

# THE MILITANT

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## General Sees Rough Go In 'Nasty' Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead

"This is a nasty little war," said Gen. Earl Wheeler, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Jan. 25 while on tour of South Vietnam. The next day Wheeler said there are now 12,000 U.S. military personnel involved and that the war will be a long one. According to the *Associated Press*, "he said he thinks the support and understanding of the American people of U.S. action in Vietnam is spotty, and a good many Americans 'do not realize there is a war going on here.'"

Last week, a good many Americans got some of the spots filled in by an issue of *Life* magazine which gives an idea of what a "nasty" war it is in which Kennedy has involved this country. The glaring, full color pictures in *Life's* South Vietnam article should make any decent American angry and ashamed at Washington's actions.

### At Gun Point

The pictures show South Vietnam peasants "suspected" of being communists being flushed at gun point from their rice paddies. They show peasants, tied by ropes around their necks being led by troops of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. One picture shows an area being bombed with jellied gasoline from U.S.-supplied planes while other U.S. planes — with U.S. pilots — direct the operation.

Another picture shows a dozen or so dead bodies of young peasants as Diem's troops and U.S. "advisers" stand around surveying their work. *Life* even shows one peasant, on his knees with his arms tied behind his back, being "questioned" by a Diem soldier thrusting a dagger at his victim. Torture is used by "each side," *Life* calmly reports.

Another picture shows troops burning a village because "Communist literature" had allegedly been found in a hut. Literature! And *Life* justifies the whole operation on the grounds that it is a fight to defend an outpost of the "free world."

### Hated Regime

But what is clear from the pictures as well as what has been repeatedly admitted in certain U.S. press reports recently is that the Diem regime is hated by the whole population of the country, and can maintain itself only by the most brutal repression and direct U.S. military support.

Just what the editors of *Life* — who are all-out supporters of Washington's commitment to the cruel war against the South Vietnamese peasants — hope to accomplish by publishing these pictures is not clear. Perhaps the editors hope to deaden the feelings of the American people so they will accept such atrocities as a matter of course — in preparation for an all-out commitment of U.S. combat troops to the civil war in South Vietnam.

In any case, it is a war which the Pentagon cannot possibly win. No more than the French could win their "dirty war" in Vietnam or their "dirty war" in Algeria. No more than Hitler could win his wars of annihilation and enslavement. U.S. involvement can only lead to more and more young American men being killed, and



Ngo Dinh Diem

to greater moral depravity in this country.

Diem and the U.S. government are killing peasants who are fighting to abolish a feudal land system and imperialist exploitation. It is a war against a whole population fighting for national independence and a new society. U.S. participation in this war is a shame on America and a crime of the Kennedy administration against the American people.

## Indiana Victims of Mob Attack During Cuba Crisis Face Probe

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — The local chapters of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Young Socialist Alliance face a grand jury probe here. The threatened move stems from events when the Cuban crisis was at its height and an Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose U.S. Aggression was formed by University of Indiana students.

Its widely publicized demonstration on Oct. 24 infuriated rightist elements of the town and university. Twenty-two "ad hocers," as they are now called, were forced in the course of their demonstration to abandon their march to downtown Bloomington after all their signs had been destroyed by a howling mob of several thousand students, sprinkled with Birchites from town.

Some of the anti-war demonstrators — both men and women — were kicked, slugged, struck by rocks, and knocked to the ground by the hysterical mob. Luckily, no one suffered permanent injury.

### Slogans Destroyed

Slogans on the placards destroyed by the mob condemned the U.S. blockade, called for an end to the trade embargo against Cuba, urged negotiations instead of intimidation and the removal of U.S. bases from foreign soil, condemned Kennedy's actions and threats against Cuba's sovereignty and stressed the necessity for peace.

During the demonstration, two members of the mob were arrested — one for striking a policeman and the other for striking a demonstrator. Their cases were due to come up in Bloomington City Court Feb. 1. But on Jan. 15 a local paper announced that crimi-

## Castro's Speech to Women's Conference On Need for Latin American Revolution

— Text Begins on page 4 —

## China's Reply to Soviet-Bloc Critics See page 2

## Reversal Won In Frameup of Monroe Youth

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants announced Jan. 23 that a reversal had been won of the convictions of Jayvan Covington, 19-year-old Negro youth of Monroe, N.C., sentenced last May to 7-10 years. Young Covington, prominent in the civil-rights struggle in the area, was framed on larceny charges. Defense attorneys Hal Witt and Richard Scupi of Washington, D.C., appealed the case to the North Carolina Supreme Court.

