

Members Seek Explanation of Stalinism

By Farrell Dobbs

At the recent congress of the Soviet Communist Party Nikita Khrushchev admitted that the Moscow Trials of the 1930's were frame-ups perpetrated by Stalin against loyal revolutionists who simply differed with Stalin politically. Khrushchev's new revelations have caused deep political repercussions within the Communist Parties generally.

In Japan angry demands have arisen, particularly among CP youth, for a full political explanation. Central Committee members of the Italian CP have voiced the need to go deeply into the causes of Stalinism. One of Stalin's staunchest defenders, Maurice Thorez, head of the French CP, today finds it necessary to tip his hat to "de-Stalinization."

John Gollan, general secretary of the British CP, when confronted at a party rally with the need to say where he now stands on past attacks on Leon Trotsky, is quoted as replying: "It is for the Russians to talk about Trotsky and not us here in Britain. I would say however that

Stalin's great service to the revolution was the defeat of the political policy of Trotsky that would have brought disaster to the Soviet Union."

Gollan is correct when he says the Russians should talk about Trotsky. But so should the British, Chinese, French, Italians, Japanese, so should the Americans and all revolutionists throughout the world. What was Trotsky's policy against which Gollan still claims Stalin was right? When Stalin suppressed Trotsky's writings was he trying to murder truth as he murdered Lenin's trusted co-workers through the Moscow Trials?

To discuss the political conflict between Stalin and Trotsky is not simply to rehash old fights. At the root lies the question of what happened to Leninist policy after Lenin died. Important lessons can be learned from the Stalin-Trotsky conflict that will benefit revolutionists today.

Under Lenin's leadership there was genuine workers' democracy in the Communist Parties and the Soviets. Under Lenin the Soviet state made diplomatic treaties and

trade agreements with capitalist countries but the Communist Parties in those countries went right on fighting to overturn capitalist rule.

Stalin subverted these basic tenets of Leninism. As he killed off Lenin's Central Committee he strangled workers' democracy within the Communist movement and within the Soviets. He turned the Communist Parties abroad into diplomatic outposts of the Soviet state, dangerously stripping them of their revolutionary vitality. "De-Stalinization" has not yet corrected these corruptions of Lenin.

Trotsky fought to continue Lenin's basic policies. He sought to keep up to date the application of genuine Marxism-Leninism to the unfolding world revolutionary struggles.

Communist militants seeking the whole truth owe it to themselves to break the Stalinist taboo against Trotsky and to read what he had to say. Let Trotsky speak for himself through his writings. Let each Communist militant form his own judgement of Trotsky's views.

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Conference Maps Program To Achieve Left-Wing Unity

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Efforts to strengthen the radical movement in this country were given a significant boost by a conference held here Nov. 25. The conference was dedicated to forging unity in action of presently divided revolutionary forces, with such action paving the way for building a new united party based upon a class-struggle program.

Described as a "conference preliminary to the founding convention of a new, American Labor-Negro Vanguard Party," the call for the gathering was issued by provisional chairman Clarence Coggins, a Negro unionist from New Jersey.

Attendance was urged upon all groups and individuals who oppose Washington's anti-Soviet drive, support the world-wide anti-imperialist movement, oppose the reformist policies of the trade union bureaucracy, support the

The government drive to outlaw the Communist Party is a grave threat to the fight for peace. See editorial, "A Menace to Peace," page 3.

Negro rights struggle, favor independent political action and back civil liberties for all. Special emphasis was placed on the need to resolutely oppose the drive to outlaw the Communist Party.

More than 50 people participated in the conference, some as individuals, others representing interested groups. Among the areas represented were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Coggins said that an announcement of the conference in the *National Guardian* had brought an encouraging response from people in other parts of the country who were not able to be present.

The participants included a good number of students and young workers, Negro and white. Present were veterans of the labor and radical movement. The chairman paid tribute to the conference's oldest participant — Carrie Belle Harvey, 86, of New Jersey who has devoted more than 40 years to the struggle for labor and

Negro emancipation. Two years ago, she ran for public office on the Communist ticket in a fight to defend the party's legal status.

Prior to the conference, Coggins sent a telegram to Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, congratulating the party on its refusal to register its members with the government as demanded by the Justice Department. He invited Davis to address the conference. The invitation was rejected with a sharp attack. A statement by the New York State CP branded the con-

(Continued on Page 2)

Jail for Those Helping Evicted Farmers

White-supremacist officials of Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, are jailing those who come to aid the embattled Negroes of the area. Imprisoned since Oct. 29 is Rev. Maurice McCrackin, well-known Cincinnati pacifist.

McCrackin is treasurer of Operation Freedom organized last year to aid tenant farmers and sharecroppers evicted in retaliation against efforts of Negroes to register to vote in the two counties. Operation Freedom set up Tent City for homeless families, rented land and made crop loans to persecuted Negro farmers.

McCrackin was in Brownsville, Tenn., to settle the year's crop loans and investigate the needs arising from the impending eviction of 60 more families in Haywood County. Neither friends nor newsmen were allowed to attend his trial for "loitering." Upon being asked how he pleaded, he replied: "I am pleading for justice in Africa, India, Cincinnati and Brownsville and everywhere." McCrackin refused to pay the fine and was jailed. He immediately went on a hunger strike which he intends to continue until his release scheduled for Dec. 9.

