

THE MILITANT

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Chinese Assail U.S. Communist Program

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A Marxist Evaluation of Chinese Stand

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Photo courtesy Times of Ceylon

PROTEST U.S. SQUEEZE. Dr. N. M. Perera, Trotskyist member of parliament, addressing giant rally of workers in Colombo Feb. 16 protesting withdrawal of U.S. aid from Ceylon. U.S. action was reprisal against Ceylon's nationalization of American and British owned oil products companies. Rally was united front action of working class parties, including Lanka Sama Samaja Party and Ceylonese Communist Party. See story page 8.

Challenge to de Gaulle

French Labor Backs Striking Miners

By Pierre Frank

PARIS — France's coal miners have been out on strike since March 1. Other strikes have likewise been called, the iron miners in the east, the natural gas workers of Lacq.

The miners' struggle, by far the most important, has aroused strong feelings of solidarity. In the mine areas not only the workers in other industries, but the mine engineers, small businessmen, even the clergy, immediately supported the demands of the miners as justified.

Particularly significant was the backing of the mine engineers. They are highly qualified technicians who constitute the actual management of the nationalized mines. Their expressions of sympathy with the strikers, including the donation of two days pay, is unprecedented.

These manifestations of support were followed by 15-minute solidarity stoppages throughout France. In addition, the gas and electric workers stopped work for two hours in token of their sympathy and the railway workers are scheduled to follow with similar action. Expressions of solidarity are now spreading across the entire continent of Europe. Coal has become "hot cargo" and workers in other countries are refusing to handle deliveries for France.

The point of departure for the miners' movement was the demand to bring their wages back to the level lost through inflation. In recent years, faced with mounting prices, workers in private industry, above all the skilled layers, have been able to maintain their standard of living, primarily because of full employment and a scarcity of labor. But government workers and functionaries, employees of cities and public services and of nationalized enterprises (like the mines) have not received

sufficient wage increases to make up for declines in the standard of living.

The miners have felt this particularly acutely. Right after the war, when there was urgent need for their labor, they made gains. Today with the decline of coal as a source of energy, they are working in a sick industry. Statistics show that since 1957 wages of the miners have fallen 11.5 per cent behind those of private industry.

After beating around the bush for a long time, the government decided on a mockery of an increase — two per cent at the beginning of this year and another increase at the end of 1963 which would have brought wages up a total of 5.77 per cent.

Why such an attitude on the part of the government? If one disregards the traditional red tape (and this has played a certain role), the main reason is that the government wants to hold down inflation, setting an example by limiting wages.

It also appears that at the end of February the government, like the unions themselves, had no clear idea of what the reaction of the miners might be toward the limited increases that were granted. The CGT (*Confédération Générale de Travailleurs*), to which most of the miners belong, did not call for more than a two-day work stoppage before taking a definitive decision. The other unions, the FO (*Force Ouvrière*) and the CFTC (*Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens*), called for an unlimited strike.

But the government happened to give an impulse to the struggle as well as a political tone to it by deciding to "requisition" the miners; in other words, to mobilize the miners on the job and force them to work like soldiers. In this

way the government dealt a blow to the right to strike.

It was not the first time the government has acted in this way. However, up to now it has issued such an order only to small groups of workers (a couple of hundred or so) and the unions limited themselves to registering some timid protests.

Requisitioning the miners was a little too big a bite to swallow in

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The Kennedy Wall

An Editorial

The United States government mortally fears a free exchange of ideas with Cuba. It is seeking to impose thought control on Latin America and is prepared to crush any traditional civil liberties that stand in the way. That is the clearest fact to come out of the Costa Rica conference last week between President John F. Kennedy and the heads of state of the five Central American governments and Panama.

"We will build a wall around Cuba," said Kennedy as the conference opened. Kennedy asserted it would be a wall of "freedom." But a wall to keep out ideas is totalitarianism in any language. Sometimes it is called an iron curtain.

A six-point plan to this effect was prepared by the United States Government, discussed among the officials at the conference, and reportedly presented to the conference itself, where the proceedings were secret. George Nathanson writes from Costa Rica in a March 17 news service dispatch:

"The six points, said to have the strong support of U.S. military leaders, include: 1) Greater control over the movement of Latin Americans to and from Communist bloc nations, especially Cuba. 2) Tighter reigns on the flow of Communist Propaganda in Latin America. 3) Restrictions through effective police action on the traditional rights of citizens to demonstrate . . . elimination of the right of asylum for students on the campuses of Latin American universities . . . Judicial reforms providing stricter prison sentences for proved Communist plotters."

Nathanson reports that José Figueres, former president of Costa Rica, commented: "This smacks too much of establishing a police state." But that won't bother "wall-of-freedom" Kennedy.

Why Printers Vetoed Wagner Contract Deal

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, March 19 — The Mayor's contract was rejected.

The fighting Big Six printers voted down Wagner's recommendations 1,621 to 1,557 at Manhattan Center, March 17, in the teeth of veiled threats of withdrawal of strike support by a wide combination of labor bureaucrats.

Among those combining against the printers were: ITU President Elmer Brown; AFL-CIO President George Meany — acting through his New York representative, Michael Mann; Central Trades Council President Harry Van Arsdale; and the leaders of the Newspaper Guild and a number of printing craft unions.

This combination of forces to pressure the printers into accepting a contract they don't want, was frankly disclosed by Big Six President Bertram Powers at the stormy Sunday meeting attended by more than 5,000 workers.

Powers said he and the local's scale committee originally rejected the mayor's contract as "unsatisfactory," particularly in its economic terms. He thought additional gains were to be had by continuing the strike.

Powers recommended support of the Mayor's proposals not because it was the best possible contract obtainable after a long, hard strike, but because the Big Six printers found themselves, on the fateful night of the Wagner proposals, alone, with their support falling away.

President Brown accepted the contract. Van Arsdale and Meany's spokesman said that if the strike continued, the printers would be "alone" and the other printing union leaders expressed the same sentiment, Powers revealed.

It was because of this new relationship of forces that he had re-

versed himself and accepted the contract, Powers explained. The much-publicized "hailing" of the mayor's settlement by labor leaders was in reality pressure against the printers to force them to accept an unsatisfactory contract.

The vote of 1,621 to 1,557 was not as close as might be assumed. The newspaper pickets are overwhelmingly against the contract by margins of from five to ten to one. There are 2,700 striking printers and more than 6,000 commercial printers in Big Six. All are eligible to vote. However, many job printers abstained.

It is estimated that 2,000 of the 2,700 strikers were present — a high attendance percentage. It can be taken for granted that the great majority of the 1,621 NO votes came from them. The commercial printers were the principal source of the pro-contract vote. Strong disapproval of the contract had been registered earlier by unofficial votes in newspaper chapel (shop) meetings.

Attempts have been made to lump the genuine rank-and-file dissatisfaction against the contract with the opposition within the local. In the union's two-party system, Powers is a Progressive and Thomas Kopeck, the local's secretary-treasurer, belongs to the right-wing Independents. But many Progressives, who remain supporters of Powers, oppose the proposed contract.

Every report from the picket line reflects the continued militancy and determination of the pickets to stay out until they get a satisfactory contract. Their prin-

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Jailed Peruvian On Hunger Strike

LIMA, Peru — Ismael Frias, a leading Peruvian Trotskyist, was placed in Carrion Hospital at El Callao, a suburb of this city, after a 21-day hunger strike in Peru's notorious El Fronton prison. Although authorities have made no statement, it was learned that Frias' condition was fair.

He was arbitrarily arrested Jan. 5 in the nation-wide witch-hunt that swept up some 1,200 trade unionists, intellectuals and radical political figures. Thrown into the concentration camp at El Sepa, Frias was later transferred to the dungeons of El Fronton.

Other Trotskyist leaders, herded with hundreds of members of the labor movement into the El Sepa camp, included Carlos Howe, Jorge Zagarra and Abraham Zevallos. They were later released.

Frias belongs to the wing of the Trotskyist movement adhering to the International Secretariat of the Fourth International; the others to the International Committee. The two sectors have joined forces in fighting the witch hunt unleashed by the dictatorial military junta. They report that despite the repression, the Trotskyist movement in Peru is growing in size and influence.

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Monday, March 25, 1963

LONDON LETTER

'When the American Economy Sneezes ...'

LONDON — Deepening recession, signs of industrial unrest, a growing groundswell for the Labour Party and a display of ludicrous ineptness in the ruling class mark the scene in England as this winter of discontent comes to a close.

Aside from their own domestic troubles, the British capitalists are anxiously watching danger signals across the Atlantic. For instance, the continued imbalance in U.S. trade, leaving this year a gap of "only" \$2.2 billion — after all the strenuous efforts to close it made by Kennedy's financial wizards. The reason is obvious. As a wag once said: When the American economy sneezes, the British is prone to catch pneumonia.

Anxiety is increased — although this cloud has something of a silver lining for some British exporters — by the plight of American investment below the Rio Grande. The *Guardian* reports (March 8):

"A picture of deep and dangerous tensions in Latin America is drawn by Sir George Bolton, chairman of the Bank of London and South America, in his annual review. In some parts of the area, he says, capitalism has already been brought to the verge of defeat by the almost unbearable economic conditions of the rural population and the rampant inflation. Much the greater part of the human, natural and capital resources of most of the republics is unemployed, Sir George reminds us."

This bank president, who knows whereof he speaks, goes on to criticize indirectly the "Alliance for Progress" program which has really only aided the rapacious Yankee profiteers and their local associates, and warns of the coming bankruptcy of governments throughout the continent. The paper continues:

"He [Sir George Bolton] quotes two estimates which give edge to these misgivings: Latin America's total indebtedness in respect of suppliers' credit amounted at the end of 1961 to \$3.5 billion: and

the volume of capital held by Latin Americans outside their countries is believed to be between \$5 and \$10 billion."

Obviously, the banking gentry have reason to be anxious. Capital is in flight from Latin America, just at a time when their Tory representatives point to that area as one of the substitutes for the European Common Market, from which they have been barred by de Gaulle.

On the home front, while strikes in auto plants continue (mainly in defense of shop stewards, and to equalize conditions with places where previous struggles have been successful), big trouble is brewing with the white-collar workers. The teachers are at the forefront at the moment fighting against government interference with a wage increase they have just reached with local authorities. But the bank employees are expected to go into action soon. They have received a fillip from an odd source: The International Labor Office (UN) at Geneva has just advised the British government to look into the unfair (company union) practices of the big banks that interfere with unionization. It is the first time such an action has been taken with regard to England.

As an employer, the War Office here recently had a spot of bother with the Beefeaters ("Yeoman Warders of the Tower of London") who threatened to strike, until they were given an increase in pay.