Held incommunicado for 20 days in the basement of the Union County jail, Covington was shot and wounded in his cell and then further charged with attempting to escape.

In its decision, the state Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the grounds that Union County Judge Gambill had unjustly refused the defense opportunity to prove the indicting grand jury had been selected in a racially discriminatory manner. In the limited investigation the defense attorneys had been able to make, they found the designation "col." opposite the names of colored persons on the grand jury list.

The trial judge refused to set a time or summon the officials and records and denied the motion to quash the indictment. In the en-

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Berman Gibson

## New York Rally Raises Funds For Ky. Miners

By Carol Lawrence

NEW YORK, Jan. 29 — For those of us to whom the 1930s are not a memory, history came alive last Thursday night when over 700 people attended a rally here supporting the southeastern Kentucky miners in the sixth month of their heroic strike. The meeting was sponsored by the New York Trade Union Solidarity Committee to Aid the Hazard Miners.

Berman Gibson, a blunt speaking and courageous leader of the strike, told of the poverty of the miners who — as pickets — are now cut off from receiving government surplus food and are receiving no support from their national union, the United Mine Workers.

But he spoke mostly of the determination of these men. They will not allow their union to be broken, he said. They have been shot at and their homes have been dynamited, but they fought to organize their union in 1932 and they are fighting now — defending themselves with guns when necessary. Gibson told how some of these men sometimes earn only \$16 for six days' work and how they are prepared to die in this struggle.

With increasing automation — despite the fact that production in the Kentucky mines has not declined — unemployment has been growing steadily since the end of World War II. In 1959 the UMW suffered a major defeat when its leaders sent striking miners back to work on the promise of further negotiations without their demands being met. Mine operators began a drive to break the union by sub-contracting the work. Sub-contractors either refused to sign union contracts or flouted them. In many cases they even neglected to pay social-security taxes.

Wages in many mines fell from the union scale of \$24.24 per day to as low as \$3 per day. The top UMW officials did nothing. The only four hospitals in the eight counties where the strike is in progress are owned by the UMW health-and-welfare fund. They are financed by employer contributions of 40c. per ton of coal mined. Mine owners in the area stopped

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## Strikers Solid On 2 Cleveland Daily Papers

CLEVELAND, Jan. 29 — International Typographers Union Local 53 last night voted unanimously by secret ballot to strike the *Plain Dealer* and *Press* because of the managements' failure, after some 35 meetings with the union's negotiating committee, to come forward with a decent proposal. The mailers, affiliated with the ITU, also voted to strike.

CLEVELAND, Jan. 28 — The newspaper strike, involving some 3,000 workers in eleven local unions on Cleveland's two daily papers, today enters its 60th day. It has successfully weathered strikebreaking attempts from within and without, the harmful effects of craft disunity, a new experiment in class collaboration, the economic pressure of inadequate union strike funds and denial of unemployment compensation — and record-breaking snow and cold.

The strike started with the decision of Cleveland Newspaper and Magazine Drivers' Local 473 rejecting contract counter-proposals of the publishers, and posting

See story on latest developments in New York printers strike on page 2.

pickets at all entrances to the *Cleveland Press* and *The Plain Dealer* the night of Nov. 29.

Cleveland Newspaper Guild Local 1 voted the next morning to support the teamsters and to strike on their own contract demands.

Meanwhile, at 2:30 a.m. the *Plain Dealer* management had posted notices advising all employees of suspension of publication until further notice since "there is no work available for you to perform." The *Press* management posted a similar notice on Dec. 1.

A unity committee of all the crafts involved began functioning immediately. In addition to the two striking unions, it included representatives of the typographers, pressmen, stereotypers, engravers, mailers, paper handlers, machinists, building service and operating engineers.