Rev. Richard Hudson, secretary of Operation Freedom was arrested almost as soon as he arrived in Brownsville to continue McCrackin's work. Freedom Riders Heath Rush and Ed Bromberg have been arrested twice and jailed overnight each time since they went to

American Gunboats Threaten Rights of Dominican People

By Herman Chauka

NOV. 29 — The continued presence of U.S. warships off the coast of the Dominican Republic while the Dominican workers are engaged in a general strike to oust Trujillo's appointee, President Balaguer, makes clear that Washington's intervention is not intended to bring democracy to that island.

The menace of the Marine-filled ships was further emphasized by Adlai Stevenson's sudden flight to Trinidad Monday. His object was to pressure Argentine President Frondizi into supporting OAS action for what he described as "the security of the continent against intervention from extra-continental sources."

The urgency of this diplomatically worded demand for support of a gang-up against Cuba is particularly ominous. A reliable report from Guatemala indicates that operations are under way there for what may be a carefully faked "Cuban invasion" of the country. Such an engineered "attack" could provide the pretext for sending the U.S. ships now off



Stevenson

the Dominican coast the few miles across to Cuba.

Washington's capacity to engage in such a reactionary adventure is demonstrated by the duplicity of its Dominican intervention. The original pretext for what one cor-

respondent aptly described as an act of "refined gunboat diplomacy" was to bar a return to power by the Trujillo family. But the Trujillos have been comfortably established in \$125-a-day Miami hotel suites for nine days now and the U.S. warships still remain poised off the Dominican coast.

The real reason for their presence was blurred out yesterday by a Dominican politician who would like nothing better than to be able to go down the line with U.S. policy.

When Cuba originally demanded that the UN Security Council brand the Dominican action of the U.S. an act of aggression, special provisions were made to give temporary UN delegate's status to Dr. José Bonilla Atilas, a representative of the opposition Dominican National Civic Union. He then spoke in support of the U.S. military action.

But when the Security Council meeting ended yesterday, Dr. Bonilla was no longer participating. He explained to newsmen:

"I spoke the other day while there was a hope that Balaguer would take a democratic direction." But, he added, he now sees "with alarm that this government is returning to its old tricks."

Dr. Bonilla disclosed that in negotiations for the creation of a coalition provisional government, Balaguer insisted that the official party of the Trujillo tyranny be included in any new government. The National Civic Union, while bent on "moderating" the popular struggle against Balaguer, apparently realizes that the Dominican masses will not tolerate continuing power by any part of the old order.

There is good reason for this sentiment. The people want democracy and freedom from the long years of U.S. domination which brought them such terrible poverty and oppression. The extent of the exploitation they have suffered was graphically indicated by two of the concessions offered by Balaguer in return for an end to the general strike. One was a promise to taxi drivers to cut the price of U.S.-provided gasoline from 52 cents a gallon to 35 cents.

The other was a promise that in the coming harvest sugar workers would be paid \$3 a day. Last year the wage was \$2 a day.

The promised concessions are overshadowed by a brutal club. Virtual martial law has been established under Gen. Pedro Rodriguez Echavarria who sees "the hand of communism" behind the general strike and who crudely warns the public: "The only reason they are inviting you to a strike is to produce a clash between United States armed forces and the Dominican people."



A mother and her five children living in a tent near Somerville, Tenn. They are one of the sharecropper families evicted for daring to vote in the 1960 presidential election.

John T. McManus, 56, Dies Suddenly

John T. McManus, general manager of the *National Guardian*, died of a heart attack Nov. 22 at his home in Montrose, N. Y. His sudden death was a heavy blow to his many friends and admirers.

Funeral services were held at Montrose on Nov. 25, which would have been his 57th birthday. The affection and esteem in which he was held was evidenced by the hundreds of neighbors and friends who came to pay their last respects. The funeral home could not accommodate the large numbers and many were unable to hear the eulogies by Al Warren, a neighbor, Dr. Morton Lindsay, a boyhood friend, Corliss Lamont, an election running mate, and James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*.

Jack McManus had a long career in the fields of journalism, unionism and politics. Beginning as a copy boy on the *New York Times* in 1921, he became police reporter, bridge expert and finally movie critic. He left the *Times* in 1937 for *Time* magazine where he was movie and radio critic. He then became picture entertainment editor of the now defunct *New York Daily PM*. In 1947, along with Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson, he founded the *National Guardian*, which became the principal paper of the Progressive Party movement.

McManus was a former vice president of the American Newspaper Guild and from 1943 to 1947 was president of the New York Newspaper Guild. He also served on the New York State CIO Council and the NYC CIO Council.

A member of the national committee of the Progressive Party



John T. McManus

and of the state committee of New York's American Labor Party, he was twice the ALP candidate for governor. In 1950 he received 220,000 votes. In 1954, when the ALP had already been pretty well scuttled he received 46,800 votes.

McManus played a key role in the regroupment process which took place in the radical movement in the late 1950's. A member of the sponsoring committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education, he did much to break down the internal barriers of mistrust and hostility which had divided the left. He played a key role in the formation of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee. It was this coalition movement which, rejecting support of the Democratic Party, ran an independent slate under the ballot name, Independent-Socialist Party, in 1958. McManus was the gubernatorial candidate. He received 31,658 votes.