Now, these ancient stalwarts seem to have served as an example to another old bulwark, the

famous Scots Guards. Twenty-five of them walked out of barracks and went AWOL together in protest against "bull." This army term here is defined as "tedious, unnecessary and stultifying chores."

The last few days, their insubordination is making headlines here. Shades of Invergordon . . . and the *Bounty*.

Were it not for growing unemployment — *The Times* in a special article about "Shadows over Wales" reports that more than 6 per cent are jobless in that heavy industrial area — there would probably be even more widespread strikes. As it is, the workers look more to the political field for solutions, and support for Labour is growing in the middle class as well. *The Guardian* (March 8) reports:

"Mr. Wilson As Top TV Star: The Labour Party's political broadcast screened simultaneously by the BBC and the ITV [commercial TV] on Feb. 27 attracted the largest homeviewing audience for any television programme, Television Audience Measurement Ltd. said yesterday."

"Mr. Wilson was seen in 9,793,000 homes, 289,000 more homes than were tuned in to watch the Prime Minister's record-breaking broadcast in January."

This refers, of course, to Harold Wilson, the new leader of the Labour Party.

The Transport and General Workers' Union, Britain's biggest (over 1,250,000 members) has just voted to appropriate \$200,000 for the Labour Party's election campaign.

— T. J. Peters

The Chinese Criticisms of CPUSA

Elsewhere in this issue we reprint in full the Chinese Communist document entitled "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA." In it the Chinese cite part of the sorry record of political class collaboration by the Communist Party in this country. They correctly point out that the CPUSA apologizes for the Kennedy administration and for the U.S. capitalist class. They also point out that the CPUSA sees a solution to the threat of war and the other political problems of mankind, not in mass revolutionary struggles, but in summit meetings and power politics.

These are criticisms which until recently had been made only by the Trotskyists, but now they are being made more and more by militants in the radical movement generally.

The Chinese document declares these CP policies to be a reversion to the policies of Earl Browder, who headed the CP until 1946. It says the policies of William Z. Foster, who took over from Browder, were essentially different. This is not true.

Foster also supported and apologized for the Democratic Party. Foster also "prettified" the U.S. capitalist class in the furtherance of class collaboration. He even envisaged "important sections of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly itself" as capable of being drawn into an effective peace movement. (*Political Affairs*, Oct. 1955).

The difference between the Browder and Foster regimes is simply that Browder operated in the labor upsurge of the 1930's and the Second World War, while Foster was CP chairman during the cold war and the witch hunt. In Browder's time the capitalist class in this country was willing to use the CP to sidetrack any independent political action by the working class. In the late 1940's and 1950's, however, the capitalists ceased collaborating with the CP and instead used it as a whipping boy for propaganda purposes. Throughout, however, the CP policy since the early years of the Roosevelt administration has been to seek class collaboration, not class struggle, in politics.

The author of that policy of abandoning revolutionary struggle and of relying instead on class collaboration and power politics was Joseph Stalin. The roots of the CP's present policy, of the CP's degeneration, as well as Khrushchev's current policy trace back to the accession to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy. These roots — and the real meaning of the current disputes — cannot be understood without an honest scrutiny of this history. Of primary importance are the contemporaneous analyses by Leon Trotsky — the chief defender of the Leninist ideology against the Stalinist degeneration.

... Ceylonese Protest Against U.S. Squeeze

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prestige is today at its lowest ebb, as Uncle Sam, hitherto supposed generous, has turned out to be the big bad wolf.

The middle-of-the-road government of Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike which has proved to be thoroughly incompetent in handling domestic issues, though attempting to pontificate over world problems such as the Sino-Indian Border dispute, will certainly be unable to tackle the American aid problem. The sniveling attitude of Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister Without Portfolio, the nephew and mouthpiece of the premier,

made this evident. A statement by him said, "The leftists in this country want to kick the aid we already get. I do not agree with this, let us take what is given" (one might add, in spite of the American kicks!). The miserable and hungry children have shown more self respect than well-fed cabinet ministers!

Prices Up

The SLFP government is calling upon the people to work harder to tide over the crisis. A few days after the aid was stopped, the government increased the price of sugar by four cents a pound. It buys sugar at 28 cents and now sells it to the consumer at 68 cents a pound. Part of the profits it makes on sugar goes to subsidize rice. The people are surely not going to answer the call of the SLFP as it has proved to be not only inefficient but also corrupt and anti-working class. The United National Party is openly pro-American. Thus it remains for a united left to repulse the American threat. With this end in view, the left-wing parties have come to a common front.

The Trotskyist LSSP gave the call to the other left parties, the CP and the MEP, to come together in a united front at a mammoth meeting in Colombo on Feb. 16, under the chairmanship of the Trotskyist leader and member of parliament, Dr. N. M. Perera. The meeting was preceded by a two-mile-long demonstration of workers and intelligentsia. Slogans shouted were: "Compensation Now!"; "Uncle Sam Go!"; and

"Shun Yankee Bun!" Effigies of the ambassador, Miss Willis and Uncle Sam were burnt and flung into the Indian Ocean nearby.

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Trotskyist member of parliament, and chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee of Trade Union Organizations said that the Ceylon parliament was supreme in this land. It could decide who should distribute oil and who should take the profits. If the Hickenlooper Law has the right to squeeze our throats, then we should have the right to squeeze their (the oil companies') throats.

He added that if the government was not going to carry on the struggle against the American imperialists, the united left would, following the Cuban example, mobilize the masses by taking the struggle to the factories and the countryside. They would nationalize not only American but British interests, such as the tea estates, import and export businesses and the banks as well. In the process they would unitedly throw out the SLFP and the UNP also.

Pieter Keuneman, member of parliament and secretary of the CP, and Philip Gunawardena, member of parliament and leader of the MEP, responded to the call and promised to "fight to the end together till a truly socialist government of workers, peasants and the general masses" was formed.

The meeting also resolved, unanimously, by a mass show of hands, to request the government of Ceylon to send back to the U.S. the Peace Corps, the Asia Foundation and the Voice of America.

The unemployment rate for February was 6.1 per cent of the work force, the highest official figure in 15 months. President John F. Kennedy's manpower report to Congress predicts the unemployment rate will rise to 7 per cent this year unless his proposed tax cut succeeds in spurring the economy. Since 1947, jobs have increased 17 per cent while the work force has increased 21 per cent according to government figures.

Between 1947 and 1957, the private economy provided 700,000 new jobs per year. From 1957 to 1962, it provided only 175,000 annually. The work force, however, it is estimated will increase by over a million persons a year in the next decade.

The Southern Pacific railroad and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have signed agreements ending a strike threat over job security. Some 9,000 clerks now working for the road and 4,000 laid off in the past five years, but still on call, are involved.

The agreement provides for a "natural attrition" elimination of jobs. The company cannot eliminate jobs under the union's jurisdiction because of technological change faster than workers quit, retire, or die. When one worker retires, for example, the company is entitled to eliminate one job, even if it hires a replacement for the person who retired. The worker holding the job which is eliminated gets laid off, unless he has enough seniority to bump someone else.

Workers getting laid off because of this arrangement will receive up to 70 per cent of their pay for one year and 60 per cent for four years. The 4,000 laid off in the past five years will also get some pay. According to the agreements,

other issues will be submitted to binding arbitration. They include a job-retraining program and a formula by which the railroad will reduce its work force temporarily during recessions and depressions.

United Auto Workers members at the General Motors assembly plant in South Gate, California, voted for a strike against speed-up but authorization was refused by regional director Paul Schrade and UAW president Walter Reuther. The strike threat produced a concession from the company March 14 — four additional workers in the service building. The lack of fight shown by the top UAW officials, however, is expected to encourage the company to continue its speed-up drive and to more than offset the few extra hands.

Negotiations between the country's railroads and the five "operating" railroad unions over the work-rules dispute broke off after only one hour on March 13 and are not expected to resume in spite of a plea by Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz. A court ruling declaring legal the companies' plans for the elimination of between 65,000 and 80,000 jobs goes into effect March 29. The unions presumably will have to strike to prevent the job slaughter. A strike call will be almost certainly followed by a 60-day presidential injunction, freezing things as they are.

The railroads' present plans for work-rules changes are more severe than those recommended by a presidential commission. The railroads accepted the commission's report which was challenged by the unions in court. Then the roads made even more severe plans. Their right to put these into effect has been upheld in court.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Hear Detroit Muslim leader Wilfred X speak on *What the Muslims Stand For*. Fri., March 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

Big Capital's Declaration of War on Labor. Speaker, Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 30, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Room 240. Contrib. 75c (students, 50c). Ausp. SWP.

NEW YORK

Can Labor Be a Force for Peace? Speaker, Arthur Berger, union printer and founding member Labor Action for Peace. Fri., March 29, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE MOSCOW-PEKING DEBATE

A Marxist Evaluation of Chinese Stand

By William F. Warde

On Jan. 9 the U.S. Communist party leadership declared its solidarity with Khrushchev in the Sino-Soviet dispute. The March 8 Peking People's Daily replied by attacking Soviet "cowardice" during the Cuban crisis and the notion that "every matter under the sky can be settled if the two 'great men' (Kennedy and Khrushchev) sit together."

It was to be expected that the U.S. Communist leaders would fall in behind Moscow. This accords with their whole past and their present opportunistic policy of seeking salvation for the American people through the liberal and "left" forces within the Democratic party whose pressure will supposedly convert Kennedy from a "captive" of the militarists and monopolists to keeper of the peace. This line logically flows from Khrushchev's course of conciliating the imperialists which is so vigorously repudiated by the Chinese.

New issues arise as the rift between Moscow and Peking widens. Last December Khrushchev taunted the Chinese for being bellicose over distant Cuba while refraining from expelling the British and Portuguese from Hongkong and Macao. Now, in reply, the People's Daily has gone so far as to raise the question of Russia's annexation through unequal treaties in the latter half of the 19th Century of Chinese territories which are presently incorporated in Soviet Siberia. The matter of Macao, and Hongkong was dragged in, says the Chinese paper, "as a fig leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis."

* * *

How should the essence of the Chinese positions be appraised? The most significant feature about them from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics is this. On most of the key issues of the international class struggle in dispute Peking is to the left of the Kremlin and takes more militant stands. The Chinese Communists have thereby moved closer to correct Leninist positions on these points, although they have by no means arrived at a consistent Marxist outlook.

The radicalism of the Chinese in contrast with Soviet conservatism accounts for the warm response to their views among the forces fighting for national and social liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed masses of "the hungry bloc" striving to end neo-colonialism and imperialism welcome the counsels of struggle coming from Peking more than the privileged workers in the wealthier industrialized countries.