While negotiations between the individual crafts and the publishers continued, the first attempt to disrupt the unity of the strike was made Dec. 7. A so-called citizens committee consisting of Mayor

(Continued on Page 3)

## Freedom Songs At Carnegie Hall

A "Salute to Southern Students" will be held at Carnegie Hall in New York City on Friday, Feb. 1, exactly three years since the sit-in movement began in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The program, which starts at 8:30 p.m. is a benefit for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's voter-registration and direct action campaigns in the South. Tony Bennet, Thelonius Monk, Charlie Mingus, and the Freedom Singers are featured.

## CHINA'S REPLY TO CRITICS, PART II

# Peking's Stand on Cuba Crisis

[This is the second of three installments comprising the complete text of an editorial from the Dec. 31, 1962, Peking People's Daily entitled, "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us."]

The Socialist countries should of course support the people of their underdeveloped areas; they should first of all support their struggles for national independence, and when independence has been won, they should support them in developing their national economies. But the Socialist countries should never second the colonialist policy of the imperialists toward the underdeveloped countries, much less "jointly intervene" with them in the underdeveloped areas. For anyone to do so would be to betray proletarian internationalism and to serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism.

Is it really possible to have "peaceful co-existence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on one side and the imperialists and colonialists on the other? What does "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas really mean? The Congo incident is the best answer. When the UN Security Council unanimously adopted its resolution for international intervention in the Congo, there were some people in the international Communist movement who believed this to be a shining example of international co-operation. They believed that colonialism could be wiped out through the intervention of the United Nations, which would enable the Congolese people to obtain their freedom and independence. But what was the outcome?

Lumumba, the national hero of the Congo, was murdered; Gizenga, his successor, was imprisoned; many Congolese patriots were murdered or thrown into jail, and the vigorous Congolese struggle for their national independence was seriously set back. The Congo not only continues to be enslaved by the old colonialists, but has also become a colony of U.S. imperialism, sinking into ever deeper suffering. We ask those who are clamoring for "peaceful co-existence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other and for "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas: Have you forgotten the tragic lesson of the Congo incident?

Those who slander China as being against peaceful co-existence attack it with the charge that it has committed mistakes in its relations with India. Disregarding the true facts and failing to

discriminate between right and wrong, they invariably blame China for having clashed with India. On this question, Togliatti said, "We know all that is reasonable and right in the claims of the CPR [Chinese People's Republic]. We also know that the military actions began with an attack from the Indian side." This was a little fairer than was the attitude of some self-styled Marxist-Leninists who invariably make the false charge that China started the clashes on the border.

Nevertheless, Togliatti, making no distinction between black and white, still asserts that the Sino-Indian armed clashes were "unreasonable and absurd." We ask Comrade Togliatti, confronted



V. I. Lenin

with the preposterous territorial claims and the large-scale armed attacks of the reactionary clique in India, what should China have done in order to be called "reasonable" and not "absurd"? Is it possible that the only way that China could prove itself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to submit to the unreasonable demands and the armed attacks of the Indian reactionary clique? Is it possible that the only way Socialist China could prove itself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to hand over with a bow large tracts of its own territory?

The position taken by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades on the Sino-Indian boundary question reflects their point of view on peaceful co-existence, which is, that in carrying out this policy, the Socialist countries should make one concession after another to the capitalist countries, should not fight even in self-defense when subjected to armed attacks, but should surrender their territorial sovereignty. May we ask, is there anything in common between this point of view and the principle of peaceful co-existence which a Socialist country ought to follow?

Those who accuse China of opposing peaceful co-existence also attack the Chinese people for supporting the just stand of the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

When the heroic Cuban people and their revolutionary leader, Premier Fidel Castro, resolutely rejected international inspection as an infringement on Cuba's sovereignty and advanced their five just demands, the Chinese people held gigantic mass demonstrations and parades throughout the country in accordance with their consistent stand for proletarian internationalism, and firmly supported the Cuban people's struggle in defense of their independence, sovereignty, and dignity.

Was there anything wrong in that? Yet some people have repeatedly charged China with creating difficulties in the Caribbean situation and with wanting to plunge the world into a thermonuclear war. This slander against China is most malicious and most despicable.

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the

Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defense of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful co-existence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war?

Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force it to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful co-existence"? If there are people who give verbal support to Cuba's five demands but are actually opposed to the Chinese people's support for Cuba, are they not merely exposing the hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands?