A friendly, warm-hearted man with a gay sense of humor and an original wit, McManus had a talent for friendship. But beneath the easy going exterior of his personality was a granite foundation of integrity. This was demonstrated by his conduct before witch-hunting committees, by his unwavering devotion to what he considered right and by his espousal of causes, unpopular at the time but destined in all justice to triumph in the end.

... Conference for Left-Wing Unity

(Continued from Page 1)
ference "provocative" and "divisive."

In his keynote speech to the conference, Coggins reiterated the need for a united defense of the civil rights of the Communist Party and all other targets of the witch hunt. He called for an end to bickering among left-wing groups and urged, instead, efforts to find areas of agreement for action and an accompanying fraternal discussion of political differences.

Outlining the advances made by socialist forces on a world scale, he said that the defeats being suffered by U.S. imperialism offered new and bright prospects for socialist advances in this country. The left progressive movement, he said, was at a low ebb because it had lost faith in its own cause and had adopted a self-defeating policy of tail-ending the liberal wing of the capitalist class.

"We must get to know each other better," he said, "and learn to work with each other. If we set minimum goals we can test in life our ability to do things."

Among the immediate issues he cited as a basis for united action within the radical movement was a campaign to win working-class support for a negotiated settlement of the Berlin crisis. Along with this, he said, there should be anti-bomb agitation. We can win popular support, he declared, for the idea that it's easier to ban the bomb than to build shelters.

Stressing the need to win labor backing for the civil rights struggle, Coggins declared: "We should demand that the next AFL-CIO board meeting be held in a Southern city and that all the local union fair employment committees be invited to attend and that they go in integrated buses. If they sent down 10,000 union Freedom Riders, bus segregation would be smashed!"

He urged support for the defendants in the Monroe "kidnap" frame-up and said his committee would lend its efforts to achieving a united Monroe defense movement.

In an eloquent plea for united socialist action aimed at the formation of a new party, he declared, "if we join together no force can stop the formation of such a party. Come hell or high water, we will fight for these aims!"

The floor discussion following Coggins' report was marked by

brevity, seriousness and optimism. An electrical worker from Philadelphia described the growing process of cooperation among radicals of differing views there and expressed confidence that the news of the conference would be greeted with enthusiasm. A young man from New York discussed the need for linking the struggle of the youth with that of the labor movement. A student from Rhode Island reported a growing receptivity to socialist ideas on the campus. A Negro unionist pointed to the need for pressing for a union organizing drive in the South and

Those interested in joining in the work mapped out by the conference, or desiring further information, should contact Clarence Coggins, Provisional Chairman, 18 Gardner Avenue, Jersey City, N.J.

Financial contributions to further the activities of the continuations committee may be sent to the same address.

showed how the union bureaucrats' ties with the capitalist politicians stood in the way of such a drive. A young woman said we owe a great debt to the Cuban revolution which is helping to revitalize the left in this country. She emphasized that a new, united movement should be based on a clear-cut socialist program.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who attended as an observer, said he was confident the SWP would "respond in a fraternal way to the spirit and objectives of the conference." He said he was deeply impressed "by the spirit of socialist-minded individuals and groups seeking ways to act to-

gether on common issues while conducting a fraternal discussion to deepen collaboration."

He particularly welcomed the stress placed on developing within the union movement a consciousness of the necessity for labor acting in its own interests. "We can certainly work in common to develop that consciousness," he said.

The task is made difficult now, he continued, by the reaction that prevails in this country, but this reaction is an expression of desperation by a ruling class being pushed into a corner of the planet by a rising world revolutionary movement.

"There is a clear basis for broad unity," he said, "in defense of the Cuban revolution and, certainly, in the fight against the bureaucracy that is hamstringing the union movement."

Dobbs, too, underscored the urgency of the fight against Jim Crow. Calling for stepped-up backing for the Monroe victims, he said the SWP would press for unity in that defense movement.

Declaring defense of the legal rights of the Communist Party a crucial issue, he said, "If we believe in democracy, we are honor bound to rally behind them. Agreement or disagreement with the policies of the CP has nothing to do with it."

"The best way to counter the legal attack," he added, "is to carry the fight back on the political field — a fight in behalf of the interests and needs of the exploited."

Following the discussion, the report by Coggins was approved unanimously. A continuations committee, representing those already participating and open to those who may wish to join, will carry on the work of implementing the conference perspectives.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Edward Shaw, Midwest representative of Fair Play for Cuba Committee, just returned from a seven-week tour of Cuba, will report on latest developments there and show color slides of his trip. Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. John Woolman Hall, 1174 East 57th St. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. South Side Chapter FPCC.

DETROIT

The Truth About Robert Williams and the North Carolina "Kidnap" Frame-Up. Speakers, civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn, Rev. Charles Hill, Bernard Feiger, John Williams (brother of Robert Williams). Fri., Dec. 8, 8 p.m. Hartford Ave. Baptist Church, 6300 Hartford (At Milford). Contrib. \$1 (Unemployed free). Ausp. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

LOS ANGELES

A reception honoring Marxist lecturers William F. Warde and Evelyn Reed, veteran Minneapolis labor leader V. R. Dunne, and Socialist Workers Party Nat'l Chairman James P. Cannon. Refreshments from 5 p.m., smorgasbord from 6:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1.75 (Students, \$1.25). Sat., Dec. 9, Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

William F. Warde speaks on Opposing Trends in the U.S. and USSR. Sat., Dec. 9, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. 75c (Students 35c). Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St.