What are the main points on which the Chinese Communists have put forward more progres-

sive views than the Khrushchev tendency?

1) **The nature of imperialism.** Khrushchev contends that, since Lenin's day, the world relationship of military, political and economic forces between the capitalist and socialist camps has altered to such a degree that imperialism can be neutralized and world peace assured even though imperialism continues to survive in its major strongholds. Therefore the most urgent central task of both Soviet diplomacy and working class politics is no longer the struggle to abolish capitalism. It is the need to induce "progressive" and "peace-loving" statesmen among the capitalist powers to recognize the wisdom of peaceful co-existence with the workers' states.

The Chinese answer that imperialism has not changed its fundamentally aggressive and warlike character, as the record of the Cold War and U.S. interventions in South Vietnam and Cuba freshly demonstrate. Therefore, in the struggle against the imperialist war preparations, it would be a fatal illusion to base socialist policy upon the peaceful inclinations of any capitalist group.

These differences are focused around the nature of U.S. imperialism today. The Chinese consider the rule of the American monopolists as the greatest threat to world peace and the colonial revolution and Kennedy as their executive head in the White House. Wu Yu-Chang, member of the CCP Central Committee and — ironically — Vice-President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, declared last November that the attack on Cuba "is another proof that Kennedy is more wicked, more reactionary and more adventurous than Eisenhower."

Different Attitude

The Soviet leadership (and its echoers in the American CP) takes quite a different attitude toward the Democratic president. It has never characterized his administration in such terms or placed full responsibility for the aggressions of U.S. foreign policy where they really belong. Khrushchev wants to keep the road clear for summit conferences with Kennedy which will successfully crown his course toward peaceful co-existence.

2) **The struggle for peace.** The Khrushchev tendency argues that the risk of nuclear war can be averted while imperialism and capitalism is left intact. The war-making potential of the profiteers can be nullified without destroying the capitalist system and transferring supremacy to the working people.

The Chinese answer that there cannot be any guarantee of world peace, no end to war, until and unless imperialism is overthrown, above all in the underdeveloped countries where the colonial revolution is in progress. The only reliable anti-war force is the people engaged in struggle for their own ends against the representatives of the rich.

3) **Attitude toward the colonial revolution.** In its search for diplomatic allies, the Kremlin, fearful of upsetting the status quo, has not hesitated to set aside the claims of the colonial revolution and subordinate them to the alleged needs of "peaceful co-existence." To curry favor with de Gaulle and lure France out of the Atlantic Alliance, the Soviet government and the French CP refused until the last hour to aid the Algerian fight for independence. In the Middle East the Iraqi CP, guided by the Kremlin, kowtowed to General Kassim before its illegalization and helped prepare the conditions for the recent overturn of his regime by a counter military coup.

The Chinese, who supported the



AT BANDUNG. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (left, holding bouquet) at 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. Next to him is former Indonesian Premier Sastroamidjojo. At that time Chinese leaders expected to maintain amicable relations with other big independent nations of Asia, regardless of differences in social systems. But conduct of Nehru's pro-capitalist regime in India since then has led Chinese to change their outlook.

Algerian rebels from the first, say that the aims of the colonial revolution should be given priority over diplomatic considerations. The two sides clash most sharply on this question in Southeast Asia and in Latin America where the Communist parties under Moscow tutelage are opposed to the development of the revolutionary movements along Cuban lines which the Chinese spokesmen encourage.

4) **Attitude toward the colonial bourgeoisie.** Where the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is neutralist or friendly toward it, the Kremlin counsels the resident Communist parties to go along with them. The new program of the Soviet CP adopted at the 22nd Congress in 1961 even set up a special category of "national democratic states" of indeterminate socio-economic nature which all progressive forces were duty-bound to support. The support accorded Nehru by the Soviet government and most of the Indian CP leaders in the border conflict with China is the ripe fruit of this policy.

The Chinese advocate distrust of the national bourgeoisie and reliance upon the independent struggles of the masses to secure national and social emancipation. They point out that a colonial revolt which begins with the struggle for national independence, unity or agrarian reform cannot be halted at the elementary democratic stage but tends to pass over into the socialist stage where capitalist power and property are eradicated and economic planning through control of all national resources can be instituted.

This pattern of the colonial revolution unfolding in an "uninterrupted way," empirically deduced from the experience of their own revolution and now extended to cover the struggles in other colonial lands, comes close to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. However, the Maoists obstinately refuse to acknowledge this similarity and continue to denounce Trotsky as a "traitor" who prefigured the path of Tito.

5) **The road to power.** At the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP Khrushchev proclaimed the doctrine that a "peaceful road to socialism" is now possible in the imperialist countries through purely parliamentary means. He has since stated that this revision in Communist theory was introduced by Stalin in the advice he gave for drafting the current program of the British CP.

The Chinese, although they still

praise Stalin as the foremost disciple of Lenin, correctly state that this is a relapse into the Social-Democratic reformism flayed by the Bolsheviks. The Chinese, like Castro, do not exclude the theoretical possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the workers but, they say, the capitalist rulers have not yet provided any example and it would be folly to base the strategy of struggle upon such a prospect. They insist that socialism cannot achieve victory without breaking up the bourgeois state apparatus and creating a new type of regime based upon the workers and peasants.

6) **The Cuban crisis.** Khrushchev has tried to cover up his retreat and his disregard for Cuba's sovereignty in the Caribbean crisis by arguing that all the concessions he made were needed to save world peace. The Chinese have firmly backed the Cubans on all those points where the Fidelistas have been at odds with the Russians. They censure Khrushchev, not for removing the missiles, but for hesitating to give immediate support to the "five conditions" presented by Castro; for spreading the illusion that Kennedy had given a "guarantee" not to invade Cuba; and for not opposing unilateral inspection by the United Nations of military installations in Cuba.

* * *

The sum of these positions put forward in their polemics shows that the Chinese CP advocates a far more aggressive class-struggle policy than the utterly opportunistic and reformist course pursued by the Soviet leadership and its followers from Calcutta to New York. Having recognized this, it must be noted that on a number of crucial questions the Chinese CP has far from cast off its bureaucratic character and Stalinist heritage either in its principles or practices.

1) Khrushchev, the American C.P., Kennedy and the capitalist press all accuse the Chinese of wanting to foment world war in order to achieve socialism. This is a falsehood and slander. The Chinese have carefully explained in recent statements that they favor the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and do not view world war as a necessary or desirable means of bringing about the downfall of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the Chinese statements consistently underrate the costs of nuclear war. They sometimes speak as though capitalism alone would crumble in the atomic blasts and then socialism might

be erected on radioactive ruins. The grim fact is that nuclear war would be the greatest of all defeats suffered by the working people, even if humanity should somehow survive its terrible effects. This underestimation of the perils of nuclear war has helped the Kremlin and others to confuse the issues by playing up "the nuclear teeth" of the imperialist "paper tiger" as a cover for its opportunism.

How is imperialism to be disarmed? The Chinese have a deficient perspective on this crucial question. They effectively develop the argument that only the revolutionary struggle of the masses can defend world peace and that these progressive movements should not be suspended or subordinated for fear of "nuclear blackmail." At the same time they imply that the achievement of military preponderance by the "socialist camp," plus the "people's revolutionary struggle," can pull the nuclear teeth of imperialism.

There are two wrong assumptions implicit in this position. First, that a drastic shift in the "balance of terror" between the opposing power blocs can by itself compel imperialism to surrender its war-making capacities. Second, that the successes of the colonial revolution, plus the economic and military advances of the "socialist camp," can change the international balance of forces enough to paralyze imperialism and prevent the button from being pressed.

This line of reasoning leaves out of account the paramount factor in the world situation: the class relations in the imperialist strongholds. The development of the workers' movement there will be decisive in determining the destiny of mankind in the nuclear age. No matter how many economic, military and political successes are registered by the workers' states and in the colonial lands, the key to permanent peace and a world socialist society of abundance lies within the centers of capitalism, above all, the United States. The war-making powers can be taken from the atomaniacs only through the struggle for the conquest of power by the socialist workers' movement there. The Chinese do not see or clearly state this fundamental fact. Moreover, in so advanced a capitalism as Japan, the Chinese take no exception to the line of the Japanese C.P. that the main task there is, not the fight for workers' power and socialism, (Continued on Page 6)

A Symposium: The Future Of The Negro Struggle

Transcript of a Detroit symposium on the new trends in the struggle for Negro equality and their meaning for the future political and social developments in this country are discussed by George Breitman, contributor to THE MILITANT, Reginald Wilson, managing editor, CORRESPONDENCE, and Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., contributing editor, ILLUSTRATED NEWS.

This stimulating exchange of views is featured in the spring issue of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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Chinese Leaders Assail U.S. Com

[The following is the full text of the editorial entitled "A Comment on the Statement of the CPUSA," which appeared in the Peking People's Daily of March 8. The English translation of the editorial given here is by the Chinese news agency, Hsinhua.]

* * *

On Jan. 9 of this year, the Communist Party of the United States of America issued a statement publicly attacking the Communist Party of China. Certain comrades of the CPUSA have also made a number of other attacks on the Chinese Communist Party in recent months.

The CPUSA statement was particularly vicious in slandering the Chinese Communist Party for the position it took on the Caribbean crisis. It said that the Chinese Communist Party had advocated "A policy leading to thermonuclear war," and that "this pseudo-left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous U.S. imperialists and gives the latter encouragement."

What kind of talk is this? People cannot help being amazed that U.S. Communists should utter such shameful slanders.

The position of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people on the Caribbean crisis was very clear. We supported the five just demands of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, we were against putting any faith in Kennedy's sham "guarantee," and we were against imposing "international inspection" on Cuba. From the outset we directed the spearhead of our struggle against U.S. imperialism, which was committing aggression against Cuba. We neither advocated the sending of missiles to Cuba, nor obstructed the withdrawal of so-called offensive weapons. We opposed adventurism, and we also opposed capitulations. We would like to ask: What was wrong with this correct position of ours? How can it be described as "a policy leading to thermonuclear war?" What was there about it that "dovetails" with the line of U.S. imperialism?

Caribbean Crisis

It is not hard to see that there is a line which does dovetail with that of U.S. imperialism. On the question of the Caribbean crisis, certain leaders of the CPUSA direct the spearhead of their struggle, not against U.S. imperialism, the criminal aggressor against Cuba, but against the Chinese Communist Party, resolute supporter of Cuba. In this respect, aren't they really cheek by jowl with the most adventurous U.S. imperialists?