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by any weapons. On more than one occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba.

We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich."

What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose, and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as 100 per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple. A compromise of this sort has nothing in common with the policy of peaceful co-existence of the socialist countries.

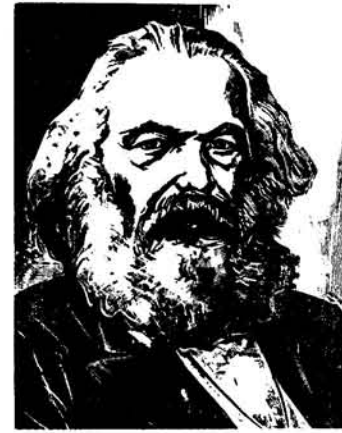
In fact, not only do Comrade Togliatti and certain other Italian comrades call for class collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of "peaceful co-existence" to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within the capitalist countries.

Togliatti has said: "All our actions within the sphere of the internal situation of our country are none other than the translation into Italian terms of the great struggle for renewing the structure of the whole world." Here the phrase "all our actions" means what they call the "advance toward socialism in democracy and in peace," or the road to socialism through "structural reforms," as they describe it.

Although the present line of the Italian Communist Party on the question of Socialist revolution is incorrect in our opinion, we have never attempted to interfere because, of course, this is a matter for the Italian comrades alone to decide.

But now since Comrade Togliatti claims that his theory of "structural reform" is a "line common to the whole international Communist movement," and unilaterally declares that peaceful transition has "become a principle of world strategy of the workers movement and the Communist movement," and since this issue involves not only the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, but also the fundamental problem of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people in all the capitalist countries, as members of the international Communist movement and as Marxist-Leninists, we cannot but express our opinions on the subject.

The fundamental problem in every revolution is that of state power. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels declared: "The first step in the revolution



Karl Marx

by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." This idea runs through the entire works of Lenin. In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin laid stress on the need to break up and smash the bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "The working class must break up and smash the ready-made state machinery, and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it"; and that "a Marxist is one who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." He further said: "All is illusion, except power."

In elucidating the common law of Socialist revolution the 1957 Moscow Declaration first states that to embark on the road to socialism it is necessary for the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, to guide the working masses in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is not the slightest doubt that the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, and the common laws of Socialist revolution enunciated in the Moscow Declaration, are universally applicable, and, of course, applicable also to Italy.

However, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades in the Italian Communist Party maintain that Lenin's analysis in *The State and Revolution* is "no longer sufficient," and that the content of proletarian dictatorship is now different.

According to their theory of "structural reform," there is no need for present-day Italy to have a proletarian revolution, there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and there is no need to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; they can arrive at socialism "progressively" and "peacefully" merely through a "succession of reforms," through the nationalization of the big enterprises, through economic planning and through the extension of democracy within the framework of the Italian Constitution.

In fact, they take the state to be an instrument above class and believing that the bourgeois state, too, can carry out Socialist policies they take bourgeois democracy to be democracy above class and believe that the proletariat can rise to be the "leading class" in the state by relying on such democracy. This theory of "structural reform" is a complete betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theories on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Present-day Italy is a capitalist country ruled by the monopoly capitalist class. Although the Italian Constitution incorporates some of the gains achieved by the Ital-

ian working class and the Italian people through their valiant struggles over the years, it is still a bourgeois Constitution with the protection of capitalist ownership as its core. Like the democracy practiced in all other capitalist countries, democracy as practiced in Italy is bourgeois democracy, that is, bourgeois dictatorship.

Nationalization as practiced in Italy is not state capitalism under the socialist system, but a state capitalism which serves the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. In order to maintain its exploitation and its rule, the monopoly capitalist class may at times adopt certain measures of reform.

It is entirely necessary for the working class in capitalist countries to wage day-to-day economic struggles and struggles for democracy. However, the purpose of waging these struggles is to achieve partial improvements in the living conditions of the working class and working people and, what is more important, to educate the masses and organize them, enhance their consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength for the seizure of state power when the time is ripe.

