

Peril of Nuclear War Is Issue in Far East

An Editorial

The American people must clearly understand exactly what is at stake in the Quemoy-Matsu affair.

It is not whether Nixon is "firm" or Kennedy is "yielding." It is not whether American arms should go into action five or eighty miles off the China coast. It is not even whether Republicans or Democrats are more implacable in their refusal to grant recognition to the legitimate government of China. The extent to which both presidential candidates agree on these questions is far more basic and fearful than their minor differences.

The terrible truth is that both Kennedy and Nixon, are committing this country to nuclear war over distant territory which does not belong to the U.S. And whoever becomes President will be able to carry out this policy without consulting either Congress or the American people.

Here is the background of this Far East situation. On Jan. 25, 1955 Congress passed a resolution which surrendered its powers of declaring war to the President and authorized him to use armed force to hold Formosa, the Pescadores Islands and "related positions." Later Eisenhower declared that the Quemoy-Matsu "have increasingly become related to the defense of Formosa." Nixon and Kennedy both say they agree with this stand.

But any armed conflict with the People's Republic of China over Quemoy, Matsu, Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores can speedily flare into a third world war. The People's Republic has a defensive alliance with the USSR. Neither government seeks war in the Far East. But if the U.S. launches its rockets in that area, Peking might, in self-defense, call upon the Soviet government to fulfill its agreement. In 1953, Moscow warned Washington that an attack on China would be considered an attack on the Soviet Union.

There is no effective defense against nuclear bombs. According to latest estimates, 60 million Americans would be killed on the first day of atomic war.

That is what Nixon and Kennedy are really dealing with in their debates over Far East military moves. The offshore islands — including Formosa in this category — are being made the basis for offhand commitments which involve the lives of every person in this country.

Offshore Islands Belong to China

These islands do not belong to the U.S. but to China. Yet the U.S. has been using its Seventh Fleet and its military aid to Chiang Kai-shek to prevent their restoration to the People's Republic. This is impermissible interference in the internal affairs of another country.

In 1958 Secretary Dulles made Chiang promise not to attempt a mainland invasion in return for a U.S. pledge to prop him up on Formosa. How much this promise is worth can be gauged from the fact that Chiang boasted Oct. 9 that his army will be able to seize the Chinese mainland "within three or five years at most." Are we to be H-bombed for the delusions of a decayed and rejected dictator who serves the strategic plans of the Pentagon in the Far East?

Such a life and death question ought to be submitted to a referendum of the American people themselves. In 1958 the White House mail ran five to one against retaining Quemoy and Matsu. If the issues at stake are clearly posed, we believe the American people would vote against nuclear war in the Far East. Like the Chinese people and the Russian people, they want peace. This can best be promoted by withdrawing the Seventh Fleet and all further aid to Chiang and recognizing the government in Peking as the real government of China.

The Nov. 8 election provides the American people with the opportunity to protest the suicidal foreign policies of Nixon and Kennedy. They can do so by casting their ballot for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the Socialist Workers party candidates.

"I Wish That I Had A Million to Give"

By Tom Kerry

Organizational Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Only two more weeks to go in the Socialist Workers party's \$12,000 Socialist Fund drive. (See scoreboard on page 2.)

The first branch to meet its quota in full and ahead of time is Chicago. Other branches will have to hurry to make the deadline of November 1.

The response to our direct mail appeal for contributions continues to be heartening. The most gratifying are the small sums received from the old-timers who have been active in the struggle for many years. Their letters indicate the youthful spirit that animates their unflagging interest in the progress of the fight for a socialist world.

One old-timer writes: "I'm glad the boys are waking up. Here's a buck to help out. I'm 81 on August 15."

Another old-timer, active in the Utah campaign to put Dobbs and Weiss on the ballot and now circulating our election material to get out a big socialist vote, writes: "Wish I had a million to contribute to our cause but mailing out a thousand of these election leaflets keeps me empty in the pocket. But here's a dollar to help." This campaigner is 90!

We know that none of our supporters have a million to contribute but many have that buck or two that they can send in to help get our campaign literature into the hands of the largest number of people we can reach. Old, young or middle aged, it's the spirit that counts and the one and two and five-dollar contributions mount up.

If you have not already done so, sit down today and send us that contribution to help bring our socialist message to the American people. Send your contribution to: Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

'Unprecedented Labor Pact'

By Joyce Cowley

Exaggerated headlines are so common, it may be difficult to believe that the one quoted above is an understatement. A week ago olive pickers on the Hedrich-Church Ranch went out on strike. The strike has just been settled by granting the union demand for \$1.25 a lug.

After reaching an agreement with the union, Henry Hedrich, one of the two owners, said that he thinks a well-conducted union is a good thing.

"I think many errors have been made," he said, "by taking advantage of cheap wages." Hedrich added that union picketing had been "quiet and peaceful" and the union organizers "very friendly and understanding."

As I read this I grew increasingly confused and checked carefully to make sure it was not some columnist's Tall Story of the Week. The Chronicle report continued: "When union organizers added the demand that all the

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Cuban Government Captures Invaders from Florida Base

They Thought It Would Be Easy to Capture Havana



Part of the invasion force in the Escambray mountains that sought to overthrow the Castro government. This picture, taken before they were captured, was featured in the counter-revolutionary press as part of a recruiting campaign. The caption used in Bohemia Libre read in part: "During August and September, the raids of the insurgents became more continuous. As a result the despot launched an offensive Sept. 8 with his fanatical militia. . . . But the sagacity of the guerrillas has enabled them to chalk up more than one resounding victory: at the end of last month they were reported attacking with success various points in the vicinity of Cienfuegos." The New Leader said they might have "time to dig Castro's grave." They didn't have time.

Sweeping Nationalization Law Answers Plot of State Dept.

By Joseph Hansen

OCT. 19 — A desperate attempt, inspired by the State Department, to overthrow the Cuban government by force and violence, ended in defeat last week as counter-revolutionary invaders, rounded up by armed peasants, were sentenced in court for their criminal acts.

The revolutionary regime answered the stepped-up drive of the State Department for a blood bath in Cuba by nationalizing industry, transportation, commerce and banking "down to the nails in their shoes," as Castro had warned. In addition, all housing was taken over. New far-reaching reforms were announced, including acknowledgment of "the right of every family to a decent living."

Premier Castro declared that the Cuban revolution had reached a major turning point, completing the first great stage that began in 1953 with the declaration of aims of the July 26 Movement. A new stage of the revolution is now opening, the Premier said, of qualitatively different character.

The attempt of counter-revolutionary forces to shoot their way to Havana after secret landings on Cuban beaches was fomented by the State Department. It is part of Eisenhower's "get tough" policy which both Kennedy and Nixon support as candidates of big business. The aim is to crush the Cuban revolution. Evidence for this comes from highly authoritative sources.

"The policy now is to try to bring about the overthrow of the Castro regime from within." This is a statement made more than a month before the invasion, in the August issue of the Hispanic American Report, a Stanford University publication, by Herbert L. Matthews, the well-known editorial writer of the New York Times.

"The important thing," declared Matthews, who is in position to know, "is that the United States Government and American public opinion are convinced that the Cuban regime is either Communist or exactly following Communist policies, and that the United States cannot tolerate a Communist regime in the Western Hemisphere. This is the fateful decision made in June, 1960. It was partly a political decision (in the broad sense of the word) by the Eisenhower Administration, and partly the result of almost intolerable pressures on the State Department from Congress which was, in turn, reflecting public opinion as moulded by the American mass communication media. American policy today, as in the case of Guatemala in 1953-1954, is directed toward the overthrow of the Castro regime in Cuba. As things look now, there can be no turning back from this policy."

In other words, the State Department has set out to duplicate in its own way and at its own pace what Moscow did with the Hungarian revolution in 1956. If the State Department has its way, Cuba will become the Hungary of the Western Hemisphere.

You Don't Buy These in a Hardware Store

One band of 27 counter-revolutionaries embarked from Miami, Florida, and landed near Moa on Oct. 4. They carried American arms and wore American uniforms issued during World War II. Another band of 102, captured in the Escambray mountains, had received equipment by parachute from planes evidently based in Florida. Here is a partial inventory of the arms carried by the two bands when they were overwhelmed by government forces:

- 24 M-2 carbines.
- 12 M-3 machine guns.
- 10 Browning automatic rifles.

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Protest Racists Assaults On Los Angeles Students

In the name of the Ku Klux Klan and the White American Citizens Council, hoodlums heaved a brick through the windows of the Students for Dobbs and Weiss headquarters near Los Angeles City College. The windows bore large pictures of the SWP presidential candidates and of Erroll Banks, Negro candidate for Congress in the 23rd District.