HOLD THE DATE for the gala New Year's Eve Dance of the Socialist Workers Party. Music by a top-flight band.

NEW YORK

The Dominican Crisis and the New Threat to Cuba. Speaker, Harry Ring, Militant staff writer. Fri., Dec. 8, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

A PARTY. Music by Jerry Brewster and his Jazz Band. Sat., Dec. 9, 10 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1.50. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Two Saturday Afternoon Classes, through Dec. 16. From 11 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., *Marxism and Problems of Bureaucracy*. Instructor, Murry Weiss. From 1 to 2:30 p.m., *Strategy and Tactics in the Fight for Negro Equality*. Instructor, Claude DeBruce. Contrib. 25c per session. Militant Labor School, 116 University Place.

NEW YORK

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James Higgins
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Gore Vidal
Playwright, author "The Best Man"

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Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, Chairman

Detroit Memorial Meeting Is Held for Larry Dolinski

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT — About a hundred friends and comrades assembled at a memorial meeting at Debs Hall Nov. 21 to pay tribute to Larry Dolinski who died of a stroke Nov. 18 at the age of 46.

The chairman, Art Fox, pointed to the injustice of a system of private medicine which made it impossible for a worker like Larry to receive adequate medical care in time to overcome his ailment.

The personal affection in which Larry was held throughout the Detroit labor movement was attested by the broad representation of workers at the meeting and the diverse political views of the speakers who paid tribute to him. George Breitman spoke for the Socialist Workers Party. Other speakers were Ernest Mazey, Genora Dollinger and Ernest Dillard.

Union Associates

Genora Dollinger and Ernest Dillard, who had worked closely with Larry in the United Auto Workers' struggles of the 1940's, told of the generous impulses and personal concern with which Larry treated everyone with whom he came in contact.

Ernest Mazey said that Larry was one for whom the word "comrade" was, in a broad, non-partisan sense, the most fitting tribute that could be paid to him.

It was this quality of Larry's — his firm confidence in the ultimate destiny of the American workers to take power into their own hands — that infected everybody who came in contact with him. So said George Breitman, who had gotten to know him well only after Larry rejoined the SWP in 1957. Breitman recalled that Larry's voice would quaver with indignation whenever he uttered the words, "bosses," "cops," "scab," or union "bureaucrat." He

had an abiding hatred for all who stood in the way of the rank-and-file workers' struggle for true democracy.

In the four years since his return (he had left with a dissident group in 1953) Larry had been an SWP candidate in state and national elections five times.

In 1958 he suffered a prolonged period of unemployment due in good measure to an unofficial blacklist by the auto shops. But with uncanny resourcefulness Larry found his way back into an auto plant as a boiler operator. His job required long hours and oddball shifts, and scrounging to recoup the financial losses of the long period of unemployment. This contributed to wearing out his thin frame.

The thought that came first to his wife, Rosemary, when he died was that he was not able to achieve his greatest wish — to live to see a socialist America. This, too, was the regret of his many friends.

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A Menace to Peace

The Militant vigorously endorses the stand taken by the preliminary conference for the foundation of a new labor-Negro vanguard party in declaring unalterable opposition to the government's efforts to smash the Communist Party.

Humanity today is living through a grave crisis, survival — the most fundamental of all issues — is the overriding question of the day. If the peril of atomic war is to be averted, the American people must have the opportunity to consider and choose among all possible viewpoints on how to establish enduring peace. To the degree that American liberties are curbed, the prospects of survival are narrowed.

The federal move to outlaw the Communist Party is not intended simply to throttle that particular viewpoint. It will set an ominous precedent for proscribing other viewpoints which may be unfavorable to those who command political power today.

Anyone who seriously doubts that the present administration would readily use such a precedent against others who oppose its pro-war policies need only consider how ready Washington is to dispatch troops to any section of the globe where its power and policies may be challenged. Would a government, willing to risk world war to maintain its power in Berlin, hesitate to lash out, if it deemed it necessary, against critics at home?

Defense of the Communist Party is everybody's business.

Kennedy's Izvestia Interview

President Kennedy stood the issue on its head when he told the editor of *Izvestia* that the major barrier to world peace was alleged Soviet efforts to spread communism throughout the globe.

The real threat to peace has been Washington's military encirclement of the Soviet Union, its aggressive policy toward China and its financial and military backing of imperialist efforts to smash the world-wide colonial movement for independence.

It was the United States that dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki after the already shattered Japanese imperialist forces had put out peace feelers.

It was U.S. guns and dollars that backed Dutch imperialism against the Indonesian freedom movement, the Belgians against the Congolese and the French against the Indo-Chinese and Algerians.

It was the U.S. that remilitarized West Germany and maintains warlord Chang Kai-shek on the island of Formosa. It is the U.S. alone of the major powers which refuses to recognize the Chinese government.

And it is the U.S. that unleashed naked aggression against Cuba and threatens to do it again.

