louis	10	9	90
San Francisco	75	62	83
Newark	15	12	80
Philadelphia	75	38	51
Akron-Cleveland	75	32	43
Los Angeles	150	50	33
Seattle	75	25	33
Denver	50	14	28
General	30	84	280
Total	1200	1209	101

## ...Jailing of 'Reds' in Peru

(Continued from Page 1)

phone communications were cut off to prevent news of the raids from spreading. Simultaneously, police burst into homes of "Communists" throughout the country, arresting them. About 250 prisoners were flown to the Sapa penal colony, in the Amazon, which can only be reached by air.

Apparently only 21 of those arrested were from the APRA party and these were taken to Lima. "What made the military junta's

arrests suspicious at one point during the weekend," reports the Jan. 8 *Christian Science Monitor*, "was that they included workers, students, and political leaders from a wide cross-section of political parties."

U.S. newspapers are now claiming that the junta's action is really a good thing despite the falseness of the "plot" story, because most of those arrested really are "leftists," because not many members of APRA are being held, and because the junta is not accusing APRA of being involved in the "plot."

### Social Unrest

There is great social unrest in Peru, where half the people of school age or older can't read or write and where 88 per cent of the peasants own only 2 per cent of the arable land. Under these conditions any potential revolutionary leaders are dangerous for the status quo. According to the U.S. government and the major newspapers, then, justice, truth, political democracy, and even "free elections," can be ignored as long as the junta makes sure the Peruvian workers and peasants don't cut out the U.S. corporations by taking the land and factories into their own hands.

Among those on the list to be arrested, but still at large, are Father Salomon Bolo Hidalgo and Hugo Blanco. Father Hidalgo is a Roman Catholic priest recently disciplined by the Church for his pro-Castro leanings. The Jan. 10 *Washington Post* describes Blanco as "a 28-year old Trotskyite . . . whose name is already a legend" in the area of Cuzco where he is leading "a full-fledged Indian peasant guerrilla operation." The peasants, says the paper, are "taking over hundreds of thousands of acres of land that for centuries they had worked for virtually nothing under a medieval feudal system."

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# ...Demonstrators Back Printers' Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

sidered the sides both of the publishers and labor.

Since the report condemned the workers and defended the publishers, the printers hope these other unions now see the mistake made by their leaders in appearing before such a self-styled "impartial body."

Militant and experienced unionists have long recognized that these "third-party" boards are designed to intimidate and pressure strikers to go back to work at the least possible cost to the employers.

Medina's report would have been the same if the strikers had participated in the hearing since the board claimed it had obtained all the facts from the those unions which did appear. It is obvious that if President Powers had appeared before the board, the position of Big Six would have been even more grievously injured by the report. For having once having accepted and entered into the procedure, it would be all the more difficult to repudiate the results.

### Divisive Move

As a direct result of the other printing crafts' decision to appear before the board, the judges succeeded in persuading several of them to enter into negotiations with the publishers. This has the purpose of isolating and dividing the striking printers from the allied crafts since all pressure should be put on the publishers to negotiate first with the ITU which is the only union on strike.

The Pressman's union was the first to enter into negotiations with the publishers during the Board of Public Accountability hearings. This, President Powers said, had caused a "severe handicap" for the striking union. "It puts us at a disadvantageous position to have a second union negotiating while we're negotiating," he said.

Should any of the other crafts sign a contract while the strike and lock-out continues, President Powers said, they either would get a contract inferior to the printers' or they would have to go through the printers' picket line.

It would be treason to unionism's fundamental principle for any of the other craft unions to cross the strong and determined printers' picket lines which are manned 24-hours a day in front of

all nine papers. The other alternative would put any union signing in the same unenviable position now occupied by the Newspaper Guild. It signed a contract for a small package (which the employers have since been trying to force on the printers) before the printers' walkout. Now Guild members must respect the picket lines but when the strike is over they will gain nothing since they are saddled with their new two-year contract. If their union had stood firm and refused to sign until the printers won, they would easily have been able to get incorporated into their subsequent settlement gains made by the printers.

Two law suits were filed by the Pressmen last week. The first by the Pressmen's Union itself, seeks damage of \$1,409,000 from the five papers which locked out their workers when the printers struck the other four.

The second suit, a curious one by 13 pressmen, seeks a court order forcing all nine newspapers to show cause why they shouldn't end their "lock-out" of the pressmen. This suit, if upheld by a judge, might possibly pave the way for a legal order for pressmen to cross the picket lines.

The pressmen bringing this suit contend that their union contract contains a "no-strike, no-lock-out" clause. They want the court to rule that under the contract the publishers must rehire them or allow them to go back to work on all the newspapers — those on lock-out and those on strike.