Since you describe the Chinese comrades, who resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, as being "pseudo-left," we would like to ask: What do you consider to be the genuine left? Can it be that those using the sovereignty of another country as a counter for political bargaining with U.S. imperialism are to be considered the genuine left? To act in that way is indeed to be through-and-through pseudo-left, or rather, genuinely right.

It is no accident that certain leaders of the CPUSA have attacked the Chinese Communist

Party on the question of the Caribbean crisis. This action is a reflection of their completely wrong understanding of U.S. imperialism and their completely incorrect class stand.

For a considerable period, certain leaders of the CPUSA, in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class.

They spoke highly of Kennedy's idea of the "New Frontier," which extends U.S. spheres of influence over all six continents, saying that "to speak of a New Frontier as Kennedy does, is good." (Gus Hall's report to the national committee of the CPUSA, Political Affairs, February 1961.)

They praised Kennedy's inaugural speech, which called on the people of the United States to make sacrifices to promote the cause of U.S. imperialism, saying that it was "a possible opening on the road to peace." (*The Worker*, Jan. 29, 1961)

Sang Praises

They sang praises of Kennedy's State of the Union message of 1961, where he proclaimed the dual tactics of counter-revolution in the words, "the American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left is held a bundle of arrows," and said it was "welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people." (*The Worker*, Feb. 5, 1961.)

They held that the Kennedy administration's "main mass support" is "the working class, the Negro people and the peace forces," and they wished for "a shift in policy . . . in the direction of peace and democracy" on the part of the Kennedy government (Policy Statement by Gus Hall, *The Worker*, July 16, 1961.)

From Kennedy's 1962 State of the Union message, in which he announced the stepping up of armaments to realize the U.S. goal of world domination, they drew the conclusion that the Kennedy administration "can be compelled to yield to the pressures from the people" (*Political Affairs*, February 1962).

They described Kennedy's action, supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices, as having "awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans" and "rendered a great service" (*The Worker*, April 22, 1962).

Commenting on Kennedy's 1963 State of the Union message in which he expressed the intention of using nuclear blackmail to establish "a world of order" led by the United States, they played up his statement that "we seek not the world-wide victory of one nation or system but a world-wide victory of man" and described this deceitful rubbish as Kennedy's "recognition of world realities," which "most people were happy to hear" and which inspired "hopefulness" (*The Worker*, Jan. 20, 1963).

If Attacked

They said that they would "any day and every day" take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the U.S. government. When someone asked "if the Soviet Union attacked the U.S. whom would you support?" the answer was, "I would defend my country if I thought it was being attacked . . ." (*The Worker*, Feb. 24, 1963).

Statements of this sort by certain leaders of the CPUSA, prettifying U.S. imperialism and affirming their loyalty to it, have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conclusions about U.S. imperialism set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Presenting a scientific analysis

of U.S. imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the greatest international exploiter, the center of world reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the people of the world.

Under the cover of "peace" and "disarmament" U.S. imperialism is stepping up arms expansion and war preparation. It is preparing for wars of all types, for all-out nuclear war as well as for limited wars, and it is already waging "special warfare." In order to suppress and sabotage the national-democratic revolutionary movement and to promote neo-colonialism all over the world, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is using dual counter-revolutionary tactics—using the dollar and armed force both alternately and simultaneously—and is employing the revisionist clique of Yugoslavia as its special detachment for this purpose. U.S. imperialism is voraciously plundering the wealth of many countries, not even sparing its own allies. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and rallied around itself all the most reactionary and decadent forces of the world. Today it is the most parasitic, most decadent and most reactionary of all capitalisms. It is the main source of aggression and war.

From the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, from its policies of aggression and war and from world realities, more and more people everywhere are coming to see ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of all oppressed people and nations, the common enemy of the people of the world and the chief enemy of world peace.

U.S. Imperialism

Some leaders of the CPUSA will probably say they do not deny that U.S. imperialism is perpetrating criminal aggression and waging war in various parts of the world. When they mention these criminal activities, however, they always hasten to add that these evils are not the work of the President of the United States, but of the "ultra-rights," or are done by the president under the pressure of the "ultra-right." They have described the former U.S. president, Eisenhower, and the president, Kennedy, as being "sober-minded," "realistic" and "sensible." These leaders of the CPUSA often speak of "two power" centers in Washington, one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon, and speak of "the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-rights, the Republican leaders and Wall Street" as forces independent of the White House. "We should ask: Do the leaders of the CPUSA still accept the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and admit that the U.S. state apparatus is the tool of monopoly capital for class rule? And if so, how can there be a president independent of monopoly capital, how can there be a Pentagon independent of the White House, and how can there be two opposing centers in Washington?"

Let us consider, for instance, the present U.S. president, Kennedy. He is himself a big capitalist. It is he who ordered the armed invasion of Cuba in 1961, and who ordered the military blockade and war provocations against Cuba in 1962. It is he who has carried on the inhuman "special war" in Southern Vietnam, who has used the "United Nations Force" to suppress the national liberation movement in the Congo, and who has organized "special forces" in a frantic effort to crush the national-democratic revolutionary

movement in various Latin-American countries. Every year since he became president, Kennedy has greatly increased U.S. military spending. Kennedy's 1963-64 budget calls for military expenditures of over \$60 billion, or over 30 per cent more than the \$45.9 billion for military expenditures provided in Eisenhower's 1959-60 budget. These facts show that the Kennedy administration is still more adventurous in pursuing policies of aggression and war.

In trying so hard to portray Kennedy as "sensible," are not these CPUSA leaders serving as willing apologists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world?

CPUSA Leaders

The fact that certain leaders of the CPUSA are so eager to prettify U.S. imperialism and so eager to affirm their loyalty to the ruling class of the United States recalls to mind Browder's revisionism, which existed in the CPUSA for some time. This renegade from the working class, Browder, denied Lenin's basic thesis that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism, and denied that U.S. capitalism is imperialist in its nature, maintaining that it "retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" and would play a progressive role and be a force for world peace for a long time. Why don't these leaders of the CPUSA stop and consider: What is the difference between your present embellishment of U.S. imperialism and Browder's revisionism?

It is obvious that differences of principle exist in the international Communist movement today as to how to appraise and how to deal with U.S. imperialism, the arch-enemy of the people of the world.

We have always held that, basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking things as they really are, we must constantly expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, constantly expose the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism, including its government leaders, and clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the people of the world. We must ceaselessly carry on revolutionary propaganda among the masses of the people, arm them ideologically, enhance their revolutionary staunchness and vigilance, and mobilize them in waging the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Marxist-Leninists?

However, there are certain persons who, while calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, do their utmost not only to prettify U.S. imperialism, but also to stop others from unmasking it. They smear revolutionary propaganda against U.S. imperialism as being nothing but "curses," "vilification," "verbal weapons," "incantations," "cardboard swords," etc., etc. And they add, "vituperation alone, however just, will not weaken imperialism." In the eyes of these persons, aren't all the revolutionary propaganda undertaken by communists since the time of the *Communist Manifesto*, all the writings of Marx and Engels exposing capitalism, all Lenin's works exposing imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement jointly drawn up by the Communist Parties of the world—aren't they all only "cardboard swords?" These persons completely fail to understand that once the theory of Marxism-Leninism grips the masses of the people a tremendous material force is generated. Once armed with revolutionary ideas, the masses of the people will dare to struggle and to seize victory, and they will accomplish earth-shaking feats. What then is the purpose of these persons in opposing the exposure of imperialism and in opposing revolutionary propaganda of any



ALL-OUT PERFORMANCE. For Browder at 1944 Convention of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. build enduring world peace. Today peace can be won by supporting OK if not for pressure of "ultra

kind? It can only be to prevent the people from waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Clearly, such a stand is completely contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

We have always held, moreover, that we must rely on the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. This is the basic lesson the Chinese people have drawn from their 120 years of struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. It is also the common lesson which all oppressed nations and people of the world have drawn from their struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. The imperialists and the reactionaries in every country use every available means and method against the revolutionary people. It is therefore imperative for the revolutionary people of all countries to study and master every means and method of struggle that can hurt the enemy and protect and develop their own forces. Examples are: To oppose the counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its running dogs by a revolutionary united front of the masses against imperialism and its running dogs, to oppose dual counter-revolutionary tactics with dual revolutionary tactics, to counter a war of aggression with a war of self-defense, to counter negotiation with negotiation, to oppose counter-revolutionary propaganda with revolutionary propaganda, etc. That is what we mean by "tit-for-tat." Experience has demonstrated that only thus can we temper and expand the forces of the people, accumulate and enrich our revolutionary experience and win victory for the revolutionary cause. And only thus can we puncture the arrogance of imperialism, stop imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

A key pamphlet

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution

An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper

By Joseph Hansen
32 pages 25¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Communists for Support of Kennedy



ner Communist Party boss Earl party. Background portraits are Browder claimed this trio would Communist Party leaders claim Kennedy who they say would be right."

Certain persons, however, deliberately misrepresent and attack our view that a tit-for-tat struggle has to be waged against imperialism, charging that we are opposed to negotiations with the imperialists. Following them, the CPUSA in its statement also misrepresents and attacks this view of ours without any valid grounds. Actually, these persons are not unaware that the Chinese Communist Party has consistently approved of negotiations between socialist and imperialist countries, including summit meetings of great powers, in order to settle international disputes peacefully and relax international tension. They are also aware that the Chinese government has made positive efforts and important contributions to this end.

Why then do these persons keep on distorting and attacking this correct stand of ours?

Rely on Masses

The basic reason is that there is a difference of principle between them and us on the question of the fundamental policy for fighting imperialism and defending world peace. We place our confidence in the great strength of the masses. We hold that in fighting imperialism and defending world peace we should rely mainly on the unity and struggle of the people of all countries, and on the concerted struggle of the socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movements and all peace-loving forces. In contrast, these persons have no confidence in the masses and pin their hopes, not on the unity and struggle of the masses, but mainly on the "reason" and "good will" of the imperialists and on talks between the heads of two great powers. They are infatuated with the idea of summit meetings and laud them as marking "a new stage," "a turning point in

the history of mankind" and opening "a new stream in world history."

In their opinion, the course of history and the fate of mankind are determined by two great powers and two "great men." In their opinion, the statement that all countries are independent and equal irrespective of size is an empty phrase, and the hundred and more countries in the world ought to allow themselves to be ordered about by these two great powers. In their opinion, the statement that the masses are the makers of history is another empty phrase, and every matter under the sky can be settled if the two "great men" sit together. Isn't this great-power chauvinism? Isn't this the doctrine of power politics? Does this have anything in common with Marxism-Leninism? Actually, there is nothing new about this view, it has been copied from the renegade Browder. Browder said long ago that the "alliance" of the two greatest powers in the world "will be a great fortress for the collective security and progress of all peoples in the post-war world," and that "the future of the world" depended upon the "friendship, understanding and co-operation" of the two greatest powers.