The vandals followed up this attack with a bomb-scare the next night and by shooting BB guns at the Vitelloni coffee house where the Young Socialist Alliance was holding a meeting in support of the Cuban Revolution. Two youths were chased from the scene but not caught.

An emergency protest rally, chaired by a local leader of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, was called on Oct. 10 following these incidents. Referring to the appeal made to various organizations to participate in a joint defense of free speech and free elections, Bill Hathaway, head of the Students for Dobbs and Weiss, declared: "We must stop this vandalism cooperatively, and not just shut up about it, or it



ERROLL BANKS

Leading Independents Endorse SWP Ticket



By Joseph Hansen
Campaign Manager

In an article "What Is Labor Doing?" in the Oct. 8 issue of the Nation, the following sentence appears:

"The Teamsters — with their chip-on-the-shoulder confidence and their monumental hatred of the Democratic Presidential candidate (some Teamster officials plan to vote for Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers Party candidate) — will display the kind of energy the AFL-CIO needs." Energy in getting out the vote that is.

We don't know just how to take those remarks in parentheses. Farrell Dobbs has a tremendous reputation among old-time Teamsters as the best organizer and most honest high official the union ever had. But Czar Tobin threw him out for advocating, among other things, that the union should help initiate a labor party.

Are some of the Teamsters officials, beset and bedeviled by anti-labor legislation like the

(Continued on Page 2)

Four prominent participants in the 1958 Independent-Socialist party campaign in New York have issued a call to independents and unaffiliated socialists to support the Socialist Workers party candidates in 1960. They are Elinor Ferry, member of the Administrative Committee, Scott K. Gray, candidate for Attorney-General, William A. Price, campaign coordinator, and Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.

Their letter states that a group has been discussing the role that independents and unaffiliated socialists might play in the 1960 elections. "In terms of specific candidacies it was the consensus that a positive expression for peace and on other issues could best be found on a national level through support of the Socialist Workers party candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President," they say.

"The majority of those who participated in the meetings also felt that the two candidates of the Peoples Rights party, Arnold Johnson for Congress in New York's 21st CD and Mrs. Mildred McArdory Edelman for State Assembly in the 13th-AD offered voters in those districts

a chance to record a similar protest vote.

"Under the onslaught of the law committee of the New York State Democratic party which challenged the nominating petitions of all three parties, however, the Peoples Rights party has been ruled off the ballot and does not plan an organized write-in campaign. . . ."

The effectiveness of the SWP petition campaign effort "was shown in its ability to withstand the challenges to its petitions and it will therefore offer the people of New York an opportunity to cast a vote that can be counted."

Seek Signatures

The four are seeking signatures for a public statement designed to muster the greatest possible protest vote in New York. They also urge others outside New York "to associate themselves with this statement so it will have national meaning."

Their enclosed statement poses the question: will you stay at home November 8?

"As election day approaches, Americans are becoming increasingly aware that no effective political choice can be made by voting for either of the two major parties.

"Both Republican and Democratic parties represent a bi-partisan coalition whose policies threaten the cause of peace in a world where survival itself is at stake. . . ."

"The intention of a growing number of Americans to 'sit out' this election is a mark of the discontent over this lack of choice.

"But to stay at home on election day.

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3000 Cheer Dr. Pauling At Chicago SANE Rally

By Dorothy Mack

CHICAGO, Oct. 15 — Dr. Linus Pauling received an ovation here tonight in his first public appearance since he successfully defied the witch-hunting Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The 3,000-seat Orchestra Hall was filled to capacity and hundreds were turned away at the rally sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and other organizations striving for disarmament.

Dr. Pauling, who had refused to give the Senate committee the names of individuals who helped him gather the signatures of 11,000 scientists for an anti-bomb petition, called for abolition of the committee. He charged that subcommittee chairman Senator Dodd (D-Conn.) was using his post to prevent American citizens from working for peace. He also

assailed the pro-war policies of munitions-profiteering industrialists.

Discussing the stand of the Republicans and Democrats on peace, the Nobel prize-winning chemist said it would take a microscope to discern the difference between them.

Dr. Pauling also spoke out in defense of Henry Abrams, a leading figure in the New York SANE chapter who was expelled by its national chairman, Norman Cousins, after a red-baiting attack by Senator Dodd.

"Henry Abrams has children and grandchildren. He has a right to fight for peace," Dr. Pauling declared.

Other speakers at the rally included Norman Cousins, Norman Thomas, TV star Steve Allen and Dr. Jack Shubert, noted authority on atomic radiation.



DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

Vote Socialist!

You can vote socialist in the following states by casting your ballot for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, candidates of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY for president and vice president.

Colorado: (presidential electors).

Iowa: (presidential electors, ballot designation, "Farmer Labor.")

Michigan: (presidential electors). Vote for Frank Lovell for U.S. senator; Robert Himmel for governor; Evelyn Sell for lieutenant governor; Larry Dolinski for secretary of state; Rita Shaw for attorney general; Harriet Talan for state treasurer; Edith Gbur for auditor general.

Minnesota: (presidential electors) Vote for Carl Feingold for U.S. senator.

Montana: (presidential electors).

New Jersey: (presidential electors). Vote for Gladys Grauer for U.S. senator.

New York: (presidential electors).

North Dakota: (presidential electors).

Pennsylvania: (presidential electors, ballot designation, "Workers Party"). Vote for Morris Chertov for state treasurer; Arthur Felberbaum for auditor general.

Utah: (presidential electors, ballot designation, "Socialist Workers and Farmers Party").

Washington: (presidential electors). Vote for Jack Wright for governor.

Wisconsin: (presidential electors).

Write-in votes for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss are urged in all other states.

Also, in Illinois write in Howard Mayhew, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. senator. In Los Angeles write in Erroll Banks, Socialist Workers candidate in the 23rd Congressional District.

Dr. Pauling to Speak At N.Y. SANE Rally

NEW YORK — Dr. Linus Pauling, internationally known Nobel Prize-winning scientist and leading proponent of a nuclear-test ban, will speak on world disarmament at a United Nations Day Rally here sponsored by the Greater New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

The meeting will be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, Monday, Oct. 24 at 8 p.m.

What Did Khrushchev Achieve With His Visit to New York?

By William F. Warde

Now that the tumult and shouting have subsided, what did Premier Khrushchev accomplish during his 25-day stay in New York?

The Oct. 13 New York Times makes a sweeping judgment. Khrushchev "exits, empty-handed." His visit was a total failure. This conclusion is undoubtedly consoling to its readers. But it suffers from self-delusion.

The editorial tries to substantiate its appraisal by itemizing and tabulating all the votes in the General Assembly where the Soviet position failed to carry and Washington prevailed. This merely proves, however, that the U.S. still manages to control the UN as it has from its foundation.

More significant is the mounting evidence that this grip is beginning to weaken. This was best shown in the vote on the key issue of admitting the People's Republic of China to the UN. The U.S. opposition to considering this matter lost five votes over last year and for the first time in ten years did not have the support of a majority of the members. It appears only a question of time before Mao Tse-tung as well as Khrushchev will come to Manhattan.

Vote on China

Just as the Soviet Premier departed, Sen. Kennedy pointed out in his debate with Vice President Nixon that: "in the votes at the United Nations, particularly the vote dealing with Red China last Saturday, we received the support on the position that we had taken of only two African countries—one, Liberia, which has been tied to us for more than a century, and the other, Union of South Africa, which is not a popular country in Africa. Every other African country either abstained or voted against us. More countries voted against us in Asia on this issue than voted with us."

In his speech at the UN, President Eisenhower complained about those who sought to use the General Assembly for propaganda purposes. That is mainly what the Soviet Premier had in view in arranging the spectacular attendance at this session. The spokesmen for every member nation took the occasion to get the widest audience for their views and proposals.

In this propaganda competition in New York, as in the Olympic games in Rome, the Soviet delegation rolled up more points than its U.S. opponent.

Khrushchev aimed to outflank Washington and win support from the uncommitted and colonial countries on two major issues: the question of war or peace and the problem of colonialism. His repeated reminders of the U-2 incident and emphasis upon the Soviet proposal for complete and general disarmament made it plainer to many people that the responsibility for maintaining the cold war and blocking disarmament rested with Washington and not Moscow. Nixon did not damage the Soviet case by saying that the provocative espionage flights were fully justified and would go on.