The publishers' present strategy is an attempt to sow disunity among the crafts. Sensitive to this, Powers, the printers' negotiator, has made several important reductions in the union's original demands.

### Some Concessions

First concession was the near elimination of the demand for a shorter work week, an objective dearly prized by the printers. At present they work a 36¼-hour week and originally asked for a 30-hour week. On the eve of the strike, they reduced the demand to a 35-hour week. This would mean a reduction of only 15 minutes a day.

Powers made a second concession last week in response to the employers' first slight departure from their long-held "take-it-or-leave-it" stand on the Guild package. They made an offer of 50

cents a week above the \$8 (over two years) Guild package. In return, Powers gave up the union demand for a fourth week of paid vacation. As of this writing, negotiations remain deadlocked at this point.

An important development came with yesterday's great solidarity demonstration. The union, for the first time since the strike began, gave its message to the public. This was done by a leaflet headed, "Why The Newspapers Are Not Publishing," and a special four-page newspaper with the headline, "The Truth About the Newspaper Shutdown."

Distribution of these pieces of literature should have an important effect in remedying one of the weaknesses of the strike up to this point — the union's failure to inform and educate the public about the issues of the strike. Distribution of the union literature to the general public will undoubtedly do much to counter the employers' propaganda campaign and will win wider sympathy and support for the strikers.



## It Was Reported in the Press

**Test** — The Kennedy touch team may not like it, but the *Los Angeles Times* reports the view of Canadian psychologist Dr. F. R. Wake that "American football is a 'maturity rite' like the bloody initiation rituals of a primitive jungle tribe." A real test of maturity, "is whether a young man . . . is brave enough to stand up against general opinion when he feels that opinion is wrong. Putting up with the hard knocks of hostile group opinion is a better proof of adulthood than bearing physical pain without complaint or tears."

**As We've Been Saying** — Nuclear explosions are responsible for the recent spell of unusually cold and stormy weather insists Dr. Irving P. Krick, a Denver meteorologist who heads a private weather-forecasting firm.

**Beats Go Underground** — According to an intelligence report in the *New Yorker*, someone inscribed this slogan on a New York subway wall: "Peace Is a Cool Scene."

**A Town With Heart** — Only two of 321 defendants in the York, Pa., city police court were acquitted in 1962. One man was convicted of drunkenness and begging Dec. 27 and sentenced to 30 days in a case in which the magistrate

had been the complainant. The *York Gazette and Daily* reports that when asked if he shouldn't have disqualified himself, the judge said, "If it was some other type of case other than a plain darn old drunkenness case, I'd see it advisable."

**Note to Cubans and Indonesians** — A letter writer in the Jan. 8 *Christian Science Monitor* takes exception to a previous letter which had blandly stated: "No country in all history, no imperial land, embodies the tolerance, the charity, and the reasonableness that are a constituent part of American character." The second writer says this rather sweeping assertion could only be made by someone not familiar with the history of the Netherlands.

**Note to SPCA** — The Jan. 10 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "New Fashion gimmick: Diamond encrusted live beetles which are attached to clothing by tiny gold chains. When not being worn, the beetles live in small boxes and feed on bark."

**Tough-Situation Dep't** — "Some people treat beating a big company as a challenge or a game. They seem to savor figuring out new ways to avoid paying for the services rendered them. There's a feeling we'll never miss the

money," complains a security official of American Telephone & Telegraph which owns 85 per cent of the nation's 81 million phones.

**Our Vanishing Liberties** — A "Gold Star" hospital insurance plan can be purchased only by those who say they practice total abstinence from alcoholic beverages.

**Capitalism, USA** — An investigation of 50 auto repair shops by the district attorney's staff in Queens, New York, found that 48 of the shops were charging for work that was either not needed or was never done.

**Our Rational Society** — It is generally estimated that two out of every five people in the world go to bed hungry at night. Yet, to keep the price high, the U.S. government is now the owner of \$2.5 billion worth of "surplus" wheat.

**Progress Report** — While upholding a 1901 state law prohibiting the advertising of contraceptive devices, the Arizona Supreme Court ruled in favor of allowing the distribution of birth-control literature. The decision, which approved distribution of such literature by the Planned Parenthood Committee of Tucson, also upheld the committee's right to operate birth-control clinics.



## They Remember 39 Dead

## Robena Miners in Safety Strike

By Constance Weissman

One thousand miners of U.S. Steel Corporation's huge Robena coal fields at Carmichaels, Pa., are standing fast in their refusal to return to work pending further investigation of two explosions that killed 39 men.