Marxist-Leninists, while favoring struggle for reforms, resolutely oppose reformism. Facts have proved that whenever the political and economic demands of the working class and working people have exceeded the limits permitted by the monopoly capitalists, the Italian government, which represents the interests of monopoly capital, has resorted to repression.

Have not innumerable historical facts proved this to be an unalterable law of class struggle? How is it conceivable that the monopoly capitalist class will abandon its interests and its rule and step down from the stage of history of its own accord?

Togliatti himself is not completely unaware of this. Although he has energetically advocated the possibility of "breaking the power of the big monopoly groups" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, his answer to the question, "How can this be done?" is, "We do not know." It can thus be seen that the theory of "structural reform" held by Togliatti and certain other CPI leaders stems not from historical materialism and the scientific study of objective reality, but from idealism and illusion.

Yet they have been energetically propagating views which they themselves know are unreliable and describing them as a "line common to the whole international Communist movement." Such a practice on their part serves only to vitiate and attenuate the proletarian revolutionary struggle, preserve capitalist rule and completely negate the Socialist revolution. Is this not a new kind of social-democratic trend?

(To Be Concluded Next Week)

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

Negro History Week Celebration. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum. (Keep Feb. 15-17 open for a weekend socialist seminar.)

### NEW YORK

Celebrate 5th Anniversary of Young Socialist. Buffet dinner, Sat., Feb. 2. Refreshments at 5 p.m. Dinner at 7. Guest speaker, civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn. Entertainment and party. Contrib. \$1.50. At 116 University Place.

Labor in Time of War — Speakers: Michael Munk, staff writer, the National Guardian, and Sam Wiener, the Libertarian League. Wed., Feb. 6, 8:30 p.m. Central Plaza Annex, 40 East 7th St. Admission free. Aup. Labor Action for Peace.

Printers and Dockers, Reporters and Aerospace Workers — Why Did They Strike? — A report and analysis by Fred Halstead, labor writer, The Militant. Fri., Feb. 8, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

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# THE MILITANT

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## "If We Are Murdered . . ."

For many months now, workers in the voter-registration drives among Negroes in the Deep South have been demanding that the federal government protect them against repeated acts of violence — including at least one murder — by racists, including local police officials. Recently, the Justice Department finally took a timid action by bringing charges of civil-rights violations against Denver E. Short, a Sasser, Georgia, policeman. Short had shot at and arrested field workers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to intimidate them from further efforts to get Negroes registered to vote.

A lily-white jury acquitted Short Jan. 25 in a trial marked by half-hearted prosecution. This prompted Charles Sherrrod, director of SNCC's Southwest Georgia voters' drive, to declare Jan. 26:

"A man was brought before a Federal Court to stand trial after shooting, threatening our lives, jailing us, running us out of town at gunpoint, and now goes free. What are we to tell the people down here? Must we die before the Federal Government stops compromising with bigots . . ."

"I speak to the President of the United States and to his brother, the Attorney General: Your failure to throw the full weight of your offices behind our attempts, black and white together, to make real the tenets of democracy by attempting in the Deep South to build community leadership in voter registration, is a black mark for your Administration. If we are murdered in our attempts, our blood will be on your hands; you stand in the judgement of God and of our people."

The U.S. Attorney General has full power to provide protection for the voter-registration workers and until he does, responsibility for every act of violence against them rests squarely on him.

## . . . Struck Cleveland Dailies

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Ralph Locher, three judges, a priest, a rabbi and a minister, publicly called on the teamsters to end the strike, return to work and continue negotiations.

The unity committee quickly exposed the "citizens committee" as a tool of the publishers initiated by *Plain Dealer* management. But local teamster officials, using tremendous pressure, including a

## . . . Monroe Case Won

(Continued from Page 1)

suing trial young Covington was found guilty on five counts.

The state Supreme Court's ruling means, in effect; that Union County, if it wishes to continue the case, must allow a hearing at which officials and records are made available to the defense to prove race bias in the grand jury's selection. In the meantime young Covington will remain free on bail arranged by the CAMD.

Covington's trial is one of several frame-ups of young civil-rights fighters attempted by the notorious, KKK-influenced authorities of Union County, following the struggle in Monroe in Aug. 1961.