It is entirely true that anti-capitalist forces are making major gains on a world scale. But this is not the result of a Kremlin "conspiracy." It is the product of the failure of world capitalism to provide peace, equality and a decent life for the masses of the world. The war danger will be eliminated when the American people recognize this fact and put a halt to Washington's reactionary foreign policy.

Let's Take a Vote

On Nov. 26, the Gallup Poll released the result of a sampling of public opinion on whether or not this country should resume nuclear testing in the atmosphere. The poll was conducted in a situation which would favor the forces pressing for such a resumption. With the Soviet renewal of testing, a new propaganda campaign was unleashed in this country to convince the public that our "security" demanded that we also resume polluting the atmosphere.

The Gallup Poll's question itself was loaded in that direction. People were asked: "Russia has been testing nuclear bombs in the atmosphere above ground while the U.S. has been testing underground. Do you think the U.S. should or should not start tests in the atmosphere?"

The results? Forty-four per cent of those polled agreed the U.S. should resume atmospheric tests while 45 per cent said "No!" Eleven per cent were recorded as having "no opinion."

This poll is but one of numerous recent expressions of growing, actively expressed sentiment against a resumption of atmospheric tests. Women's committees have sprung up around the country and report unexpectedly gratifying responses to their calls for public demonstrations against the tests. College students from many campuses have acted in increasing numbers to the same end. They have the support of many faculty members in their efforts.

In our opinion, if a national poll were taken on the issue of resuming atmospheric tests after full and fair presentations of both viewpoints there is little doubt that the decisive majority would declare, "No more testing!"

Why shouldn't the federal government take such a poll, by referendum vote, after an adequate period of democratic public debate?

CIA's Cambodia Photos Flop

By George Lavan

The neutralist government of Cambodia scotched an elaborate frame-up attempt so quickly and effectively that the faces of top officials in South Vietnam and in Washington's Central Intelligence Agency are burning bright red.

Cambodia has been a thorn in Washington's far-eastern plans since 1954, for it alone of the small countries on the Indo-Chinese peninsula has faithfully followed the neutralization policy prescribed by the Geneva pact which ended the French-Indo Chinese War. Of its neighbors, South Vietnam is a dictatorship ruled by U.S. puppet, Ngo Dinh Diem; Thailand, ruled by dictator Sarit Thanarat, is also a U.S. puppet; while Laos is in a period of uneasy truce in a civil war caused by the Central Intelligence Agency's attempt to overthrow the neutralist regime of Souvanna Phouma.

But the politically conservative government of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, despite bribes, blandishments and threats, has refused to abandon his neutralist policy. Cambodia will deal with all countries, he declares, will accept aid from all if no strings are attached and will not join any military blocs.

Anti-American?

Washington and the U.S. press, of course, consider such a stand as anti-American and "favorable to Communism." So Sihanouk's government has long been unpopular with U.S. policy makers. But in the past months things have been coming to a head. Inspired stories have appeared with greater frequency about Sihanouk's anti-Americanism, infiltration of Cambodia by Soviet agents, and how it was affording use of its territory to North Vietnamese troops to invade South Vietnam where they pass themselves off as Viet Cong guerrillas, as the rebels there are called.

This last charge was the climax of the propaganda build-up. It served two purposes: 1) It "explained" for a perplexed American public why the whole South Vietnam countryside was up in arms against the "free world" government handpicked by the U.S. and subsidized to the tune of \$2 billion. You see, those Viet Cong guerrillas aren't really South Vietnamese peasants, they are Communist troops from North Vietnam sent down to stir up trouble. 2) It afforded a plausible pretext for an invasion of neutralist Cambodia by South Vietnam and Thailand.

On Nov. 7 South Vietnam officials called in the reporters and announced it had conclusive evidence of large Communist Viet Cong encampments in Cambodia. Aerial photographs and maps of these encampments and other military installations were handed out.

The *New York Times* (Nov. 8) reported: "The South Vietnamese government has protested repeatedly to Cambodia about the use of that country's soil by the Communists. The Viet Cong forces are said to attack outposts and villages in South Viet Nam from the neutral sanctuary . . . Evidence presented by the South Vietnamese authorities has been carefully checked. There seems to be no possibility that ordinary villages could have been mistaken for military encampments. The buildings are obviously barracks; the character of farm dwellings in this region is entirely different . . . In a number of places, permanent-looking structures that might be barracks or administration buildings appear among rows of canvas tents."

Military intelligence in Saigon, capital of South Vietnam, declared on Nov. 12 that 6,000 troops were in the secret Cambodian encampments. The *New York Times* dispatch continued, "Members of the U.S. military advisory group here say that they have been convinced for a long time that the guerrillas composed of Viet Cong forces,

utilize Cambodian territory for attacks against South Vietnamese outposts . . . Competent informants have stated that intelligence materials in their possession leaves no doubt of the character of these bases."

Never before had a case been so well "documented." U.S. papers blossomed forth with aerial photographs of first rate quality showing the secret installations, maps showing eight locations of eight bases with data about how many thousands of troops were at each, where military hospitals and supply dumps were, etc., etc. How did the South Vietnamese military get so efficient?