A public hearing into the latest disaster has begun. That was the blast which ripped through the Robena No. 3 mine at the Frosty Run shaft Dec. 6, killing 37 men. Two months earlier two other miners died in an explosion at this same Robena mine.

James Kelly, recording secretary of United Mine Workers Local 6321, said the miners wanted to know what caused the explosions, what has been done to correct the explosive conditions and what guarantees there are that there will be no more explosions.

## Federal Approval

Kelly said federal and state mining officials had given U.S. Steel approval to resume operating the Robena shaft for the specific area where the 37 miners lost their lives on Dec. 6. The steel corporation ordered the men back to work but the miners are ignoring that order on the grounds that adequate safety measures have not been taken to prevent another tragedy at the world's largest mechanized coal operation. Mine operators are accused of sacrificing safety for production. U.S. Steel had no comment on the miners' action.

After calling a recess in the investigation of the disaster, Pennsylvania's secretary of mines, Lewis E. Evans, said that somebody has been lying about what happened in the mine. Mine inspectors have discovered that the killer blast was caused by an accumulation of methane gas, propagated by coal dust. It is not known what caused the spark that set off the explosion.

Evans feels certain that lies have been uttered concerning tests for gas during the 4 p.m.-to-midnight shift on the eve of the explosion, according to the *Pittsburgh Press*. Although Assistant Foreman Albert Dillow insisted under oath



**BLOOD AND COAL.** Body of miner is carried out after disaster in Welch, V. Va. Investigation of this explosion like recent one in Carmichaels, Pa., revealed unsafe conditions. Management's disregard of safety is built-in feature of U.S. coal mining also called murder for profit.

he found no accumulation of gas in the mine on that shift, four men in his crew testified that Dillow voiced concern about gas in the mine that day and ordered certain changes made in the ventilation system to get rid of the fumes. The *Pittsburgh Press* reports that other testimony hinted "a gradual erosion of safety practices at the Robena complex."

The Robena miners will be paid unemployment compensation as long as they refuse to enter the mine for safety reasons. A. Allen Sulcove, Pennsylvania secretary of labor and industry issued this unprecedented instruction to the Bureau of Employment Security. The maximum weekly unemployment benefit is \$40 per week.

Sulcove said that he issued this instruction in such a way that the door was left open for "an informal protest if employers who support the unemployment compensation fund want to make one."

The number of miners killed in the first ten months of 1962 — therefore not including the 37 killed in Robena on Dec. 6 — was 201, according to the *United Mine Workers Journal*. Miners were killed by falling roofs, faces and ribs, by haulage, explosions, machinery, electricity and explosions as well as surface accidents. Although the public is not aware of it, since only major disasters are reported, mining continues to be murder for profit on the part of the operators.



Robert F. Kennedy

and others to defend Advance from the with-hunting attack and to make a statement of support to Advance as did the YSA.

If the Attorney General succeeds in his purpose, the students will suffer a real setback. The witch hunt on the campus will grow and students will be more cautious about considering dissenting ideas. The students struggling for peace and the Southern youth fighting for civil rights will meet stiffened resistance. But if the student unite to fight back, Kennedy's attack can boomerang and the rights of students will be strengthened.

Now is the time for the student movement to stand firm on the principles of democracy and unite around the slogan *an injury to one is an injury to all*.

## Spanish Labor Wrests Pay Hike from Franco

By Robert Shann

Generalissimo Franco, fascist dictator of Spain, announced Jan. 1 that the official minimum wage will be raised from 60c to \$1 per day for unskilled workers. The chief cop of Spanish capitalism is trying to stifle the combativity of the workers and poor peasants with 40c per day!

Since the strikes of last May, when 100,000 workers defied Franco's no-strike law, workers' groups have grown and begun to flex their political muscles. Unofficial committees have appeared to negotiate for strikers in walk-outs which have taken place since the May strikes. These strike committees have circumvented the government-controlled "unions" which officialdom calls "classless organizations" designed to keep labor peace.

The *National Observer* of Jan. 7 reports: "Clandestine meetings around the country . . . seem to be preparing a revival of the two unions that were powerful before the civil war of 1936-39: The Socialist-bent UGT and the anarchist-inspired CNT. The UGT is rising again in Asturias, the CNT in Barcelona and the Aragon region."

In the same article a shipyard worker in Bilbao is quoted: "You think we are going to retreat, do you? You don't think after Asturias of last May we are going back, do you? If you do, you're in for some surprises." A "veteran foreign diplomat" described the mood of the workers in the huge industrial plants in Bilbao as "sullen."

The fascist government has passed new laws and issued decrees re-affirming the illegality of strikes and attempting to enforce compulsory arbitration. During a strike in Sept. at the German-owned Siemens electrical factory in Barcelona, the government intervened and locked out the workers after they had engaged in a sit-down strike for increased wages. The workers retaliated with stones aimed at the administrative personnel and buildings.