At that time the fight against Jim Crow conditions being waged by local NAACP President Robert F. Williams came to a head with the arrival of Freedom Riders and daily picket-line demonstrations in the courthouse square.

A mob of several thousand police-encouraged white supremacists rioted against the pickets and Negroes in general. In the ensuing alarm, Monroe's Negro community prepared itself for invasion by a Ku Klux Klan motorcade. A white couple entering the Negro neighborhood at this point was delayed for several hours. Police parlayed this into a "kidnap" frame-up against Robert F. Williams, who fled the country with his wife and children, and against four others active in the civil-rights struggle.

televised union meeting, no secret ballot, and loss of jobs for those who refused to go back to work, forced the newspaper drivers to cross the Guild picket lines on Dec. 10.

The other crafts stood firm and no papers were published. After ten days of delivering calendars and other promotional material, and of ostracism by the rest of the labor movement, including expulsion from the unity group, the teamsters went back on strike.

Developments since then include:

- "Operation X" — an attempt to resolve the Guild's demand for union security in the *Press* commercial division through meetings of the mayor, publishers' and Guild representatives with 95 non-union employees. This resulted in one person signing up for full union membership, 29 signatures on cards authorizing payroll deductions of union fees for half the term of the contract. The employers hailed it as a "tremendous success." The Guild called it a failure.

- A new daily paper, *The Cleveland Record*, published by the Inter-Union Publishing Co. with volunteer labor, and distributed by the teamsters, started Jan. 21.

- Guild units at the *Press* and *Plain Dealer* voted Jan. 24 and 25 to accept the publishers' offer on union security and proceed to negotiating on economic and other issues.

- Several other crafts requested strike authorization of their international unions.

Prospects for a settlement with substantial gains for the newspaper workers and a healthier climate in the local labor movement are good — if the growing unity forged in the strike continues, if national union solidarity supports the Cleveland strikers financially and morally, and if the unions stand firm on their position that none go back to work until satisfactory contracts are signed with all.

## On the Line

# How Auto Workers View 'Profit-Sharing'

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — The results of the first profit-sharing plan in the auto industry were announced by American Motors Corp. Nov. 16. The company officials were "delighted" and the top union officials were "pleased" and "highly elated" with the results. Reuther announced that the goal of the 1964 contract negotiations would be to win profit-sharing plans for workers in the Big Three auto plants.

How have these workers from GM, Chrysler and Ford reacted to the results of American Motors profit-sharing? What do these workers think about profit-sharing for their own plant situations? The public responses have been very few and far between. Profit-sharing hasn't stirred up much in the ranks of labor either pro or con at this point. The few written statements on the question, however, show that Detroit workers are not "delighted," "highly elated" or even very "pleased" with the prospect of working under profit-sharing plans in their own plants.

### Job Conditions Lost

The *Dodge Main News* of Dec. 1 carried the following remarks by Ed Liska, Recording Secretary of Dodge Local 3: "The AMC workers gave up a five minute Washup Time . . . A 10 Minute Relief Time, which they had enjoyed for many years . . . The Cost of Living Increase Agreement . . . Several Seniority Agreements . . . and other benefits which the union had fought for in the early days of our union for a paltry \$128 which is actually set aside in stocks which could go higher and more than likely go down in the future . . . When you evaluate the other items, especially the work standards, it is apparent that a cruel hoax has been perpetrated on the AMC workers . . ."

"Let us be on guard and not be part of this Profit Sharing Plan with its many fish-hooks because we would end up being short-changed financially and give away many of our fringe benefits that we enjoy presently.

"Let us roll back the production standards, improve the working conditions on the production lines and we will achieve something far more important than the much publicized Profit Sharing Plan."

Another article in the Dec. 15 issue of the *Dodge Main News* presented interviews with Trim Shop workers, Chief Steward Edith Fox asked, "What are your opinions regarding Profit Sharing? Are you in favor of this plan for the next contract negotiations?" Here are some of the answers:

Della Taylor: "I think it's a good thing, but not if we have to give up the things we now have like relief time and fringe benefits."

Tony Stazek: "The union should

fight for better working conditions and nothing else."

Ed Harder: "It is like the old bonus plan and the union dumped that long ago."

Walter Papciak: "Profits for working people is no good. The big shots steal too much. Besides at American Motors the workers gave up too much. That's the way I look at it."