The Soviet delegation succeeded in getting unanimous approval to take up its anticolonial declaration in plenary session. The U.S. and Great Britain, who wanted the matter shunted to the Political Committee, had to yield in the face of defeat by Asian, African and Soviet-bloc members. This setback to the U.S. was another sign of the sympathy for the Soviet stand against colonialism among the newly independent nations. The support from such leaders as Castro, Nkrumah and Toure induced Sen. Kennedy to bewail the growing loss of prestige by the U.S.

... Campaigning for Socialism

(Continued from Page 1) Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, now saying, "He told us so?"

Almost three weeks after Farrell Dobbs' telecast over WABC, each mail delivery is still packed with letters from all over the country commenting on the speech. The percentage of favorable letters continues to be extraordinarily high.

The candidates of the two big-business parties are said to find it rugged campaigning for the presidency. That's with millions of dollars backing them, big research staffs and batteries of speech writers, plus fleets of automobiles and private planes, not to mention the facilities of the country's radio and TV networks.

How the socialists manage to put up such a good showing on the few dollars at their disposal must be quite a mystery to the capitalist political bosses who measure everything with the dollar.

Socialists run their campaigns mostly on sheer nerve, energy

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Chicago	\$ 600	\$ 600	100
San Diego	200	175	88
New York	3,325	2,723	82
Detroit	470	365	78
Boston	300	220	73
Allentown	85	59	69
Seattle	375	259	69
Twin Cities	950	600	63
Milwaukee	225	138	61
Connecticut	75	40	53
Los Angeles	3,450	1,633	47
Cleveland	485	220	45
Newark	200	90	45
San Francisco	325	117	36
Berkeley-Oakland	325	100	31
Philadelphia	300	92	31
Pittsburgh	10	3	30
St. Louis	75	15	20
Denver	50	0	0
General	175	219	125
Total through Oct. 18	\$12,000	\$7,668	64

We Can Build a World of Peace and Plenty

We think that world poverty and unemployment can be ended through the collective effort of mankind.

The industries of the entire earth (and that includes agriculture) should be run in accordance with an overall plan that meets scientific standards. The aim of the plan should be to feed, clothe and house humanity as comfortably as possible.

A number of obstacles stand in the way of carrying out this proposal. The chief obstacles are:

(1) In the capitalist countries where the bulk of modern industry is found, the main aim of production is to furnish profits for a handful of excessively rich families even if this means disregarding the most elementary needs of the rest of the population.

(2) National boundaries stand as artificial barriers to greater production. They cut across the international industrial system and dislocate it so that it functions at extremely low levels of efficiency.

(3) The chaos of capitalism compounds the inefficiency, at times leading to complete breakdowns as in the case of depression or war.

(4) Science is barred from bringing its full powers to bear on the problem of stepping up productivity. Instead science is diverted into suicidal projects such as the development of the most potent ways of destruction and slaughter.

The objective of socialism is to overcome these obstacles. The first big step is to replace the rule of the capitalists by the rule of the working people through a Workers and Farmers government.

The power of planned economy to increase productivity is not a matter of speculation. It has been proved: first in the case of the Soviet Union and the East European countries; again in China.

The fact that planned economy could demonstrate its superiority even under the handicaps of backward, poverty-stricken countries and bureaucratic mismanagement is all the more telling.

In industrially advanced countries and with the added advantage of working-class democracy, planned economy will reveal truly titanic capacities. Even more dynamic powers will be tapped when the planned economies of the advanced countries are integrated with those already established.

The Socialist Workers party addresses its appeal to all the working people, but especially militant unionists.

It appeals to them, among other things, to defend the rights of the minority groupings.

In defending the rights of the minorities, the majority defends its own rights.

For example, in coming to the aid of the Negro people in their struggle for full equality, unions are strengthened in many ways. Solidarity among all races is strengthened, union militancy is increased, the power of the ruling class is weakened by its incapacity to create dissension and division.

America has two great traditions worth bearing in mind in this connection. It has always been a "melting pot" in which many minorities have mingled and fused. Let us recall the fine inscription at the base of the Statue of Liberty:

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride
from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand

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Various Questions About SWP's Stand

Among the letters received in response to Farrell Dobbs' telecast over WABC, we selected for discussion this week two containing a variety of questions:

World Poverty

What is your solution for world poverty and unemployment?

Do you profess just to appeal to MINORITY peoples and that's all?

Don't you believe that America's great tradition lies in its Anglo-Saxon heritage and not in its MINORITY heritage?

Why should we give up our naval bases?

Do you propose to make the United States a neutralist nation?

Is it true that you were once closely linked with the

Communist party of the U.S. and that your party is a result of a split between Stalin and Trotsky?

J. F. Hazel Park, Mich.

Military Bases

I am a bit confused as to what the basic platform of the Socialist Workers party is and I am also confused by Mr. Dobbs' ideas as to how we should give up our military bases over the world to show that we want peace. I don't think you can just say we must be first (ahead of Russia) to give up our military bases because if Russia doesn't follow suit then we are in danger of being destroyed by Russian military might.

J. H. Buffalo, N.Y.

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame is the imprisoned lightning, and her name Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command The air-bringed harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor! Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

That at least was one of America's great traditions before the reactionaries began passing exclusion acts, deportation laws and witch-hunt measures that Hitler would have approved.

The other great tradition we should bear in mind, if we really stand for America's long-range interests, is the revolutionary tradition.

The teachings and the deeds of the men and women who organized and led the revolution of 1776 that won American sovereignty should be studied — not just praised — as the leaders of freedom struggles throughout the world are studying them today.

The same holds true of the stout-hearted men and women who fought for decades for the abolition of slavery — and carried their struggle through to a finish even at the cost of their lives in the Civil War.

Where are these two great traditions kept alive today in America? Nowhere but in the socialist movement — and among those who are beginning to think like socialists even if they are not yet fully aware of it.

Of what use are the some 300 military bases the United States holds inside other countries? Spokesmen of the Pentagon contend that they will prove useful in case of war with the Soviet Union and that for the present they are needed as a "deterrent" to "attack."

But what is the effect on the Soviet people and the Soviet government of these bases surrounding their country — not to speak of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons held by the Pentagon?

Isn't such a bellicose threat to the security of the Soviet Union bound to inspire fear and a race for effective counter measures?

To better visualize the feelings of the Soviet people, suppose the situations were reversed. Suppose the Soviet Union had 300 bases in Mexico, Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, Bermuda, and the Dominican Republic — all armed with nuclear weapons, all pointed at target cities in the United States!

How would we feel? We would like to see those bases dismantled wouldn't we? And wouldn't we breathe easier and feel that there was some substance to professions of peaceful intentions if those military bases were given up?

So why doesn't the Pentagon give up these 300 military bases?

The ordinary answer is that if the USSR didn't follow suit, then we would be in danger of being destroyed by Russian military might.

How can the USSR follow suit when it doesn't hold 300 military bases in Mexico, Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, Bermuda and the Dominican Republic?

Even from the strictly military viewpoint of the Pentagon, the usefulness of the 300 bases abroad is coming increasingly into question. They have been outmoded by intercontinental missiles the way the trenches of World War I were outmoded by the tanks and planes of World War II.

The much bigger question today is what to do about nuclear weapons. Once these start bathing our planet in radioactive fallout, the United States will most certainly be destroyed. And there won't be much comfort in the thought that the rest of civilization will be destroyed, too, along with the human race itself in all likelihood.

Isn't it high time that America took the initiative in avoiding that possibility? One way of doing that is by relinquishing all bases abroad. A good one to begin with would be Guantanamo which was seized when American troops occupied Cuba at the turn of the century.

The leadership that founded the Socialist Workers party received its training in militant socialism in the days of Eugene V. Debs and Daniel De Leon. James P. Cannon, the party's National Chairman, for instance, was a well-known organizer in the Industrial Workers of the World under Vincent St. John and William D. Haywood. These leaders, in turn, were inspired by such figures as Albert Parsons, the Haymarket martyr.

In this side of its tradition, the Socialist Workers party is a native American movement.

But this tradition was never narrowly nationalist. In fact the basic conception of the Socialist Workers party, like its predecessors, is that the socialist movement is truly international, free to draw from the best thought and practice available in all countries.

Thus when the Russian workers and peasants overthrew Czarism and took power in October 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the revolutionary socialists in the United States did not hesitate to learn what they could from the Russians.

James P. Cannon became one of the founders of the Communist party of the United States and was one of its top leaders in the twenties. That was when the Communist party was highly respected among militant workers everywhere for its honesty, its crusading spirit, its internal freedom and democratic regime.