Double Standard

With an ulterior purpose, the statement of the CPUSA referred to Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao. It said that the Chinese comrades were "correctly, not following the adventurous policy in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao that they advocate for others. Why this double standard approach?"

We know from what quarter they have learnt this ridiculous charge. And we know, too, the purpose of the person who manufactured it.

Here we should like to answer all those who have raised this matter.

For us there never has been a question of a "double standard." We have only one standard, whether in dealing with the question of Taiwan, whether in dealing with the questions of Hongkong and Macao, or whether in dealing with all international questions, and that standard is Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the interests of the Chinese people and of the people of the world, the interests of world peace and the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries. In international struggles we are opposed both to adventurism and to capitulationism. These two hats can never fit our heads.

Inasmuch as some persons have mentioned Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, we are obliged to discuss a little of the history of imperialist aggression against China.

In the hundred years or so prior to the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the imperialist and colonial powers — the United States, Britain, France, Tsarist Russia, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria, The Netherlands, Spain and Portugal — carried out unbridled aggression against China. They compelled the governments of Old China to sign a large number of unequal treaties — the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, the Treaty of Aigun of 1858, the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, the Treaty of Peking of 1860, the Treaty of Ili of 1881, the Protocol of Lisbon of 1887, the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the Convention for the Extension of Hongkong of 1898, the Treaty of 1901, etc. By virtue of these unequal treaties, they annexed Chinese territory in the north, south, east and west and held leased territories on the seaboard and in the hinterland of China. Some seized Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, some occupied Hongkong and forcibly leased

Kowloon, some put Macao under perpetual occupation, etc., etc.

At the time the People's Republic of China was inaugurated, our government declared that it would examine the treaties concluded by previous Chinese governments with foreign governments, treaties that had been left over by history, and would recognize, abrogate, revise or renegotiate them according to their respective contents. In this respect, our policy towards the socialist countries is fundamentally different from our policy towards the imperialist countries. When we deal with various imperialist countries, we take differing circumstances into consideration and make distinctions in our policy. As a matter of fact, many of these treaties concluded in the past either have lost their validity, or have been abrogated or have been replaced by new ones. With regard to the outstanding issues, which are a legacy from the past, we have always held that, when conditions are ripe, they should be settled peacefully through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the status quo should be maintained. Within this category are the questions of Hongkong, Kowloon and Macao, and the questions of all those boundaries which have not been formally delimited by the parties concerned in each case. As for Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, they were restored to China in 1945, and the question now is the U.S. imperialist invasion and occupation of them and U.S. imperialist interference in China's internal affairs. We Chinese people are determined to exercise our sovereign right to liberate our own territory of Taiwan; at the same time, through the ambassadorial talks between China and the United States in Warsaw we are striving to solve the question of effecting the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. Our position as described above accords not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world.

Why is it that after the Caribbean crisis this correct policy of ours suddenly became a topic of discussion among certain persons and a theme for their anti-China campaign?

These heroes are apparently very pleased with themselves for having picked up a stone from a cesspool, with which they believe they can fell the Chinese. But whom has this filthy stone really hit?

Unequal Treaties

You are not unaware that such questions as those of Hongkong and Macao relate to the category of unequal treaties left over by history, treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. It may be asked: In raising questions of this kind, do you intend to raise all the questions of unequal treaties and have a general settlement? Has it ever entered your heads what the consequences would be? Can you seriously believe that this will do you any good?

Superficially, you seem to agree with China's policy on Hongkong and Macao. Yet, you compare it with India's liberation of Goa. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at once that your sole intention is to prove that the Chinese are cowards. To be frank, there is no need for the Chinese people to prove their courage and staunchness in combating imperialism by making a show of force on the questions of Hongkong and Macao. The imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, have had occasion to sample our courage and staunchness. Shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people, the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people fought for

three years and shed their blood on the battlefields of Korea to repulse the U.S. aggressors. Don't you feel it "stupid" and "deplorable" on your part to taunt us on the questions of Hongkong and Macao?

We know very well, and you know too, that you are, to put it plainly, bringing up the questions of Hongkong and Macao merely



Wm. Z. Foster

as a fig leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis. But all this is futile. There is an objective criterion for truth, just as there is for error. What is right cannot be made to look wrong, nor can wrong be made to look right. To glory in your disgraceful performance will not add to your prestige. How can the correct policy of the Chinese people on the questions of Hongkong and Macao be mentioned in the same breath with your erroneous policy on the Caribbean crisis? How can such a comparison help you to whitewash yourselves? Our resolute defense of our sovereignty in the matter of Taiwan is completely consistent with our resolute support of the Cuban people in defending their sovereignty during the Caribbean crisis. How can this be described as having a "double standard?"

We say to these friends who are acting the hero, it is you, and not we, who really have a "double standard." With regard to the U.S. imperialists, one day you call them pirates and the next you say they are concerned for peace. As for revolutionary Cuba, you say that you support her five demands for safeguarding her independence and sovereignty, but on the other hand you try to impose "international inspection" on her. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, you speak of "fraternal China" and "friendly India" on the one hand, but on the other you maliciously attack China and support the Indian reactionaries in divers ways. As for Hongkong and Macao, while you ostensibly speak for China, you are actually stabbing her in the back. Are you not applying a "double standard" in all your actions? Is this not a manifestation of dual personality?

Great Sympathy

The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people and the Communists and people of the United States are fighting on the same front against U.S. imperialism. We highly esteemed Comrade William Z. Foster, builder of the CPUSA and outstanding leader of the U.S. proletariat. We have not forgotten that the U.S. Communists represented by him warmly supported us Chinese people in the difficult years of our revolution and laid the foundation for friendship between the Chinese and the U.S. parties and between the Chinese and American peoples. U.S. Communists are now being savagely persecuted by the U.S. government; we have great sympathy for them in their difficult position. In a statement issued a year ago,

the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party condemned the U.S. government for its outrageous persecution of the U.S. Communists. The Chinese people also launched a mass movement in support of the U.S. Communist Party. But, for reasons beyond us, the leaders of the CPUSA did not think it worth while to inform its members and the people of the United States of the support given to the U.S. party by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

Obligations

The leaders of the CPUSA assert that they are conscious of their international obligations in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism. We will of course be glad if they indeed have a correct understanding of their obligations. In the United States, there is a powerful working class, there are extensive democratic and progressive social forces, and there are many fair-minded and progressive people in the fields of science, art, journalism, literature and education. In the United States, there are large-scale workers' struggles, there is the ever-growing struggle of the Negro people, and there is the movement for peace, democracy and social progress. In the United States, there is a broad social basis for a united front against monopoly capital and against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. And there are not a small number of genuine communists, both inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States, who firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and dogmatism.

The leaders of the CPUSA can show that they really understand their international obligations and are fulfilling them, if they carry on and enrich the revolutionary tradition of Comrade Foster; if they identify themselves with the masses, rely on them and do arduous revolutionary work among them; if they combat the corrosive influence of the bourgeoisie and the poison of reformism in the working-class movement and eliminate the revisionist influence of the Lovestones and Browders from their ranks, and if they develop the revolutionary struggle of the American people against their imperialist ruling class and co-ordinate this struggle in the heartland of U.S. imperialism with the international fight of all people against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people and the people throughout the world have the highest hopes for the working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the United States.

Unite the People

Today, the urgent task confronting the communists of all countries is to unite the people of the whole world, including the American people, in the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States. The great slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" inspires the people of the socialist countries and the proletariat of all countries, inspires the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, and rallies them all to fight shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States.

We communists throughout the world must unite. We must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and direct the spearhead of our struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States. We must carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

... Analysis of Chinese Stand

(Continued from Page 3)
but to win national independence from U.S. imperialism.

2) Most reprehensible is the refusal of the Chinese to favor the de-Stalinization moves taken in the Soviet bloc since 1956. The continued cultivation of the Stalin cult and antagonism toward the liberalization of authoritarian rule places them at odds with the most progressive forces and anti-bureaucratic tendencies within the Soviet bloc and the Communist parties. This serves to counteract the support which revolutionary militants might otherwise be disposed to give to the Chinese criticisms of Moscow's line.

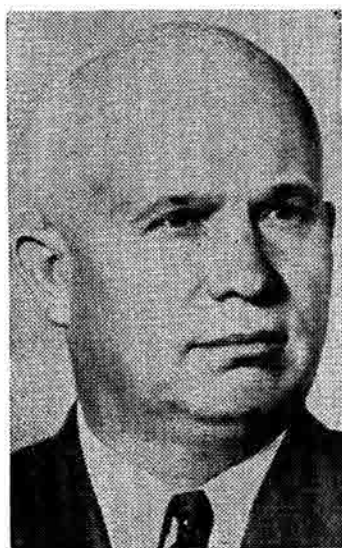
This reactionary attitude is symbolized on the state level in Peking's unprincipled bloc with Hoxha's Albania, one of the most despicable Stalinized regimes in Europe. In the factional fight against Khrushchev the Chinese may also be giving aid and comfort to the discredited Stalinist die-hards in the Soviet Union headed by the deposed Molotov "anti-party" group.

Mao stands at the opposite pole in this respect to Castro who has not only supported the de-Stalinization processes in the Soviet bloc but has taken prompt and energetic steps to check any spread of the bureaucratic infection in Cuba.

3) While Peking praises Albania as a model Marxist-Leninist state, it unwarrantedly dismisses Yugoslavia as a capitalist state which should be ejected from the "socialist camp." Yet the internal regime of Communist Yugoslavia is much freer than the unmitigated despotism of its Albanian neighbor.

4) Although the Chinese Communists attack political submission to the colonial bourgeoisie, they are not consistent in this regard. For example, they do not object to the craven support given by the Indonesian CP to the government of Soekarno who is Nehru's counterpart in that country. It appears that, even in the colonial sphere, Peking's principles are tailored to fit the momentary needs of its foreign policy.

5) Most important of all is the status of the internal regime of the Chinese workers' state and its ruling party. The obdurate resistance of the Chinese CP leadership to de-Stalinization and its proponents is connected with the strict maintenance of its own bureaucratic hold. Since the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the quick withering of the "hundred-flowers-bloom" experiment in 1957, the Mao regime has been very apprehensive of opposition and has maintained rigid control over all domains of social and political activity. Its refusal to abandon such Stalinist practices not only offends powerful progressive currents in the Soviet bloc but runs counter to its own conduct in the dispute with Moscow. The Chinese have declared that they are now a minority in the world communist movement and have the right to be so. They assert that a majority and minority can co-exist in a communist



Khrushchev

movement and that sometimes a minority can be correct against the majority.