The Associated Press gave the answer on Nov. 13 when it reported: "Reliable informants said today that U.S. Air Force jets were flying reconnaissance missions over South Vietnam to pinpoint build-ups and movements of Communist rebel forces and their secret bases . . . Presumably the jets could also have provided what Vietnamese authorities have termed conclusive photographic evidence that Communist rebels had extensive bases and large troop units in neighboring neutralist Cambodia."

That U.S. planes were participating in the civil war in South Viet Nam is not surprising news. U.S. troops there in the guise of training and advisory units have been participating in combat as the acknowledged wounding in action of a U.S. officer a week ago revealed. It is possible that Air Force planes have been flying combat missions as well. But photographic reconnaissance over the air space of a neutral country is a specialty of the Central Intelligence Agency as the notorious U-2 flights over the Soviet Union made known.

From Oct. 21 Sihanouk, chief of state of Cambodia, attempted to counter the Saigon-Washington propaganda campaign about "secret red bases" in his country with invitations to "any nation that wishes" to send inspecting teams into the border areas. On Nov. 16 Sihanouk in vain asked South Vietnam to send a "permanent control team" to the suspected areas. But he did finally succeed in getting an inspection made by *New York Times* far-eastern correspondent Robert Trumbull. For four days, traveling in helicopters and jeeps furnished by the Cambodians, Trumbull criss-crossed all eight specific areas supposedly harboring Viet Cong forces.

"Hundreds of square miles of forest, jungle and swampland were surveyed from the air," Trumbull writes (Nov. 22) . . . "But no identifiable military installations other than Cambodian were detected in the air search, which extended almost the entire length of the twisting border from the Gulf of Siam to southern Laos. Landings were made at many Cambodian Army and police camps and numerous villages to check ground activity . . . Official Saigon intelligence reports had pinpointed eight asserted sites of various Viet Cong command headquarters, supply centers, training areas and medical facilities, including one 250-bed hospital. As nearly as could be determined from the approximate locations given by Saigon, all these places were thoroughly covered in the four day survey. No signs of secret bases were seen and the only hospital noted was one at the town of Lomphs."

As they used to say down at the CIA, one good picture is worth a thousand words of fiction.

Xmas Book List

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

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

THE REVOLT OF THE MIND, by Tamas Azcel and Tibor Meray. A gripping, invaluable account of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the events that brought it about. Published at \$5. Special price, \$1.49.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA

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

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

CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT. 25c.

FIDEL CASTRO SPEAKS TO THE CHILDREN. 25c.

THE DECLARATION OF HAVANA. 10c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARXIST CLASSICS

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

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

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

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

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

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

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

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

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

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

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

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What Mrs. Shepard Doesn't Know

Southern white supremacists and Northern reactionaries are forging a close working alliance. One of the fabricated issues which they are jointly pushing is an attack on the Aid to Dependent Children program. This pitifully inadequate program makes a pittance in federal funds available through local relief agencies to mothers who are unable otherwise to feed their children.

The attack began over a year ago in Louisiana when racists struck from the relief rolls Negro mothers of illegitimate children who were receiving ADC assistance. "ADC subsidized immorality and illegitimacy," was the argument of these sadistic hypocrites. In North Carolina a legislator introduced a bill to sterilize Negro women who had illegitimate children and received ADC help.

Hatred of humanity appears to be a strong bond uniting the Southern racists and the ultra reactionaries of the North, for the latter quickly embraced the campaign against ADC and are propagandizing against it in most Northern cities today. It is, for example, a feature of the attack on people on relief by the unspeakable city manager of Newburgh, N. Y.

A New Attack

Typical of this nationwide campaign was a recent series of articles in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* by one Marguerite Shepard. Not typical enough, however, was the answer given to the *Globe-Democrat's* propaganda build-up for depriving poverty-stricken and harried mothers and their helpless children of the few ADC cents a day they are trying to live on.

The Committee of the People of St. Louis, a militant group of the Negro community, put a picket line around the newspaper and called for a campaign of protest letters and phone calls.

In a speech, reprinted in the Oct. 23 *St. Louis Evening Whirl*, a paper serving the colored community, Mrs. Delores Richardson, a leader of the Committee of the People of St. Louis, revealed that she had endeavored to get Mrs. Shepard, prior to the appearance of the series, to visit a typical family receiving ADC help. It was to no avail. Mrs. Shepard preferred cold statistics to living mothers and children. Mrs. Richardson's speech continued:

"What does she [Marguerite Shepard] know about trying to make ends meet with nothing? She never tried to do day work and get nothing for it except insults and a couple of dollars. We have to do a week's work in one day for peanuts. She doesn't know about coming home, after clean-

ing some rich woman's house, to a poor bug-and-rat-infested building, or leaving her own children to go take care of some rich person's spoiled brats.

"She doesn't have to pay the high rents Negroes have to pay. Marguerite has not been so down she had to apply for welfare. She has not had a caseworker ask her about her relationships with men, and what she had better do and not do in this regard. She has not been talked to as if she were a child of three or four. She has not been treated as though she were a brainless slave, with the caseworker, the slavemaster. She has not had to live in fear of being watched day and night by welfare investigators, who are really detectives from the police department hired by the City Welfare Office. They come late at night showing a badge when they walk in the ADC homes.