When Stalin usurped power in the Soviet Union, his baleful influence fell on the American Communist party along with all the other Communist parties and it began to degenerate.

Trotsky fought this degeneration. In the United States, Cannon and a number of others backed his program since it was the same one they had fought for to the best of their understanding in all their previous years in the socialist movement. The Stalinist leadership, at that time under Jay Lovestone, expelled them.

For five years they fought these bureaucratic expulsions. As it became clear that it was hopeless to continue the attempt to reform the Communist party, they turned to the job of starting from the beginning again — building a new revolutionary socialist party. By then the label "Trotskyists" had stuck to them, which they did not

mind, since Trotskyism is present-day Marxism.

In 1934 they joined forces with the American Workers party which had been organized by A. J. Muste. The new organization was named the Workers party.

Within two years the new organization joined the Socialist party which had invited in all revolutionary forces under the guarantee of freedom of expression for all tendencies. A rather large left-wing tendency in the Socialist party then joined forces with the former members of the Workers party.

On this development, the right wing in the Socialist party became afraid of losing the majority to the left wing. A faction fight ensued and the right wing expelled the left wing. The latter grouping then organized the Socialist Workers party in 1938.

For more about the views of the Socialist Workers party and its origin, see "The History of American Trotskyism" and "The Struggle to Build a Proletarian Party" by James P. Cannon and "The Socialist Workers Party—What It Is and What It Stands For."

—Joseph Hansen

On Cuba

RURAL CUBA, by Lowry Nelson. 285 pp. \$3.50. Published in 1950, this still remains one of the best surveys of social conditions in the Cuban countryside under the Batista dictatorship. Highly recommended for background reading on the Cuban Revolution.

CUBA — Anatomy of a Revolution, by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy. 176 pp. \$3.50. A thought-provoking report by the editors of the Monthly Review after a first-hand study of the accomplishments of the new Cuban government.

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

What Did Trotsky Really Say and Do?

The fall International Socialist Review, just published, is a special issue devoted to the ideas and achievements of the eminent Marxist, Leon Trotsky, on the twentieth anniversary of his assassination in Mexico in 1940.

The leading article by James P. Cannon deals with Trotsky's observations on the United States and his important contributions to the American socialist movement during his lifetime.

An article by Murry Weiss on the status of world Trotskyism twenty years after his death sets forth the relevance of his ideas to the major problems of world politics today. William F. Warde writes on Trotsky's philosophy. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

How You Can Help Spread The Message of Socialism

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Monday, October 24, 1960

The Right to Free Elections

With brazen indifference to public opinion, the New York State Democratic machine has moved to bar all minority tickets from the state's ballot and to restrict the voter's choices to the two major parties.

The Democrats failed in their attempt to disqualify the Socialist Workers presidential ticket. But they won a state Supreme Court ruling reversing the Secretary of State's decision to certify the Socialist Labor party for the ballot.

The SLP has appealed. If the Appeals Court denies the Socialist Labor party its right to a place on the ballot, it will be striking a severe blow at freedom of elections.

A New York City judge has already delivered that kind of a blow when he

upheld Tammany Hall in its challenge to the nominating petitions of the People's Rights party which had designated Communist party leaders Arnold Johnson and Mildred McAdory Edelman as candidates for Congress and the State Assembly.

The Democrats won their court rulings against the Socialist Labor party and the People's Rights party on the basis of an election law rigged against minority parties.

Every person concerned with upholding the right of free elections should back the SLP in its appeal and should urge the next session of the State Legislature to drastically revise the electoral law so as to eliminate the unfair restrictions on independent candidates.

A "Luxury" Kennedy Can't Afford

We reprint below the column, "All Around Town Hall," from the Oct. 13 issue of the Sun, a newspaper published in Hamburg, N.Y. The author reveals with unusual frankness the real attitude of the Democratic party toward the democratic process. It is the same authoritarian attitude that led the Democrats and Republicans to change the equal-time law so as to deprive minority parties of free time over radio and TV and to assure themselves a virtual monopoly of the air:

Third Party Gadflies: Followers of the political drama being enacted on the regional, state and national stage may have overlooked a lesser one-act play now going on at Albany, but which could spell important overtones depending upon its outcome. Two weeks ago the chairman of the legal commission of the New York State Democratic Committee challenged the independent nominating petitions for state presidential electors of two minor parties, in an attempt to bar them from the November ballot.

With a nip-and-tuck campaign to be fought at every level with the Republicans, some may wonder why the Democrats get seemingly sidetracked to question the right of insignificant third parties to place their candidates in the presidential race. Most voters only shake their heads when they find an obscure candidate under a strange label, and tend to lump socialists and prohibitionists with "vegetarians" and other "crackpot" elements who dabble in politics. Or do they?

The campaign planners for the Kennedy forces are taking no chances. They are not interested in third party candidates that they are making it virtually impossible for their candidates to get a place on the ballot, thus monopolizing the election machinery for themselves. Their object is not to silence a "protest vote" or the right of every American to vote as they wish.

They Remember '48: No good politician will deny that this is not a basic right. But he would be a poor politician indeed if he allowed a gadfly party to remain on the ballot when by doing so it might cost him the election. And that is the prospect the Democrats face in New York every presidential year, and why they

Trial of Trotskyists in Holland

The world-famous French author Jean-Paul Sartre has issued a statement, also signed by writers Simone de Beauvoir and Jorge Amado, protesting the arrest in Holland of Michel Raptis (Pablo) and Sal Santen, Trotskyist leaders in Europe, for aiding the cause of the Algerian revolution.

Their prosecution is part of the repressions against supporters of the Algerian freedom fighters highlighted in France today by the trial of Professor Jeanson's "network" and the indictment and blacklisting of the signers of the declaration of the 121 French artists and intellectuals who upheld conscientious objection to serving in the armed forces.

Says Sartre: "Once more colonialism has struck at militants fighting for freedom of the Algerian people. This time the Red Hand, a Fascist organization, in the service of the 'ultras' and connected with the main political policy of the western world, has organized a Machiavellian provocation in order to bring about the arrest of Sal Santen and Michel Raptis, leaders of the Fourth International, who were developing in Holland an intensive campaign of solidarity with free Algeria.

"Free men in the world must protest against such attempts which involve a danger to the freedom of all. These men, true to their revolutionary beliefs, are now

Rigged Debate

Among other things, the televised "great debates" between Kennedy and Nixon were supposed to air the "differences" between them on foreign policy.

But on Oct. 19, New York Times writer C. L. Sulzberger reported that Kennedy had told him: "There is no partisan divis-

pour out all their legal resources to keep the ballot a two party affair. Both parties have their "lefts" and "rights," but in no state is the Left more of a practical electoral consideration than New York and the party is, of course, the Democrats. Its left wing formed the old American Labor party in 1936 which demonstrated its vote-gathering abilities for three FDR elections before folding up in the limbo of lost parties in 1954 (after they failed by 3,000 votes to get the necessary 50,000 in a gubernatorial contest to have permanent ballot status). That year Averell Harriman won by a scant 11,000 plurality.

But Democrats really remember 1948, when the ALP backed Henry Wallace and rolled up a half million votes in the state. Truman would have carried New York with the ALP endorsement but the Left deserted the party that year in droves. The ALP pooped out politically after that (only 64,000 in the state voted for its presidential candidate in 1952) and with its demise many returned to its ranks, as unwanted (except on election day) as they were unenthusiastic.

Too Close for Chances: Two years ago the same crowd of lefties and political "progressives" formed another party and ran the scion of one of New York's wealthy families for U.S. Senator. They missed the 50,000 mark again but proved their point; they could be trouble to the Democrats in an election year, given the expression of a ballot protest vote. This year third party-itis is plaguing them again, though no party spokesman would ever admit it, and why.

The fact is, as both Mr. Kennedy said in Buffalo a few weeks ago, and as Mr. Nixon may well repeat in his appearance Sunday, he who carries New York carries the election. And the race is close, too close for the Democrats to allow the luxury of a couple of third parties siphoning off several thousand would-be Kennedy votes because of their desire to register a "protest."

That's why Monroe Goldwater, top legal wag of the Democrats in Albany, is doing his best to see that two microscopic socialist splinter parties do not get on the ballot. Because to a potential 50,000-vote block in the state this year's Nixon-Kennedy choice is a Tweedledum-Tweedledee affair, and many of them might vote for an obscure socialist if the "protest" luxury was afforded them.

paying by losing their freedom and the right and duty to struggle incessantly against colonialism.