This is a far cry from the monolithism of Stalin's era. It can help pave the way for a return to Leninism which permitted the free organization and expression of minority views and the formation of tendencies and factions around them.

Here again the inconsistency of the Chinese CP shows up. What they demand and defend in the international sphere, they refuse to permit within their own party and country. Views dissenting from the official line have not been authorized for publication in recent years.

The exigencies of the contest against Khrushchevism have placed the Chinese CP leaders in the awkward posture of calling for inter-party democracy abroad while denying it at home. However they may work out this particular contradiction, it is plain that the Great Debate has forever pulverized Stalinist monolithism and opened up new channels of free expression in the communist world.

This is one of the most important progressive consequences of the dispute, even though it was not expected or intended by its prime participants. For, if all views have the right to be voiced, if disagreement is legitimized and minorities permitted, it will be increasingly difficult to keep the expression of differences and the exercise of these rights restricted to the state powers and official positions within the international Communist movement.

Next week: Causes of the Sino-Soviet Rift

BOOK REVIEW

A Little-Publicized Face of America

THE OTHER AMERICA. By Michael Harrington. New York: Macmillan, 192 pages, \$4.95.

The Other America is Michael Harrington's answer to John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*. It tells the story of 50 million Americans who live in a subculture of poverty.

One fifth of the people in the richest, most powerful industrial nation in the world live in abject poverty. Most of this large segment of the population are minority peoples — Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans. The Welfare State of Truman, the New Deal of Roosevelt, and the New Frontier of Kennedy, never touch these people. Minimum wages, social-security benefits, unemployment compensation, do not cover most of them.

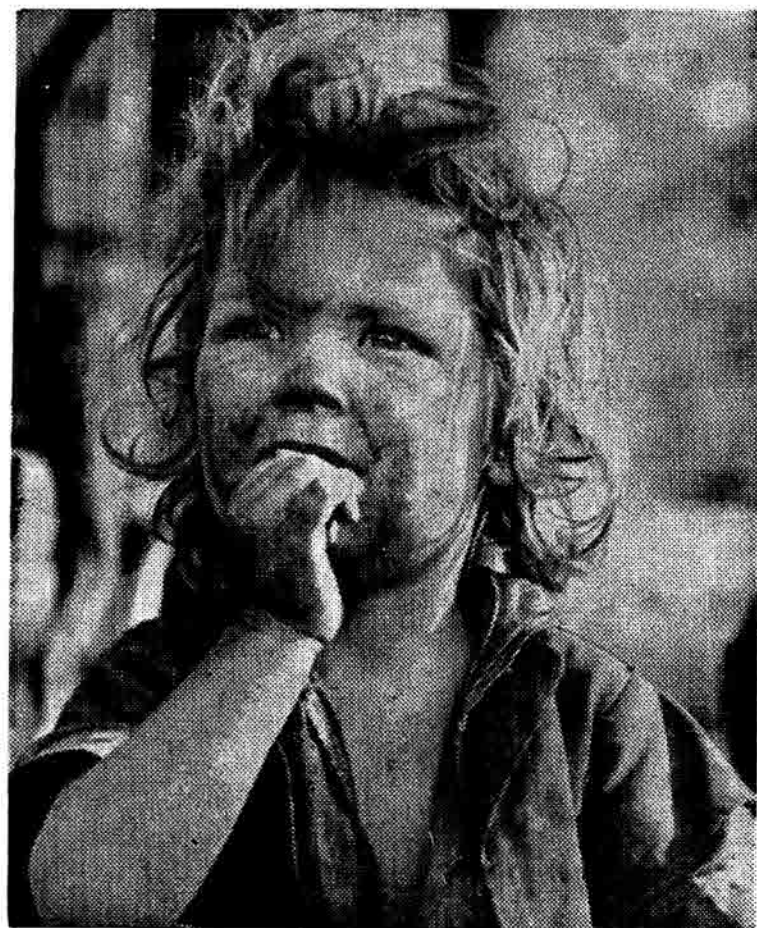
Who are these people?

They are the poor farmers, struggling to get a living out of small worn-out, stony farms. They are the itinerant farm laborers who travel with the crops to harvest the foodstuffs grown on the gigantic factory-farms owned by big corporations.

They are the "underworld" workers who wash the dishes, mop the floors, make the beds in hotels, hospitals and institutions. They are the women stitching away their lives and their eyesight in the runaway sweatshops now mushrooming in ghost coal-mining towns in the Appalachians.

They are the industrial "rejects" who worked the production lines before automation tossed them into the streets, permanently unemployed, "too old" at 40 to get back into the factory work force. They are the aged — a million of whom were never covered by social security — living out that longer life span medical science has given them in misery. They are the displaced miners waiting vainly for "their" pit to open again and give them a chance to serve enough time to make their union pensions payable. They are the people who "inherited" poverty as their lot and who have ceased to expect anything else.

Two million itinerant farm workers travel in buses, trucks, and broken down jalopies, from the South to the North, following the crops. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, displaced farmers, whole families, eke out an existence on an average of 50 cents an hour. One Texas family of five



earned \$3,000 one year — \$600 apiece!

"The underworld" workers, in the sub-basements of the hotels, hospitals, institutions, department stores, sweatshops, earn an average of \$47 a week. Very few of them work any length of time at any one job. They are too easy to replace.

The aged, nine per cent of the total population of 180 million, live on pensions averaging \$70 a month — that is, those covered by social security. More than a million of the nine per cent were never covered by this insurance. In the South this is especially true. Farm labor, service trades, etc., contribute heavily to the number of worn-out old people who have no income at all, except for the miserably low state pensions or direct relief. A Mississippi representative to a White House Conference on the Aged said: "Mississippi's older people are a low-income people in a low-income state."

The coal and iron miners, in West Virginia, Kentucky, and now

northern Minnesota (with the Mesabi iron range closing down) are victims both of sick industries and automation. Under the terms of the United Mine Workers pension plan a miner must have worked 20 out of the past 30 years for the same pit (seniority is not transferable from one pit to another, even for the same company, unless there is a shortage of miners) in order to collect his pension. When a pit closes down the miner has two choices. He can give up all his years of seniority, pull stakes and go to a city to join the ranks of the unemployed there, or stay where he is, hanging around the pit head day after endless day, waiting for a miracle. His wife can bring in a little money working in a garment sweatshop while he takes over her chores, stands in line for government surplus commodities, and waits.

This book packs a mighty wallop. The information it contains will be a valuable addition to your arsenal of facts.

—Marvell Scholl

... French Labor Backs Mine Strikers Against De Gaulle

(Continued from Page 1)
this way. The first to go out on strike despite the requisition were the miners of the Lorraine basin, which is second in importance among the coal fields, and where the government formerly could have counted on a certain response. The labor movement is weakest in the Lorraine basin. In the referendum last October and in the elections in November, de Gaulle got an 80 per cent "yes" vote in the Lorraine and candidates of the de Gaullist UNR (Union pour la Nouvelle République) displaced the former office holders belonging to the MRP (Mouvement Républicain Populaire). Once the Lorraine basin went out on strike, success was assured in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, where Communists and Socialists are dominant and where in the elections of last November they aided each other.

On the eleventh day of the strike, the movement is continuing without the least sign of weakness. The only men going down into the mines are the security teams which the strikers themselves organized to see that no damage occurs below while the pickets watch the gates above.

Through Prime Minister Pom-

pidou, the government vainly pleaded with the miners in a "fire-side chat" March 8 over the radio and television network to go back to work. Squads of the CRS (Compagnie Républicaine de Sécurité, the French gendarmerie) have been sent into the strike regions, but they are being discreetly kept in their barracks for the time being.

This is the first big workers' struggle since de Gaulle came to power in 1958. It also happens to be a struggle against the government-as-boss. It is pointless to debate whether the government made an error, as a big sector of the press believes, in going as far as a "requisition" by a decree "made out at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises" (where de Gaulle lives) and signed by de Gaulle himself.

Error or not, the government power, after having put an end to the war in Algeria (and to do this it had to turn primarily against the extreme right in France), naturally inclines now to turn against the workers. Error or not, it is now committed to a requisition decree, and it is invoking the authority of the state; that is, demanding a return to work before considering any new negotiations on wages.

The miners in France have a tradition of long and militant, if rare, strikes. The last big strike was the one in 1947, notable for its battles with the CRS. After it was lost, the trade-union split occurred that gave birth to the *Force Ouvrière*. This time the strike shows a power of united action among the unions such as has not been witnessed for a long time.

Up to now the strike has developed in calm fashion in the tradition of the miners, with parades, rallies, music and the singing of the *Internationale*. The government appears to be letting it proceed; it has received all kinds of appeals for an understanding, etc. Probably the situation will not crystallize for a while.

But it is quite clear that the government has not given up thought of a test of force, while the unions (all of them) although standing firm up to now on the right to strike, have been anxious to open negotiations. A number of people, it seems, would like to help the government save face. The danger is that it will work out the other way and they will open a breach in the ranks of the strikers.

In the present political situa-

tion in France, the main concern of the workers' movement is to assure the miners of complete solidarity, first of all in compelling the withdrawal of the requisition, secondly in putting the squeeze on for the wage hike.

The first demonstrations of solidarity, as we have indicated above, have been very good. The collection of funds poses the necessity for a Joint Solidarity Treasury. Another need is a Central Strike Committee; that is, a united front of the miners' federations. Other demonstrations must be considered if the government does not give in, especially street demonstrations. The miners must not be left to face the CRS alone.

It was the government which, in its way, brought the miners' strike to a political level, as was noted. But we have not reached the point where the miners and the working class in general have joined battle, even objectively, against the de Gaullist regime as such. We are only at the first great confrontation between the workers and a regime of which they do not have a clear understanding, the traditional working-class parties having done nothing to clarify them on this subject.

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Letters From Our Readers

Soviet Anti-Semitic Issue

New York, N.Y.

Allow me to refer to the "Ten Years Ago" column in the March 4 *Militant* in which you accused the Soviet Union of anti-Semitism in connection with the demagogic Stalinist attack against Zionism as an agency of American imperialism.

It seems to me that your position was ill-advised even at that time and entails some dangerous consequences for the present when a concentrated attack in the capitalist press tries to create an anti-Semitic image of the Soviet Union as part of the cold-war propaganda.

It goes without saying that the rude Stalinist language simplified the real character of Zionism (in the same way that it did with all other adversaries) but it was far-fetched to equate even the most vitriolic assault against Zionism with anti-Semitism. We know from historical experience that the real anti-Semites in Eastern Europe had some "sympathy" towards Zionism, seeing in it a way to get rid of Jews.