Mitch Maslowski: "Let's wait and see what the Profit Sharing proposal will be. I haven't made up my mind yet."

Eleanor Mieliewski: "I think a shorter work week should come first. We need to bring more people back to work."

Profit-sharing was one of the issues raised in a leaflet distributed the week of Jan. 21 at the Rouge Plant by members of the Democratic Caucus of Ford Local

600. The leaflet proposed that "this year's election campaign (for local officers) be conducted around the following issues: 1) Whether the shorter work week plan of the AFL-CIO or the 'profit-sharing' plan of Walter Reuther is best for auto workers."

Other issues listed dealt with speed-up, pensions, job classifications, grievance procedure, working conditions, relief time, strengthening of anti-discrimination clauses in the contract, run-away shops, compulsory overtime and rank-and-file election of international officers.

A more accurate picture of workers' responses to profit-sharing could be got if readers of the *Militant* would write letters and send clippings from their union newspapers on this subject. What do you think of profit-sharing in your job?



The Philadelphia transit strike is still on despite an agreement reached on a new contract between the Transport Workers Union and Robert H. Steir, president of the Philadelphia Transportation Company. That is, Steir used to be president of PTC. He "resigned" Jan. 25 when the terms of the contract were turned down by the majority stockholder in PTC, Douglas M. Pratt, who is president of the nationwide transit corporation, National City Lines.

Steir had agreed to a contract containing the disputed clause under which no worker could be laid off because of automation, with only one modification — it wouldn't apply to employees hired after Jan. 15. This wasn't good enough for Pratt, who is pushing for a fare increase unless PTC gets the right to lay off several hundred workers shortly and more later on. The PTC executive committee, controlled by Pratt, turned down the new contract after the union membership had voted to accept it and had torn up their picket signs. Negotiations are now back where they were when the strike began Jan. 15. The city has begun court action to place PTC under "receivership," a move opposed by the TWU and the PTC.

A "labor-mobility incentive" bill, backed by the government, has been introduced into the Canadian House of Commons. Under the measure, the government will reimburse half the cost that any province or company incurs in moving workers and their families to jobs in new areas when the old jobs have been eliminated by "industrial change." Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin says the bill is "a step in the right direction."

The effects of the lettuce strike in California's Imperial Valley in February, 1961, are still being felt. The strike, for a \$1.50 an hour minimum wage was the climax of an organizing campaign by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. The growers used farm laborers imported from Mexico (called "nationals") under U.S. Public Law 78 behind the picket lines.

Instead of organizing the nationals who even in normal times make up a sizeable part of the harvest force, labor leaders relied on the government to stop the importation of the nationals. The law clearly states that they shall not be used to break strikes.

The then Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg intervened

with a ruling which in effect allowed the nationals to be brought in to work behind the picket lines and the strike was broken. But as a sop to the labor leaders and the reformers who have been advocating the elimination of Public Law 78 and the complete barring of nationals, he also made a minimum-wage ruling. It established a temporary hourly minimum of \$1 and left a new minimum to be determined in 1963 on the basis of the average hourly wage of piece-rate pickers during the 1962 season.

Last August, Elizabeth Longenbohn, a bookkeeper who worked for the lettuce-growing R. L. Englund Company filed an affidavit saying she was told by her employer to falsify the nationals' pay records to show a piece-rate-picker average of \$1.22 an hour instead of the actual \$1.82.

The Mexican and U.S. governments have been investigating seven other Imperial Valley lettuce firms on similar charges and a ruling is now due on the Englund Co. case. It will come as Congress is reconsidering Public Law 78 and as the reform groups are mounting a campaign against renewal. The AFL-CIO, however, has not renewed the agricultural organizing campaign.

A new election to determine whether the Teamsters or the AFL-CIO-backed "Voice" group shall represent 8,200 truck drivers and helpers in the Philadelphia area has been ordered by a National Labor Relations Board examiner. The ruling held that Teamster supporters had intimidated "Voice" supporters in an election last November in which the Teamsters defeated the raid by a narrow vote.