"In spite of differences with the political conceptions of these militants and with their organization, i.e. The Trotskyist Fourth International, what is at stake is the safeguarding of human dignity, of the right of men to struggle for their ideals, of the right of the Algerian people to count on active help by all Left militants.

"Therefore we appeal to intellectuals, to workers' leaders, and to students to organize a great wave of protest addressed to the Dutch leaders and to unmask fully this infamous colonialist provocation."

The trial of Comrades Raptis and Santen will be held in Holland within the next several weeks. Noted individuals and progressive organizations in this country are being asked to join Sartre, de Beauvoir, Claude Bourdet, British Labor M. P. John Baird and many other socialist and labor leaders in Europe, Latin America and Asia who have already protested this act of injustice. SWP presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs this week sent a telegram of protest to the judge in the Santen-Raptis case.

Protests should be sent to the lawyer for the defense: Mr. Brans, Weteringshans 90, Amsterdam, Holland for transmission to the judge.

ion or party label on foreign policy or national security. On these matters, there is no serious argument among most intelligent people."

Kennedy said that if elected he would invite key Republicans like Henry Cabot Lodge to join his administration.

- (Continued from Page 1)
- 2 tripod machine guns, 30 caliber.
 - 1 anti-aircraft machine gun, 50 caliber.
 - 2 bazookas.
 - 96 M-2 magazines.
 - 150 Browning magazines.
 - 24 M-3 magazines.
 - 1,920 cartridges, caliber 30.06, in Garand clips.
 - 20,340 cartridges, caliber 30.06, loose.
 - 5,000 cartridges, caliber 30.06, in feed belts.
 - 10,800 cartridges, M-1 30 caliber carbine.
 - 12 shells for 75 mm. cannon.
 - 30 shells for 57 mm. cannon.
 - 30 shells for 1-53 bazooka.
 - 1 box containing 30 hand grenades and 10 cans of powder.

In addition to such arms, the bands had radios, medicine, nylon hammocks, knives, cartridge belts, etc.

Two Americans, Robert Otis Fuller and Allen Dale Thompson, were captured with the band that landed near Moa. Two other Americans, Richard A. Pecoraro and Anthony Zarba were captured with the Escambray band.

Fuller, Thompson and Zarba were among the group that received the death penalty. Pecoraro got 20 years.

Fuller testified in court that the arms were obtained from U.S. armories and that the expedition was organized in Miami with the tolerance of government authorities. Thompson refused to take the stand.

Other members of the band testified that they joined up because they were unemployed and the financial inducements were attractive. Rivera Sanchez testified that a training camp for mercenaries is run in Miami by one Marisol Alba without any interference from the U.S. government.

How carefully the State Department is timing its counter-revolutionary operations can be judged from the fact that the Miami expedition was either just on the verge of leaving with its load of heavy arms or was already on the high seas Sept. 30 when the State Department "advised" all American travelers to stay away from Cuba "unless there are compelling reasons" for going there.

The press noted at the time that a warning like that had not been given since Eisenhower landed a American troops in Lebanon.

In an article "Trouble Inside Cuba" in the Oct. 17 New Leader, a magazine which generally reflects State Department policies, Daniel James boasted that the counter-revolutionaries "holed up" in the Escambray mountains "are receiving a regular flow of arms and ammunition from outside Cuba." He called these counter-revolutionaries "new rebels" who are out to probe a "basic weakness" in the Cuban Army; namely, "that it has not yet proved itself in guerrilla warfare."

"The new rebels," he continued, "are training feverishly for that purpose in two camps operating outside Cuba. Their location is a secret, naturally, but the best guess is that they are somewhere in Central America. The number of men training runs into the thousands."

The radio and TV networks and the entire capitalist press

"Havana Is Much Safer than New York"

While the State Department builds up the counter-revolutionary forces and rains economic and diplomatic blows at the tiny country which Wall Street bled so long, the shapers of public opinion in the United States have turned the main channels of information into sewers, reeking with lies about Cuba.

It has become extraordinarily important for everyone concerned about truth and justice and elementary fair play to do his best to counteract this stream of filth. An idea of the real state of affairs can be gathered from the following admission by Herbert L. Matthews. It is taken from the same source cited earlier:

"In many ways the revolution has been making good progress. We see very little about it, really, in the American press. . . . The peasants are getting a break for the first time, and if they have complaints it is from what economists call the paradox of rising expectations. Schools, hospitals, roads, workers' and peasants' housing are being built at a remarkable pace. For the first time proper attention is being paid to public health in such matters as digging wells and providing shoes for poor children. For the first time ordinary people of Cuba can go to the beaches or have weekends and vacations within their means.

"For the first time there has been relatively complete honesty in government, civil service,



Joaquin Membrive, displaying U.S. cartridge belts, identified by the counter-revolutionary magazine Bohemia Libre as commander of the first band to reach the Escambray mountains in Cuba last May. Listed as having been displaced as "supreme chief" by Sinesia Walsh Rios (bearded figure in photo on page 1), who was later captured, tried, and given the death penalty.

without exception in the U.S. sought to picture the sentencing of American members of the counter-revolutionary bands as a crime committed by the Cuban government. The handling of the case of Anthony Zarba was typical.

"Cuba Executes Yank," the New York Mirror screamed, as if Zarba were an ordinary tourist. The New York Times had its own genteel twist: "Cuban Courts Doom a Bostonian and 12." Presumably Zarba was a Back Bay Brahmin who absentmindedly strayed into the Escambray mountains.

Zarba was a former employee of one of the sugar companies. His ex-wife gave this impression of what he was up to in an interview with Leo Egan which was carried by UP:

"They were planning on going over there and starting guerrilla warfare for some time," she said. "I don't know what they were planning this time except that they wanted to overthrow the Cuban government, I guess."

"I'm very sorry it all happened and he's been talking about it for two and a half years, about two years, saying that if he succeeds in all this, he'd make a lot of money," she said.

"If not, it was a good try." "I mean he had a lot of friends involved — Cubans that he felt sorry for and that he wanted to help them, but still it was mostly money involved so he knew what he was doing."

There are a few Americans with that kind of mentality. They are not generally pictured as heroes and martyrs if they join up with gangsters and lose their lives in attempting armed robbery and murder for the "money involved."

the railway system, 61 textile factories, 13 department stores, 16 rice mills, eight packing, bottling and canning plants, 18 distilleries, one brewery, three soap and perfume plants, four paint factories, seven paper supply houses, one lamp factory, two oil and fats plants, 47 grocery supply houses, 11 coffee roasters, two chocolate factories and three drug supply houses and pharmacies.

The massive takeover was qualitatively different from everything that has preceded except the recent nationalization of American-held property. Much was provisional in the previous steps, involving "intervention"; that is the institution of government control over management. The Oct. 14 step was not provisional, but outright nationalization.

The purpose, clearly stated, was to establish a planned economy. In its opening paragraphs the law declares that the full economic development of the nation can be achieved "only through adequate planning of the economy, the progressive rationalization and increase of production and national control of the basic industries of the country."

Government monopoly of foreign trade, another main requisite for a planned economy, was established some time ago.

The only foreign-held banks left in Cuba are the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Nova Scotia. They are needed in transactions involving international exchange.

Sears, Roebuck & Co., F. W. Woolworth Co., Goodrich Rubber and Coca Cola were not nationalized. In Cuba these are principally outlet houses.

Among the corporations affected by the latest step were Procter & Gamble, Colgate, Hershey, Bacardi, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, Sherwin Williams Paint, Du Pont Chemicals, Swift & Co., Wilson, and Johnson Drugs.

On Saturday, Oct. 15, the day following this sweeping revolutionary measure, the government announced an "Urban Reform Law." This transfers all dwellings held by landlords to the government. The step was made so that tenants can become owners of the homes and apartments where they are now living by "amortizing" the estimated cost of the homes. They do this by continuing to pay the same rent they do now, but to the government instead of the former landlord. In various periods of time payment of the rent brings them ownership of the home.

In Other Lands

Ikeda Blamed in Killing of Socialist

Japanese Labor Spurs Fight on Washington's Ally

The conflict over the U.S. military treaty which has convulsed Japan since January has been raised to a new pitch with the assassination on Oct. 12 of the Socialist party chairman, Inejiro Asanuma, by a 17-year old student. Asanuma had headed the tremendous mass-demonstrations against the hated treaty which renewed the American privileges of maintaining troops and military bases in Japan.