The real persecution of the Stalin era many Jews were victims of (if it was not a part of the general extermination of all the independent minds) pertained to the

suppression of the Yiddish language which expressed itself in the execution of many Yiddish writers and the abolition of the Yiddish-language press. As much as we have to abhor this barbaric act of the Stalinist bureaucracy we cannot ascribe it to anti-Semitism in the proper sense of the word. Ben Gurion in Israel hates the Yiddish language, and for some time didn't allow the Yiddish press. But this makes him a Hebrew nationalist, not an anti-Semite. David Dubinsky, who suspended the Yiddish edition of the union paper, *Justice*, can be accused of many things but not anti-Semitism. In the same way, suppression in the Soviet Union of the Yiddish language was an expression of Stalinist terroristic police measures against any deviations from Stalin's views and whims but not anti-Semitism as such.

At the present time the executed Yiddish writers are rehabilitated, their works published (in translations mainly) a Yiddish quarterly is now being published and the Yiddish theater revived. These are, of course, only half-measures relieving the worst effects of Stalin's crimes as the Khrushchev period is in general only the transition period between the Stalin terror and Soviet democracy.

But our Soviet-baiters, instead of admitting this improvement in this area in the development of the Soviet Union, try to intensify their attacks on alleged Soviet anti-Semitism in connection with the death sentences for speculation which were introduced recently and where many Jewish names are involved. Again we have to discern between the Soviet bureaucratic measures and anti-Semitism as such. It is quite natural that Jews who are proportionally more represented in the distribution branch of the Soviet economy are more prominent in all the speculation trials. We should protest this from a humanist point of view against the use of capital punishment for economic crimes (especially in peacetime), but we should not be taken in by the hypocritical cries of our red-baiters about a wave of Soviet anti-Semitism, allegedly aimed at Jews as such. Only in this way can we serve the cause of our fight against the capitalist anti-Soviet propaganda on one side and bureaucratic distortions of the present Soviet rulers on the other.

A. Binder

Some 'Free World' Facts

New York, N.Y.

I have been thinking about some facts that well indicate the true state of democracy and freedom in this bastion of the "free world." For instance:

It has been made a crime to be a member of a political party, as indicated by the Communist Party being branded illegal under the Subversive Activities Control Act.

A Negro newsman, William Worthy, is convicted of "illegal entry" to the country of his birth because after going to Cuba he told about the progress being made by the people of that country and about the end of racial discrimination there.

A militant group of black Americans known as the Muslims are brutally attacked in their places of worship by police with dogs and then the Muslims are to be investigated by some government committee.

Organized labor is being constantly smeared, penalized and legislated against.

A hundred years after the so-called emancipation of the black man we still see the crying inequalities and lack of opportunity

in every sphere of American life. The militant leader of New York's Muslims, Minister Malcolm X, has indicated — correctly I think — that all the hue and cry about Cuba is an attempt to distract us from the real dangers that face us so as to make it easier to carry out the racist practices and to step up the drive to undermine the civil liberties of the American people.

The purpose of this drive, I am convinced, is to separate and isolate the masses of the American people from each other and thereby to crush them separately before they can realize that their only hope for the maintenance of any freedom is to stand united against the flagrant attempt to usurp the constitutional rights of the people.

Clarence Franklin

On the American Indian

Schurz, Nevada

I am very pleased that at long last someone has taken up the cudgels for the American Indians. The article by Evelyn Sell, "Situation of American Indians," in the Feb. 18 *Militant* is a welcome step in that direction. However, with all due respect to Prof. Thomas, whom she quotes, I would beg to take issue with him on his analyses of the problems of the American Indians.

Prof. Thomas relegates the Indians of today to their past traditions as "hunters" and "family men." To anyone who has lived on the Pacific slope as long as I have, this is like reading a tale out of the *Arabian Nights*. Anyone who tried to live today by hunting would starve to death as there is a growing scarcity of game and a set of very restrictive game laws. True, the primitive Indian was a hunter and a fisherman. He also was a good family man and still is. But above his family he was a member of his tribe. He lived in a system of primitive communism

and when there was a scarcity every member of the tribe shared alike. Contrary to Prof. Thomas' statement, every other tribe was not his enemy, only such tribes as encroached on his hunting and fishing grounds were. There are many instances where the most friendly inter-tribal relations were observed.

All this brings me to the point I want to emphasize: The problems of the American Indians are very similar to the problems of the American Negroes. With this difference: The American Negroes no longer have their own language or religion. They have no reservations set aside for them (as do the Indians) but in their vast majority are confined to ghettos. The Indians, who for the most part still live on reservations, cling to their native religion to a great extent and to their primitive communal traditions.

They are forced to live, therefore, by two different sets of codes of ethics, law, morals, etc. As if this were not bad enough the Indian is discriminated against in employment, housing, etc., to a greater extent even than the Negro. The employable Indians on the reservations are now about 25 per cent unemployed and most of the others employed at miserable wages.

There is more than ample ground for united action between the Indian and the Negro. Ancient inter-tribal animosities have disappeared in the common oppression of all the tribes and I am very doubtful that the Indian would chose to live in a segregated society as Prof. Thomas implies. But again I must say I am exceedingly grateful to Prof. Thomas for raising the question.

Jack Wright

Churchill, No

Rutland, Vt.

I have just read that the United States House of Representatives has passed a bill extending hon-

orary citizenship to Winston Churchill.

I believe that we socialists should write our senators letters urging them to defeat this legislation.

Winston Churchill was one of the greatest proponents of empire the world has ever had. Empires in general and specifically the British Empire have always prevented government by, government for, and government of the people. The underprivileged never gained by this type of government.

I.H.R.

Collapse Necessary?

Kalamazoo, Mich.

Kindly send the speech by Fidel Castro advertised in the *National Guardian* and put me on your mailing list for a four-month subscription.

In my estimation the American people are not ready for social change in this nation. They still have it "too good," even though in hock to their ears. Only a terrifying depression and a complete collapse of the economy will make things begin to happen.

If it were not for the present missile and space program we would have 20 million jobless. How long it can continue is anybody's guess. Our political leaders know this also. They say the missile and space program is now a part of the economy.

It looks like our lousy leadership in Washington will not be satisfied until Castro is overthrown. Sen. Keating is the main rabble-rouser for this to happen. It may come to a total blockade of Cuba economically before it is over with, rather than a direct invasion.

R.S.

But Let's Keep Trying

Livermore, Calif.

The *Militant* should be in every public library in the country. But I understand some librarians refuse to have leftist publications. American "freedom"?

Reader

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Witchhunters received a sharp repudiation and setback on March 11 when the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. voted, 69 to 2, a statement saying that 'certain methods of Congressional committees investigating Communist activities in educational institutions endanger the very freedom which we seek to preserve.' . . .

"The action by the council came two days after Rep. Velde (Rep., Ill.), chairman of the House [Un-American Activities] committee, declared in a radio interview that it was 'entirely possible' that his committee would investigate 'Communist infiltration' of churches next year." — March 23, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"After five days of fruitless wage negotiations with intransigent coal operators, United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis today thundered his denunciation of 'millionaire mine owners,' the War Labor Board and its 'Little Steel' formula, and warned the operators that if a new contract was not negotiated, 'the miners will not trespass upon your property the first or second of April,' the date of expiration of present soft coal contracts . . .

"Lewis spoke over the heads of the mine owners to the rest of labor when he charged that government and industry were pursuing a policy which meant impoverishment for the workers. 'They inflame the workers in industries who know that their rights are being withheld from them by this strange combination of government and industry,' he declared. 'Let me warn you this afternoon that you can't do this to our people with impunity.' . . .

"Corporations are artificial bodies, protected under the law so that men who do not labor may get theirs,' he said. 'We don't think that corporations should take enormous profits at the expense of the workers who are giving their all in this war. This war may last five or ten years, and out of it the workers obtain only the minimum of food and clothing. They sweat and die to protect your property.'" — March 20, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

New Kennedy Plan? — The Washington Bureau of the *Wall Street Journal* on March 15 had this to report: "Castro's Assassination becomes the major U.S. hope for de-communizing Cuba."

That Takes Care of That — "UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — Around the world prayers are being said, special postage stamps are being printed and other plans are being made for World Freedom from Hunger Week, March 17-23." — *Christian Science Monitor*.

Deep-Thought Dep't — A March 15 *Wall Street Journal* editorial, which sees no reason why anyone should be ashamed of the present jobless rate, notes that "when the government estimates the current unemployment rate at about six per cent, it is simultaneously saying that 94 per cent of the labor force is employed."

Test-Ban, Anyone? — There will be about 20,000 cases of leukemia in this country during the next 50 years as a result of fallout from nuclear tests that have already taken place, according to Dr. Murray Tuckerman, head of the chemistry department at Temple University.

The Bias-Free North — Segregated public housing projects are maintained in 22 New Jersey cities, charges Deane P. Good of Trenton, housing director of the New Jersey NAACP. He said the figure is based on information available from the Public Housing administration in Washington.

Moral Triumph — Mrs. Cecil Blaffer Hudson, daughter of a Texas oil tycoon, is the jubilant winner of a record \$6.5 million divorce settlement. It's not the money, her attorney explained, it's the principle of the thing. "We're satisfied with the settlement," he said. "It's more than Bobo got. That's what Mrs. Hudson said she wanted—more than Bobo." Bobo settled with Winthrop Rockefeller for \$5.5 million.

All-Day Sucker — An English doctor has prepared an anti-radiation lollipop which is being produced commercially and is called "the complete safeguard against radioactive fallout." It's supposed to contain chemicals which, if in-

gested to a sufficient degree, will forestall a dangerous level of intake of radioactive chemicals. But, say other doctors, to reject radioactive iodine, for example, a child would have to eat one lollipop every 90 seconds.

British View — The Royal Society, foremost British scientific organization, reported that one out of every 16 leading British scientists leaves the country each year for higher paying jobs in the U.S. Commenting on this, Viscount Hailsham, Minister of Science, said the shortcomings of the U.S. educational system compels this country "to live parasitically on other people's brains."

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Bullheaded Bosses Drag Out Cleveland Printers' Strike

CLEVELAND, March 18 — This city's newspaper strike entered its 109th day today no closer to settlement than when production stopped Nov. 30, although five of the unions involved have accepted the publishers' offer of a \$10-a-week package over two years.

Reason for the stalemate is that the *Cleveland Press* and *The Plain Dealer* managements, going into their 47th negotiating session with the scale committee of Local 53 of the International Typographical Union today, have not yet reconciled themselves to bargaining realistically and in good faith.