"She has not had these investigators look all through her dresser drawers and closets, under the bed, or in the bathroom, then proceed to ask all manner of embarrassing questions. She has not had these investigators lie and say they found evidence of a man in her home. She has not had her welfare check — her only means of support — cut off because her father or her brother came to visit her.

"She doesn't know what it is to try to rent from the projects or the real estates with her and her children on the ADC. Children are being refused by the very projects that were built for them, or the families are being put out when a new baby arrives . . .

"Shepard did not try to take her sick child to the city hospital with no money for treatment, only to be told to bring it back next week to the clinic. She will never know what it is to be an unemployed veteran, and have laws, like these in Missouri, telling you you must run off and leave your family before the state will keep them from starving to death. She will never know what it was like to be wounded fighting for freedom, but find out it was for someone else's freedom, not your own.

"She has not, I am sure, gotten electric and gas bills that were outrageously high, knowing she didn't use that much. In order to get it back on, you pay what you owe, besides the three or five dollars extra, then you get a letter telling you to deposit fifty dollars or more to keep in good faith with these companies. Every way the Negro turns there is a wall in the way. Marguerite, we are breaking through all these walls whether you like it or not.

"Now, after a few days of what she thinks was research, Shepard

feels she is big enough to betray my confidence and that of all the poor citizens in order to get the few bucks someone must be paying her to mouth her propaganda. She would not dare meet me before the public on something like "Eye on St. Louis," where I could tear up the whole distorted false picture she has painted. With all her formal education, I would tear her up with humanity and common sense. Does the *Globe Democrat* have to stoop so low in order to sell its rag? First they try puzzle contests. After that wears out they stir up some race hate. They are trying to get the poor white and Negro taxpayers to fussing with each other as though these little ADC families are the cause of all the trouble in St. Louis today . . ."

Ohio Educators Hit 'Shelter' Program

A large group of prominent Cleveland professors has joined a similar group in the Boston area in protesting U.S. government encouragement of fallout shelter construction. The educators declare that such shelters are not effective against modern nuclear attack and that the false sense of security which the shelter program creates "prepares the people for the acceptance of a thermonuclear war as an instrument of national policy."

The statement originally appeared in an open letter to President Kennedy signed by 183 educators from the Boston area and published as an advertisement in the Nov. 10 *New York Times*. It was reprinted as an advertisement in the Nov. 22 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* signed by 193 educators from Western Reserve University, Case Institute of Technology and Fenn College.

The statement pointed out that a modern nuclear bomb "exploded in the air would have an 18-mile radius of total destruction of ordinary structures, and would ignite most wooden buildings in a radius of 60 miles. Within that area, a large proportion of the population would be suffocated by lack of oxygen or poisoned by carbon monoxide. Basement shelters under burning buildings would be useless, as would blast shelters without a reserve air supply."

The open letter called for "a positive program for peace with freedom" and declares that "at the present time the nation is not ready to consider such a program largely because of widespread lack of understanding of just how catastrophic war today would be."

Letters from Our Readers

The Cuban Revolution

Ashland, Ohio
The Cuban Revolution is here to stay. It happened without Eisenhower's permission and it will continue without Kennedy's permission.

Another invasion is now being planned against Cuba. Forces are now being trained in 29 camps in the U.S. and Latin America for the slaughter. These hired killers will have quite a job on their hands. If one looks back into history one will find the fact that never has a revolutionary government been overthrown or conquered.

When this invasion takes place there is certain to be a hatred of our "government policy" in Latin America the likes our universe has never witnessed.

The Rebel Army of Cuba shouts "Victory or death — We shall win!" To the last man, woman and child they are playing their game and their aims in earnest.

All power to the Cuban people and their brilliant leaders. They are underdogs no more. They have a perfect right to liberty and self-determination and will fight to the last drop of blood for that right.

Friend of Cuba

Source of Truth

St. Paul, Minn.
Enclosed is \$2 for *The Militant*. This is the least I can do to support one of the few sources of truth in this nation's mass media. Keep up the good work.

G. T.

Rockefeller Critic

Elmhurst, N. Y.
Arch-reactionary Gov. Rockefeller has just thrown \$100 million into the laps of his friends, the fallout shelter builders. The Albany shelter lobby is one of the special interest groups. Rocky naturally gives special interest groups, which also means slumlord Rocky's personal interests, top priority when it comes to the distribution of lush easy bucks. But the workers of New York City get last priority, that is no priority, when it comes to decent schools.

Rocky is working overtime to brainwash the kids of New York into accepting and digesting the unpalatable, monstrous, war-insanity psychology. Rocky is expending much energy and many dollars to sabotage U.S.-USSR disarmament bomb-ban talks, by spitting on the efforts of peacemakers. Why? Because Rocky has a big stake in big armaments and big bomb piles — and that stake is dollars! Rocky knows that the U.S. military superstructure is mightier than the military of the socialist lands, yet he is ranting for more U.S. atmospheric tests and more U.S. arms. As the parasite Rockefeller derives his bread, so does the predatory animal speak.

Rocky doesn't care to know how many deformed children are existing at Willowbrook State Hospital — mutations that are the result of the Yucca Flats tests, the filthiest of the dirty bomb tests. He cares not about the twisted tiny limbs, the blistered bodies, the pain-tortured organs of the little ones. Rocky only cares about Rocky and his slimy breed who built the Nazi conquest machines of yesterday and today.