Although these protests failed to prevent ratification, they forced President Eisenhower to call off his projected visit and led to the resignation of Premier Kishi's government. His successor, Hayato Ikeda, took office on the promise of elections in which the treaty would be the main issue. These are slated to be held on or about Nov. 20.

The Socialist leader was stabbed to death at a joint election rally on good election practices of the three major parties, the Liberal Democrats, the Socialist party and the Democratic Socialists, held in Tokyo before 3,000 spectators and a nationwide television audience. His assassin was the son of an Army colonel and a member of the Greater Japan Patriotic party, a militarist-fascist outfit.

The U.S. treaty is not only wanted by big business and banking interests but welcomed by the secret military-fascist societies which serve them. These societies organized a series of political assassinations in the 1930's which gave rise to the military dictatorship which plunged Japan into the Second World War. Now the Pentagon's drive to remilitarize Japan in preparation for a Third World War has emboldened these ultra-reactionary gangsters and unleashed them in a murderous campaign against the treaty opponents.

The majority of the Japanese people are against the treaty which they view as a means for

For instance, a renter in a building constructed before 1940 becomes the owner by paying his rent for another five years. If it was constructed in 1950, he gets it by paying rent for another ten years. A 1956 home goes to the renter in 16 years; a 1960 home, in 20 years.

The government said it regretted that renters could not be made owners of their homes at once. Free homes for all who need them is an eventual goal of the Cuban revolution. For the present, rents paid to the government will be used to step up the housing program.

Rents, it should be observed, are quite reasonable today in Cuba, since one of the first acts of the new government after the downfall of Batista was to slash them as much as one half.

As compensation to small landlords, the Cuban government guaranteed them lifetime indemnities. The basic indem-

Castro Draws Balance Sheet

In a rather informal way—as a press interview — Castro drew a balance sheet of the revolution. The transcript takes five full pages of fine print in Revolution, the newspaper of the July 26 Movement, so no more than the bare gist can be indicated here.

The Cuban revolutionists began in 1953 with a program of political, economic and social reform. Castro quoted sections of his speech before the court after the famous raid on Fort Moncada ("History Will Absolve Me") to indicate precisely what that program was.

The point has now been reached in the Cuban Revolution, he said, where it can truly be said that this program has been carried out as promised. "I believe that these two days have been two historic days, since they mark the fulfillment of the Moncada program which was the document that guided the conduct of the Revolutionary Government and the document that guides, or the principles that guide the conduct of the Revolutionary Government right now."

A new great stage of the Cuban revolution now opens, Castro declared. In this stage the tasks are different than before. On the domestic side the major revolutionary chores have been accomplished and it would be relatively simple to move full speed ahead to achieve a bounteous standard of living were it not for American imperialism.

"They" are preoccupied with a revolution 90 miles

away; but "we are preoccupied with an imperialist country 90 miles from our revolution."

Since the American monopolists have clearly set their goal to smash the Cuban Revolution, the defense of that revolution becomes of primary importance. This occurs on two fields; at home, where mercenary invaders must be resisted and economic blows counteracted, and abroad, where the imperialist aim of isolating the revolution must be fought.

The Cuban Revolution might have been crushed already were it not for the aid made possible by the existence of the Soviet countries. In addition the neutralist countries are natural allies.

Some of the most interesting remarks dealt with the connection between the Cuban Revolution and the great French and Russian Revolutions, how certain great laws seem to guide such social upheavals, and how consciousness of these laws developed.

He said that the Cuban revolutionists had learned much from the actual struggle. "There is no better university than the revolutionary process itself."

Castro observed that the Moncada program had now been superseded in some respects and he dwelt extensively on the bright perspectives facing the Cuban Revolution despite the enormous difficulty a small country faces in standing up to the strongest imperialist power in the world.

State Department Losing Out in Laos Civil War

Since the Aug. 9 coup which overthrew its puppet regime in Laos, the U.S. has been losing ground fast in the three-cornered civil war going on there. The new cabinet of Premier Phouma declared itself "neutralist" and initiated negotiations with the Pathet Lao movement in the North aiming at ending their six-year fight and bringing their representatives to the government. Pathet Lao is a nationalist movement with a strong peasant base. It fought on the side of the Vietnam against French imperialism during the revolutionary war in Vietnam.

The new government has given a warm welcome to the Soviet ambassador. Its delegation this week endorsed a proposal put forward by Cambodia asking the UN to set up a buffer zone in Southeast Asia.

Disturbed by these developments, the State Department sent a special diplomatic mission to Laos, consisting of Assistant Secretary of State Parsons and Assistant Secretary of Defense Irwin. They have been vainly trying to persuade Premier Phouma to break off talks with the Pathet Lao, move the seat of government from the administrative capital of Vientiane to the royal capital in Luang Prabang, and come to terms with the counter-revolution led by Rightist General Nosovan.

The trade unions have coupled their rallies with a drive for general wage increases. Thus the economic demands of the workers are intertwined with the election campaign to rescind the U.S. military treaty.

Just Published

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA
By Joseph Hansen

"The Cuban revolution is an event of major significance in North as well as South America. . . . The rise in fear among the reactionary property-holding classes is registered in the preoccupation of the capitalist press and the State Department over the 'menace' that has appeared on the tiny island in the Caribbean. In contrast, the rise in hope among the workers and peasants throughout Latin America is visible in constant trade-union resolutions and popular demonstrations in support of Cuba." Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, tells the story of that revolution in this informative new pamphlet previously serialized in the Militant. 25 cents per copy.

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Who Owns How Much?

Editor:
I want to question a statistic in a Sept. 26 Militant editorial: "Almost two thirds of all stock is owned by 5.7% of all American families."
According to the April 1959 American Socialist, "the richest one per cent of the American people owned 90% of all corporate stock in 1953 compared to 70% in 1949 and 61% in 1922."
In the September 1955 American Socialist: "6.4% of the adult population owned corporate stock... 1% of the nation's families holding two thirds of all the stock."
In the March 27 issue of the Congressional Record, Senator Fulbright says: "... less than 1% of all American families own over four fifths of the publicly held stock."
Who's right?

A. R. K. Baltimore

(The figure cited in our editorial was reported in the July-August issue of the AFL-CIO's Economic Trends and Outlook. It is based on a June 1960 report of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. Its estimates are for the year 1960. This report also notes that "Less than two per cent of all families have stockholdings worth more than \$25,000."
The figures cited by A. R. K. seem to coincide with the 1959 survey of the National Bureau

of Economic Research by Robert J. Lampman entitled, "Changes in the Share of Wealth Held by Top Wealth-Holders — 1922-1956." Lampman reports that the top one per cent of the population owned 76% of the corporate stock in 1953.
The University of Michigan figure is a breakdown of the number of shares of stock held. The Lampman figure appears to be based on the distribution of the total value of stock held. The different criteria used in the two surveys might be the main reason for the differences in the results. — Ed.)

First Vote Was For E. V. Debs

Editor:
Enclosed is a contribution of \$20 to the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Fund. Also send me a subscription to the Militant and send samples of your campaign literature to the enclosed 15 names.
My first vote was for E. V. Debs. I wish our vote is greater than the vote of our martyr was.
F. E. Ramsey, N.J.

A Soapbox Speech That Got Results

Editor:
I'm so glad the boys are waking up. Here's a buck to help out. I'm 81, run a one-man shop, and have a hard time making ends meet.

I've been a socialist ever since I heard a soapbox orator at the age of 12 or 14. I always voted socialist until the powers that be took us off the ballot here in Ohio.
Send me some circulars and I'll do my best to put them where they'll do the most good.
Business is bad here and prospects for it getting better are slim. This is a steel town and hundreds of men are laid off.
Enclosed you will find the names of some of my friends. Most of them are hard to crack, but your literature should make them think.

F. E. B. Massillon

Doesn't Have A Million

Editor:
Wish I had a million to contribute to our cause, but mailing out a thousand leaflets keeps me empty in pocket. But here's a dollar to help.
I've inserted an ad in our local paper inviting both saint and sinner to join in a free discussion forum. Also have written David O. McKay, president of the Mormon Church, a scorching for giving Nixon his blessings. Myra Tanner Weiss, being a former resident of Utah, can tell what affect his voice has in such matters.
In life's passing, glory to Castro and his kind.

A. C. Gregerson Filmore, Utah

The Means to Lasting Peace

Following her appearance, Sept. 23, at Brown University in Providence, R.I., Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice-president, received letters from several students there. We print the text of one of these letters below.