Despite the oppressive police rule of the capitalists, which is the essence of the Franco dictatorship, the workers are compelled to fight against their near-starva-

tion living standards. The average per capita income is but \$325 a year. Of all the European countries, only Portugal has a more wretched living standard.

In addition to the pressure of the workers, the Franco regime faces an acute problem with the poverty-stricken peasantry. In Andalusia, farmers were recently reported working for 40, 50 and 60 cents a day. Even the government gives verbal recognition to the fact that the need for land reform is explosive in this region.

Meanwhile, the Spanish capitalist class and its fascist regime, which survive by the grace of American guns and dollars, dream of wresting a big enough handout from the U.S. to one day buy off the workers with a standard of living comparable to the rest of Western Europe. "If not," a Spanish diplomat dourly informed newsmen, "the danger of communism or Castroism is always with us."



Franco

## Gov't Thought-Control Move

## Seek to Outlaw Youth Group

By Barry Sheppard

National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the Advance Youth Organization to register as a "Communist front" under the McCarran Act. Such registration would bring the New York City youth group under the category of "foreign agent."

This is the first time that a section of the student movement has been directly attacked by the witch hunters. The purpose of Kennedy's move is to hold down the growing movement of protest on the campus and to inhibit the student struggle for peace, civil rights and democracy. The attack is an attempt to re-establish the atmosphere of unthinking conformity which characterized the campus of the 1950s.

The powers that be falsely labeled the Communist Party a "foreign agent" last year, and they have begun to extend that label to other groups. This is the first attack upon a student organization but if it succeeds it will not be the last.

Kennedy's petition said that the purpose of Advance is to "support the Communist Party by conducting picket lines, protest rallies, propaganda campaigns and other activities." In other words, by ad-

vocating certain ideas in a completely constitutional manner, Advance has become a "foreign agent" in the twisted logic of Kennedy and the other witch hunters.

The Young Socialist Alliance said in a leaflet: "Any group that conducts 'picket lines, protest rallies, propaganda campaigns' for ideas which the Attorney General doesn't like or which happen to also be the ideas of the Communist Party on a particular subject, can be labeled a 'foreign agent.' It just so happens that the Communist Party favors integration and peace — are all the other people in the United States who also stand for these social goals 'foreign agents'?"

## In Solidarity

The YSA leaflet has been distributed across the nation at the major campuses. In a letter to Advance the YSA expressed its solidarity with them in their fight against the actions of the Attorney General. The YSA is offering to co-operate in every way with Advance and all other youth and student organizations in building as broad a defense movement as possible. In this connection the YSA sent a letter to the Young Peoples Socialist League, youth section of the Socialist Party, asking it to co-operate with the YSA

## Washington Threatens Ceylon On Take-Over of Gas Stations

The United States government is threatening to stop all aid to Ceylon on Feb. 1 unless compensation is paid for oil company properties that were nationalized by that Asian country last year.

The properties which were taken over by Ceylon's Minister of Commerce, Trade, Food and Shipping, T. B. Ilangaratne, belonged to Shell Oil, a British company, and to Caltex and Stanvac, U.S. companies.

Ceylon has no oil deposits of its own, so only gasoline stations, depots, kerosene outlets and bunkering facilities were involved.

According to the *Washington Post*, Ceylon's government contended that the oil companies had been overcharging for the refined products brought in from their Middle East refineries. "Ceylon quickly concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union to bring in its fuel at lower cost and through a barter arrangement that saved Ceylon from expending scarce hard-currency foreign exchange," wrote *Washington Post* staff reporter Warren Unna on Jan. 8.

Involved in U.S. aid to Ceylon

is an annual grant of \$1.3 million for projects, technicians and supplies. The law under which withdrawal of the aid is being threatened is an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act introduced by Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) to protect International Telephone and Telegraph Co. interests in Brazil. The Brazilian government had taken over the \$15-million IT&T subsidiary in Rio Grande do Sol last February. Subsequently, the Brazilian government took the required "appropriate steps" to compensate the IT&T so U.S. aid to Brazil is not in danger.

The Ceylonese government actually nationalized 20 per cent of the foreign oil companies' facilities. But since these were the installations nearest city traffic, the seizure amounted to 50 per cent of their former business. The Shell Oil Co. valued its properties at \$15 million. Stanvac valued its assets at about \$2.5 million and Caltex valued its at about \$1.5 million.

The Ceylon government's Ceylon Petroleum Corp. has been using the seized gas stations for distribution of the cheaper Soviet fuel.