The local newspaper bosses have worked so hard creating a false image of the labor movement, have listened so exclusively to their own creatures' rumors and fabrications, that they have completely miscalculated in dealing with the printers' union.

They miscalculated in thinking the "conservative" local members of the oldest international union in the country, who had not "given them any trouble" since the beginning of this century had forgot they were banded together as workers to defend their economic interests.

Instead of recognizing that Cleveland printers have decided to call a halt to the deterioration of their standard of living, the publishers and their friends have tried in vain to raise doubts and suspicions to divide the local's membership.

They attempted to question the validity of the unanimous vote at

the union meeting which called the strike, citing the fact that the 211 present were a minority of the union. ITU Representative Steve Martenuk punctured this phony argument by pointing out that if 25 persons, the minimum quorum required by local union law, were present at a meeting and voted 13-12 to accept management's offer, the bosses would consider that a "democratic" and representative vote.

Another publishers' charge — that Cleveland negotiations are tied to and dominated by New York's — was also refuted. Martenuk countered that if there were any tie-in, it was between the publishers. He noted that it is hardly coincidental that a *Scripps-Howard* paper is involved in each city, and that the publisher's offers were almost identical — \$8.50 in New York and \$8.40 in Cleveland.

Most telling reply to the publishers, however, was given yesterday by a Local 53 meeting of over 400. After utilizing the regular procedures of this most democratic union to reverse a ruling of the officers and executive board on a detail of strike administration, they gave a unanimous vote of confidence to the ITU representative, officers and scale committee for their conduct of negotiations.

The publishers may not know it, but the secret of the ITU's strength is its internal democracy, and the embattled printers are growing stronger rather than weaker as the strike continues.

... New York Printers' Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

principal objections to the contract are:

Ten Objections

- Welfare benefits such as doctor's visits which the printers had previously enjoyed, were not restored in the contract.
- Only two additional sick days. The men expected four additional sick days. The old contract had only one sick day with pay each year.
- The absence of a fourth week of vacation. The men felt that this demand was given up too soon. They fully expected that in lieu of it, they would obtain four more sick days.
- Disgust at the 35-hour week on paper only with the men having to give up their 15-minute wash-up in return for 15 minutes off. It averages out to nothing, except for slightly higher overtime rates.
- Disgust that the meager two paid sick days and the 35-hour week do not go into effect in the first year of the contract. As one rank-and-filer put it: "The publisher gets his this year; we get ours next year."
- Arbitration of the amount that

will go into the fund as the result of the union's sharing in the benefits of automation. Printers, who traditionally oppose arbitration, fear the amount could be very small.

- There is a common feeling that \$2 more could have been obtained. A \$14 economic package was expected. The job shops obtained a two-year \$14 package last year and the newspaper men expected the same.

- Dissatisfaction with a March contract expiration as not being as strategic a date as Oct. 31, the expiration date of the Newspaper Guild's old contract.

- A provision that publishers may work off "bogus" composition in the retraining of printers for tape and "cold type" and photo composition machines. This will reduce situations.

- The principal reason for the strike was the desire of the union to negotiate its own contract and not have to accept a contract established by a third party. The third party remained. The mayor instead of the Guild wrote the contract.

Among the other crafts, the photo-engravers struck on March 18 for shorter hours; the Guild accepted a \$4.13 package in return for changing its expiration date to a common one with the crafts when the contract is signed.

Meanwhile, ITU President Elmer Brown is threatening to force the strikers to take a contract they don't want. He could attempt this by ordering a return to work, withdrawing strike benefits or ordering a referendum of all New York printers — commercial and newspaper. It is conceded that any one of these three methods could well break the strike.

"After the vote rejecting the contract, Big Six President Powers attempted to resume negotiations with the publishers. He met a blank wall. The publishers said "not one more penny." The mayor announced that he was terminating meetings between the parties.

Ceylon Children Boycott U.S. Handout Of a Bun and a Glass of Skimmed Milk

COLOMBO, Ceylon — The government of Madam Sirimavo Bandaranaike partially nationalized oil in Ceylon in May 1961. The Petroleum Corporation Act brought under its control 25 per cent of the petroleum business which had hitherto been the property of Shell, Esso and Caltex.

At the outset, it should not be forgotten, there was no intention of wholesale expropriation of these American oil interests. The Petroleum Bill made provision for reasonable and adequate compensation by a Compensation Tribunal. Every political party supported this bill, including the United National Party, which is most "pro-American."

In an interesting document, the Central Bank of Ceylon revealed how the prices were "fixed" by the three Oil Barons. "Gasoline and illuminating kerosene came to Ceylon from the Persian Gulf and not from the Gulf of Mexico, Venezuela or California, where cost are generally higher. Irrespective of where the commodity comes from, prices posted in the Persian Gulf are "Gulf" prices, which means, Gulf of Mexico; that is the American high prices." Thus, an unconscionable "phantom freight" was added on for the Ceylonese consumer to pay. How the oil cartels operate in fixing prices, among other monopolistic acts, is laid bare in a 1952 report of the U.S. Federal Trade Commission entitled "The International Petroleum Cartel."

The Petroleum Corporation now imports gasoline from the United Arab Republic, USSR and Rumania, while engine oil was imported from the USA. As was to be expected, the Petroleum Corporation is one of the most profitable nationalization ventures of the Ceylonese government. In a short period of little over a year

it has made eight million rupees profit [rupee = 21 cents].

On Dec. 28, the U.S. government issued a warning through its ambassador, Miss Frances Willis, that American aid would stop unless the oil firms were paid or, at least, "meaningful steps were taken." The deadline was Feb. 1. The government of Ceylon pointed out that it was making every effort to pay just compensation within the terms of the Petroleum Act. Compensation Questionnaire Forms had been issued to the three oil companies some months previously. The oil companies, taking advantage of an anomaly which did not stipulate that all questions in the prescribed form be answered, or that all particulars be furnished in the form, had put down only the total claimed as compensation. The forms were returned to the oil companies and they were requested to supply more detailed information. They were then returned to a compensating body some time in the latter half of January this year. This gave hardly enough time as the deadline had been set for February 1.

Doubly Difficult

The task of the Tribunal was made doubly difficult as it was found that the oil companies had inflated their claims, approximately fourfold! It is believed that they had asked payment for a kind of "goodwill." Thus the oil companies had, it is known, claimed over 41 million rupees. (Esso and Caltex, 16 million rupees; and Shell, 25 million rupees.) Naturally the Ceylon government was not going to serve 41 million rupees on a platter for the mere asking. The talks got bogged down at the bargaining table. The deadline set by the Hickenlooper Amendment to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 was reached, but the State Department deferred its application, as it felt that "meaningful steps" were being taken by the Ceylon government to pay compensation. The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Trade continued talks with the officials of the oil companies to find a solution to an equitable compromise on a "lump-sum payment."

While talks were in progress, on Feb. 8, the long arm of the State Department, invoking the infamous Hickenlooper Amendment, throttled the "aid" — thus laying bare the assiduously camouflaged myth that American aid was "without strings."

The ineffectual government of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, sensing the people's mood, immediately called off the negotiations with the oil firms. The government was emboldened to take this step as the powerful Trotskyist party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Mahajana Eksat Peramuna, a splinter of the LSSP, and the Ceylonese Communist Party, immediately called upon the government to retaliate by nationalizing the balance of the 75 per cent of the oil trade held by the oil companies.

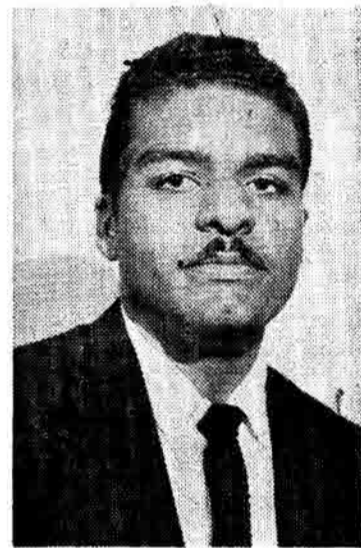
American aid amounts to approximately 60,000,000 rupees or about \$12,000,000 annually. Ceylon has received this amount annually since 1956. Part of it comes in the form of surplus flour and powdered skimmed milk to the value of \$4,000,000. School children whose parents are too poor to afford a mid-day meal are provided with a free bun and a glass of skimmed milk. This aid, which is doled out through CARE, for "humanitarian" reasons is to continue. The rest of the aid given is in the form of development loans, technical training schemes

and outright grants. For the long-term loans the Ceylon government pays from two per cent to five per cent interest.

To the tough tactics of Yankee Imperialism, the poor and ill-nourished school children gave their answer. They in their thousands have boycotted the free bun and the glass of skimmed milk. For them human dignity counts more than hunger. American

(Continued on Page 2)

California Students Hear YSA Leader



Leroy McRae

Leroy McRae has finished the West Coast leg of his nation-wide speaking tour, which is developing into the most successful tour the Young Socialist Alliance has ever run. American students are displaying particular interest in McRae's subject — the growing mood of militancy among Negroes — and with what the young Negro socialist has to say about the future of the struggle.

Campus meetings for McRae, who is the national organizational secretary of the YSA, have attracted an average of over 100 people. A high point was registered at San Francisco State College, where 500 students heard Leroy at an outdoor rally on the campus.

At Oakland City College the YSA spokesman held a street meeting at which some 75 students, mostly Negroes, engaged in a lively discussion. Members of the Afro-American Association (AAA) participated in the debate. The following evening the AAA and YSA held a forum where differences and similarities on the approach of the two militant organizations to the question of the Negro struggle for equality were aired and discussed.

Don Warden, chairman of the AAA, presented his organization's viewpoint, and McRae spoke for the YSA. Over 200 attended.

McRae began his tour in Chicago with appearances at the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University and Northwestern. His meeting at Northwestern drew 150 students. From Chicago he traveled to Denver, San Diego, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, and Vancouver. In the latter city, over 200 Canadians turned out to hear about the Negro struggle in the United States.

The Midwest leg of his tour will carry McRae to the St. Paul-Minneapolis, Madison, Milwaukee, Chicago for a second time, Bloomington, Ind., Louisville, Nashville, Yellow Springs (Ohio), Columbus, Cleveland, Detroit, East Lansing and Ann Arbor.

Mae Mallory Wins Release

Mrs. Mae Mallory, who is fighting extradition on framed-up kidnap charges to Monroe, North Carolina, was released from the county jail in Cleveland March 14. The Negro mother and civil-rights fighter had been imprisoned for over a year. She is now free on \$15,000 bond posted by the Monroe Defense Committee. She told TV and newspaper reporters: "It feels wonderful to be relatively free. It must be wonderful to be completely free."