Dear Mrs. Weiss,

It is two in the morning but I am unable to sleep. I am unable to sleep because of the alarm aroused in me recently, largely by your address and discussion at this university, concerning the economic, social, and political state of this nation. Much of what you said I recognized as things I had said or thought, though with less knowledge and understanding behind them. I hope you will bear with me as I repeat some of those ideas and concepts which have been a revelation to me, though you have recognized them for a long time.

Suddenly, or finally, I have realized that disarmament is and virtually must be impossible within our present economic system. Ever since my "intellectual birth" I have been a pacifist, and like so many pacifists, and non-pacifists alike, I have been devoted to the idea that universal and complete disarmament is the only means to genuine and lasting peace. Never, however, had I seriously considered the economic system as having particular relevance to the issue of disarmament. Perhaps this was a result of my aloof idealism and inexperience, as well as the now obvious omission of that particular idea from my education.
The implications of this realization are indeed vast. Certainly it is imperative that man cease war; we all have little trouble accepting this. But isn't it absurd to think that we can forever avoid war by continuing to build and stockpile its instruments of mass death and destruction? War by accident becomes a terrifying probability! Almost everyone believes that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is going to start war, so why continue wallowing in the delusion that we can continue to arm and at the same time continue to avert war! Such a cynical plot can only end in the destruction of all of us.

I can clearly see that if disarmament were to be agreed upon, even if to be done over an extended period, it would create serious unemployment (this being on the verge of "serious" at the present increasing level) and result final-

ly in the depression of the entire economy. This may be the death of capitalism, the point at which socialism is established, and if so, fine. But the question immediately becomes, can we even agree to disarm under the present system? Not if the selfish business interests which control the "free press" and every form of mass media communication continue to follow their own economic interest, the increase of the arms race, and there is little to suggest that they will sacrifice this dear interest!

What, then, must be done? Nixon and Kennedy both valiantly proclaim "world peace" to be the major issue in the election in order to exploit the people's desire for peace, but neither can divorce himself from the economic interests which demand "greater defense to halt the growing threat of Communism." The issue becomes, as you say, Mrs. Weiss, capitalism vs. socialism. Though peace and plenty remain our ultimate goals, in order to achieve these things capitalism must be replaced with an economy capable of prospering in a world at peace.

The immediate problem of public acceptance now arises. First, how do you get the public to realize that their fond dream of disarmament is impossible within our present economy? And second, how do you get the people to accept socialist principles, against which they have been so thoroughly conditioned, as a sound solution to this present dilemma? Unless the American people can be effectively shown that the continuation of capitalism is the threat to peace, and that socialism is its greatest guarantee, we shall never have socialism.

Mrs. Weiss, I want to conclude in the only fitting manner, and that is in paying my personal tribute to you. Your address showed a degree of intelligence, insight, and understanding which is totally missing from the common stream of political thought. But it took more than these to reply to the question concerning your loyalty to the United States, "I am loyal only to humanity, not to national governments or tyrants. I believe that humanity and humanity alone is worth fighting for and believing in." This demonstrates a human love and a vital courage rare in America today. I am proud to stand beside you in the struggle to establish peace and insure plenty for all mankind. I would be grateful if you would send me literature which would be helpful and informing.
A Brown University Student

Notes in the News

NOT A MUMBLING WORD — Eleven Negro college students were arrested at the Memphis, Tenn., airport Sept. 21 just as Democratic presidential aspirant John Kennedy stepped down from his plane. Walking to his car, Kennedy passed other students who held aloft signs reading, "S.O.S." and "Help." When he arrived in Memphis there were more signs, "We are jailed every day." But, the Memphis World, a Negro weekly, reported, "to the Negroes who came to hear his stand... not a mumbling word was mentioned on civil rights."

THOSE CUBAN BASEBALL FANS — During the world series, one Havana barbershop posted a cardboard sign stating, "Pittsburgh Si, Yankees No."

ACLU HITS BIRTH CONTROL BAN — The American Civil Liberties Union has petitioned the Supreme Court to void Connecticut statutes which forbid persons to use and physicians to dispense information about contraceptives. The ACLU filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the case of two Connecticut women who are challenging the statutes. According to medical testimony, one woman has already born three malformed children. The other suffers from ailments which "almost inevitably" would cause her death if she become pregnant.

GOLD BRICKS NEXT? — Dispensing with the gold-watch tradition, a west coast firm is now awarding gold telephones to 30-year employees.

THEY'LL TRY HIM LATER — A man tentatively identified as Ronald Mitchell was killed in Brooklyn Oct. 13 by a policeman's bullet in the back of the head. The cop was pursuing him after he allegedly tried to steal a six-pound beef roast, worth \$5.34, from a mar-

ket. Patrolman David Nudelman said he fired after he saw the suspect reaching toward his pocket for a gun. No gun was found on the corpse.

IF YOU'RE 17 AND DON'T WANT TO SEE THE WORLD — The Defense Department estimates that the odds are ten to one that a qualified 18-year-old will be drafted unless he is married and has at least one child.

ARE YOU OUT OF WORK? — If so, you may not realize how lucky you are. The October Monthly Letter of the First National City Bank points out: "Leisure... has undeniable values and often is employed in productive ways — odd jobs around the house, studying for personal advancement, or participating in community projects." The Letter takes a rounded view of the unemployment problem, conceding that it's "generally true that labor resources are most efficiently employed in organized groups in the pursuit of wage or salary income."

PILL PUSHERS — The use of "detail" men by drug firms to plug their products with doctors sometimes adds as much as 33 per cent to the cost of drugs. Yet the Oct. 4 New York Times reported that drug firms are now expanding their army of "detail" men. The paper estimates there are currently 15,000 such salesmen and that the annual cost of maintaining them in the field totals \$225,000,000.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK — "While we have no experience of actual nuclear war, we have given its nature intensive study. Current evidence indicates that a prepared nation can live through a nuclear war frightful though such a war may be." — General Lyman Lemnitzer, Chairman Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staffs.

Rx. for America's Health: A Socialized-Medicine Plan

By Theodore Edwards

How the National Health Plan Operates in Great Britain

The rulers of America spend over \$40 billion a year for war, preparing to destroy all of humanity, but they absolutely refuse to spend more than pocket change for health services. The U.S. Department of Agriculture spends more money each year investigating the prevention of plant and animal diseases than the U.S. Public Health Service spends for research on such human illnesses as cancer, arthritis, heart disease or nervous disorders.
The annual federal expenditure for basic medical research amounts to something like three-hundredths of one per cent of the total budget, a few million dollars a year! For the rest, medical research depends on public charity through foundations such as the "March of Dimes."
Only one-fifth of the total annual income of all the medical foundations is devoted to research, a little over \$100 million a year. In case you have been wondering why medical progress is so slow in combating cancer, arthritis, heart disease, or any number of at present incurable diseases, these statistics provide the clue to the answer.
Quite a Gap
As for the drug companies, they would have us believe that the cause for the outrageously high cost of drugs is the research behind the pills. However, the president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association testified at the Kefauver hearings that only \$1 out of \$9 received is used for research. This leaves a disparity of 1600 per cent between cost of production and sales price unexplained!
Rear Admiral Knickerbocker, at the same hearings, told that the U.S. government saved \$2 million on purchases in Italy, paying 8 cents a pill for the antibiotic Tetracycline for which the American drug manufacturers wanted 17 cents. This is the same pill that retails to the suffering American public for 50 cents a pill. This price has been artificially maintained for the last nine years, in spite of lowered production costs and increased sales.
Unfortunately, the majority of the American people cannot afford to go to Italy to buy 10 pills for 80 cents. Instead they have to plunk down \$5 for the same pills at the corner druggist.
As a result, the drug manufacturers are among the super-profiters with the highest rates of profit. Smith, Kline & French and Parke, Davis Co. with a 16 to 20 per cent profit on sales are right up there with DuPont and Standard Oil.