Remember that Rocky demanded U.S. armed intervention in the

Congo to protect his blood-stained mining interests. That was just before heroic Lumumba was slain, a crime that stunned every working class patriot on earth. Remember that Rocky demanded that U.S. planes bomb liberated Cuba to recapture the confiscated slaveholdings. The bombs fell, but Rocky lost. Liberated Cubans held fast to their ground.

The next state election is already ripe for a big labor-progressive-united socialist coalition. No energy must be spared to beat Rocky. As a private citizen, Rockefeller is a menace to mankind, but as a "public" official, he is a greater menace.

Robert Joseph Burros

'Ban the Ban'

New York, N. Y.
Several interesting aspects of the student strike action at several New York City colleges protesting the administration's ban on Communist Party speakers should be added to the report in your Nov. 20 issue.

There were many heartening responses among the faculty to the two-hour class boycott by students at City College. Several professors actually dismissed their classes. One is reported to have dismissed the students who did show up for his class and expressed his disgust at their having crossed the picket line. Another dismissed his class with the remark that he didn't want any scabs among his students. Others held their classes but postponed scheduled mid-term exams so boycotters wouldn't be penalized.

Following the "ban-the-ban" strikes at Hunter and CCNY, a bigger and even more effective strike was held at Queens College Nov. 16. This one was an all-day boycott of classes and a careful check by students showed a 70% participation, about double that at CCNY and Hunter.

Despite this strong student and faculty opposition, there are signs, however, that the administration is still looking for ways to maintain the ban. Now that the law professors and ACLU have knocked the props from under their "legal" arguments, they are beginning to speak of the dual issue — that is, the "educational" as well as the legal. They may now take responsibility for maintaining the ban, not on the basis of the Supreme Court McCarran Act decision, but solely on the ground that they don't think that the Communists should have the same right as others to present their views on city campuses.

The students realize that sustained protest is necessary and an all-city picket line has been called for Sat., Dec. 2, from 1 to 3 p.m., at the Administrative Council's headquarters, 535 East 80th Street.

Fred Mazelis

Moscow vs. Peking

Cleveland, Ohio
The Militant should not take sides in the apparent conflict between Moscow and Peking. They are attacks on capitalism from the standpoint of their respective areas and not a divergence in Communist ideology. The conflict is make-believe, not a reality. Moreover, capitalism, which is founded on deception, does not permit frank procedures.

The Militant should be aware of these contingencies and not exploit them.

Joseph Manlet

Thought for the Week

"Being ready to strike our enemies with hydrogen bombs [is] a primitive, savage and indeed schizoid kind of behavior . . . Do any of you remember the shock that the civilized world felt when the Nazis murdered everyone in the Czechoslovakian village of Lidice? This cold-blooded act of revenge was the Nazi answer to an attack by the Czech underground. It was massive retaliation. In what way is our present policy any different? But where now is the editorial concern? Where the thunder from our pulpits?" — From a Nov. 17 speech by Dr. George W. Albee, professor of psychology at Western Reserve University.

It Was Reported in the Press

Relax — "Protection against nuclear weapons is relatively simple." — Robert Condon, director of New York City Office of Civil Defense.

Note on "Featherbedding" — In 1923 the railroads employed 1,800,000 shop and road workers and 16,000 executives. Today the railroads employ 750,000 workers and 16,000 executives.

Thought for Your Town? — For the eighth straight year the Madisonville, Ky., City Council voted to exempt residents from property and poll taxes. Income from city-owned light and water plants makes the taxes unnecessary.

Slum Clearance — The Conservation, Rehabilitation and Renewal Foundation, Inc., a New York group dedicated to the improvement of slum properties through private investment, has asked for the resignation of director David B. Solove. A City Housing Court warrant has been issued for him for 582 violations

in 33 cases involving property that he managed.

Concern for the Elderly — "The Library Commission authorized Librarian William R. Holman yesterday to begin a campaign to get rid of elderly itinerants who haunt the Main branch. Holman said the daily newspaper files which attract the unwanted clientele will be moved to the Business Branch . . ." — The Nov. 14 *San Francisco Chronicle*.

A Bright Note — "During the last two weeks, White House aides report, mail from the citizenry has been concerned largely with foreign affairs . . . The biggest question bothering those who write the President is the possible resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere, and most of the mail opposes it." — The Nov. 27 *New York Times*.

Hard Sell — Cadre Industries Corp. has issued a special booklet for children of its shareholders entitled, *A Share for Johnny*. The

company explained: "It is so very important, we believe, for our young people to understand our free-enterprise system particularly in these times of great international tension."

Sensitive Palates — The publicity director of New York's Plaza Hotel explained why the annual Fall Ball for the Boys Club is a favorite among the city's wealthy: "These poor kids show up and sing every year. Why, it warms the young married's hearts to see a fat boy singing his lungs out and a tiny one missing a note or two. It's certainly more palatable than most charities. After all, you can't trundle out the heart patients and such."

Wonder Why? — M. Wilfred Goding, U.S. High Commissioner of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, says a resumption of nuclear tests by the United States at Eniwetok "would not be taken warmly by the people of the Marshall Islands."