Research by the drug companies consists mainly of putting new wrinkles on established drugs. Many of these minor innovations are no improvements at all but only sales gimmicks, similar to the tons of chrome that Detroit loads on its cars to make buyers think they are new models.
Go Where Money Is
Physicians, dentists and other medical personnel concentrate on that layer of the population that has the most money to spend. This is all the more criminal since it is the lower income groups that have a higher rate of illness. Accidents and chronic ailments of all types, such as most forms of cancer, arthritis, asthma, respiratory infections, genital disorders, skin diseases occur more frequently among poorer sections. Even heart disease, usually conceived of as an affliction of the wealthy, occurs at higher rates among lower income groups.
Like bees around the honey jar, physicians and specialists of all types cluster in the rich sections of our cities. The lower income brackets, i.e., the majority of people, have fewer doctors available and less money to spend on medical care. They get poorer medical attention, and consequently have higher death rates at earlier ages than the rich. Tuberculosis and pneumonia and other infectious illnesses that can easily be prevented, result in strikingly higher death rates among the children of poor people.
From a purely humanitarian point of view, the greater occurrence of fatal disease under conditions of poverty heightens the need for medical care. However, private fee-for-service medicine is attuned not to human need but to the ability to pay. This becomes especially clear during hospitalization. The kind and volume of care obtained varies in direct ratio to the amount of dollars available not on the seriousness or amount of illness.
In spite of the multiplicity of voluntary health insurance programs that have sprung up in the last few years, the majority of American families continue to face financial ruin when a major disease strikes. What is more, the private insurance plans cover the higher income groups rather than the lower, whites rather than Negroes, the

North rather than the South, and the healthy rather than the sick. The insurance companies are no fools. They know what most doctors seem to have forgotten: Poverty and most diseases go hand in hand!
Insurance-Plan Abuses
The social effect of the voluntary insurance plans has been to accentuate rather than to ameliorate the weaknesses and deficiencies of American competitive medicine. Apart from the minor forms of cheating — such as unnecessary hospitalization because it is covered by insurance while home care is not — the indemnities paid by insurance plans have served to pad doctor fees by that amount plus whatever the doctor can extort from the patient. A \$100 operation becomes a \$200 operation, with the doctor collecting \$150 from insurance and an extra \$50 from the patient.
This form of abuse has become so widespread, as has the performance of unnecessary but insurance-covered surgery and hospitalization, that the larger industrial unions have gone over or are contemplating pre-paid group-practice clinics to stop these outrages that continually push insurance rates into the blue sky.
In a press conference at the recent United Steelworkers convention, John Tamayko, director of the union's insurance department, pointed out that studies have shown that under medical plans with group-practice clinics and doctors on salary, steel workers have fewer operations, stay in hospitals shorter periods, and have more of the services they need.
The helter-skelter system of American medical practice needs to be reformed into a rational and systematically planned national health service. Such a service should consist of salaried medical personnel working in a network of hospitals and clinics, financed by the government, with services dispensed on the basis of need and not of ability to pay and with appropriate national subsidies for basic research.
The official medical organization, the American Medical Society, has consistently opposed any and all improvements of medical care ever suggested, planned, or put into effect. This guild of medieval minds has fought cooperative clinics, group practice, state health boards, public health services, health insurance, and cheap polio shots.
No one in either the Democratic or Republican parties has shown the slightest willingness to buck the AMA in proposing a fundamental reform. Both parties united to defeat the Forand bill which at least would have provided a little medical aid to a few of the older people. The forthright position of the candidates of the Socialist Workers party in favor of such a basic reform of American health care is another good reason why Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss deserve your support and vote in the 1960 elections.

ment all services were free. Since the Conservatives took office in 1951, certain small charges have been imposed for eyeglasses, dentures, and similar items. No prescription, however, costs more than 14 cents.
The total amount spent on health is about the same as is spent on education, about 3½ per cent of the total national resources. Total annual expenditures by the national government amount to approximately \$2 billion.
According to a Committee on General Practice report in 1954: "The advent of the Health Service has not harmed the relationship between doctors and their patients; there may even have been some improvement as a result of the removal of the barrier to treatment which lack of money imposed, and of increased cooperation among doctors."
In addition, there are special free services for school children and industrial workers. Visitors to the country are welcome to free treatment for illness or accidents.
Under the Labor govern-

Strike Continues At GE Despite Local's Defection

By Fred Halstead
The strike by the International Union of Electrical Workers against the General Electric Corporation suffered a blow on Oct. 17 when the 9,000-member Local 301 in Schenectady, N.Y., the union's largest local, broke ranks and returned to work on the company's terms.
Meanwhile, a meeting of the 125-member IUE conference board in New York on Oct. 18, voted to continue the strike and to give its negotiating team a free hand to sign a new contract and call off the walkout if an acceptable offer was presented by Sunday, Oct. 23.
In Schenectady, members of the local were ordered back to work — under an extension of the old contract minus the cost-of-living escalator clause — by Leo Jandreau, Local 301 business agent. A meeting on Oct. 12, attended by about 3,000 members voted to authorize officers to act independently of the national union.
Jandreau told the meeting: "I know you all want to go back to work and I say that when we go back strong and united. Local 301 will not be a sacrificial lamb for the national union. We'll be a strong local union that doesn't need help from the national on a local level."
Local 301 was one of several IUE locals which had originally voted to recommend that the national union not call the strike. It subsequently voted to go along with the national decision, however, joining the

... Leading Independents

(Continued from Page 1)
such prominent independents outside New York as Vincent Hallinan, of California, 1952 Progressive Party presidential candidate; Rev. William T. Baird, Perry Cartwright, Nellie DeSchaef, Charles Hamilton, John Hamilton, Rev. Joseph P. King, and James Nash, Sr. of Illinois.
NEWARK
Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers candidate for president, speaks on "A Socialist Program for Peace, Jobs and Equality," Friday, Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m. Continental Ballroom, Rm. 8, 982 Broad St. Contrib., 50 cents. Ausp., Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.
BAY AREA
DEBATE — "What Road to Socialism in America?" Participants: Art Sharon, Chairman, Northern California Socialist Workers party and Bogdan Denitch, executive committee member, Berkeley Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Friday, Nov. 4, 8 p.m., Finnish Brotherhood Hall, 1970 Chestnut St. (Off Union Sq.) Berkeley, Contrib., 50 cents. Ausp., SWP and SDF.
NEW YORK
"Radical Parties and the Election" — An analysis of the stands taken by the Communist party, Socialist Labor party, Socialist Workers party and Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Speaker, Harry Ring, staff writer, The Militant. Friday, Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place (Off Union Sq.) Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee.
The SWP national ticket has previously been endorsed by

Local Directory

- BOSTON**
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO**
Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.
- CLEVELAND**
Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203.
- DETROIT**
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES**
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 3-9238.
- MILWAUKEE**
150 East Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS**
Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Federal 2-7781.
- NEWARK**
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N. J.
- NEW YORK CITY**
Millant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 3-7852.
- OAKLAND-BERKELEY**
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
- PHILADELPHIA**
Millant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PD 3-5820.
- SAN FRANCISCO**
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Room 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
- SEATTLE**
1412—18th Avenue, EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore.
- ST. LOUIS**
For information phone MO 4-7194.

'Unprecedented Pact'

(Continued from Page 1)
ranch's pickers be union members, Hedrich and Church agreed. They also advanced money to several prospective pickers who were ready to join the union but did not have the required \$2.
Right here I was gripped by a strange feeling of unreality and I wondered if I could be wrong, after all, about an irrefragable conflict of classes. Perhaps as I turned the next page of my paper, I would discover that Nixon and Kennedy had both withdrawn from the presidential race in favor of a labor candidate.
The next sentence shook me out of my daydream. Hedrich is being ostracized by some ranchers, while others are cursing and threatening him. They have not been appeased by Hedrich's apologetic explanation that he has had three crop failures in the last three years and could not afford to lose this crop, too.
The growers have gone to court, where battles are raging around the issue of the union's right to picket, the definition of a bonafide labor dispute, and how to determine the prevailing rate which is paid to Mexican nationals. While lawyers argue and appeal, one rancher has taken direct action. Rather than meet union demands for 25

cents a box for tomatoes, he has destroyed his crop. A picture of Rancher Jack Perry, heroically seated on his tractor and plowing under 200 tons of tomatoes, restored my equilibrium and brought me all the way back to the old, familiar world of capitalist lunacy.
As soon as word of the Hedrich-Church agreement was received, the Council of California Growers called an emergency meeting to cope with the new union threat. They have issued a statement that it is typical of blackjack tactics employed by the union to pick on a hard-luck farmer who had three crop failures in a row. They also insist that strikebreakers, escorted through picket lines at the neighboring Wilken Ranch by Sheriff's deputies, are making even more money than union workers at the Hedrich-Church Ranch.
They have genuine cause for concern, and it is not only the unexpected friendliness of the Hedrich-Church settlement, but union recognition. When cherry pickers went on strike this spring, the ranchers said a union shop was a fantasy cooked up by irresponsible organizers. Now, only a few months later, olive pickers have won the first union shop agreement covering agricultural workers in the history of California.