W. A. Boyle, 58, is the new president of the United Mine Workers replacing Thomas Kennedy who died recently. The UMW, whose policies are still dominated by the formally retired 83-year-old John L. Lewis, now has only 150,000 members in coal mining. Non-union coal production has gone up to 27 per cent of the total and is increasing steadily. The union's policy of class-collaboration — refusing to lead a struggle against the companies and relying only on the 40-cent-a-ton royalty to the Health and Welfare fund to alleviate the effects of automation — has resulted in rapid deterioration of miners' conditions in the last ten years. Even miners employed in big, unionized mines — the lucky ones — haven't had a raise since 1956.



Reuther

# Castro's Speech to Women's Conference

[The following is a translation of the complete text of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's speech of Jan. 16, 1963, to the Congress of American Women assembled in Havana.]

Fraternal Delegates from the Americas. Can you hear me now? Fraternal Delegates from the nations of Europe, Asia and Africa: First I want to point out — and I promised this at the beginning of the Congress — that if this part of the meeting began a bit late, it did so through no fault of mine. Because — since this year is "The Year of Organization" — I was in this theater at three minutes to nine. And we have resolved to be punctual during this "Year of Organization." What happened was that the *compañeras* discussed at length — the *compañeras* who are participating in this Congress. And so it happened that they were discussing up to seven or eight o'clock, more or less up to a little past eight o'clock. And that is why this part of the meeting began a little late; I merely want to point out that this was not my fault.

It has been a great honor for us, for our country, that this congress has been held in Cuba. We believe it is an event which has produced very positive results, that it is a serious event. We have tried to keep informed, to read the material in the different reports presented to this congress. And truly, our impression is that all of them have great value because of their seriousness of purpose, the correct manner in which problems were viewed, because of the wealth of data which they contain about the realities on our continent.

Naturally, the topics dealt with in the congress were limited to those matters of interest to women. But really, what is there in modern society which is not of interest to women? What is there about social problems which is not of interest to the women of Latin America or the women of America? When discussions are held about women's rights, about women's aspirations, we see that there can be no women's rights in our America, nor children's rights, nor mothers' rights, nor the rights of wives, unless a revolution takes place. The fact is that, given the world in which the women of Latin America live, they must of necessity be revolutionists.

Why must they be revolutionists? Because women, who constitute the essential part of the population of every country, occupy first place as exploited workers — as those who are discriminated against because they are women. And who are the revolutionists in human society? Who have they been throughout history? Simply the exploited. Those who have been discriminated against. For not only are women exploited as workers when they work for a grasping monopoly or in an exploitative class society,

but in addition, as a worker she is the most exploited. She receives the lowest wages. She works under the worst conditions, in the midst of a series of contradictions between the functions which society calls on her to perform, her condition as a woman, and the exploitation to which she is subjected.

That is why it is logical to expect women to be revolutionists.



VILMA ESPIN, president of the Cuban Federation of Women.

And on a continent such as this, they have to be revolutionists. And that is why women are revolutionists in our country. Because in our country a great number of women were exploited workers: exploited as workers who labored to enrich a class, and in addition they were discriminated against within the labor force. Many women could not even hope to work. They were not even given the opportunity to work.

In the report presented by our *compañera* Vilma [Espin], there appears a list of activities Cuban women have carried out in the Revolution and of benefits Cuban women have received from the Revolution. The list was a long one, yet it is possible that there were omissions in that inventory because the Revolution has done much more for women. It does not believe that it has done all that can be done for her nor anything like it, but it is determined to continue fighting for the benefit of women. And today there is no discrimination practiced against women in our country, as there is no discrimination practiced against the Negro.

And in truth, the Cuban Revolution has done much for women. The revolutionary leadership makes great efforts to make more and more opportunities available to women. As an example we can cite the fact that when the medium and large-sized retail shoe, clothing and hardware businesses were nationalized, the Ministry of Domestic Commerce was directed to select women as administrators of those businesses. Some 4,000 administrators were named, and 90 per cent of those administrators, that is, administrators for some 4,000 centers — and 90 per cent or more of those centers are being administered at the present time by women.

For example, there is another fact which was not included in the report presented by the *compañera*, who is president of the Federation, and it is a very revealing fact about the increased participation by women in activities which were practically closed to her. And the fact is, for example, that in some professions, like medicine, the number of women who entered the School of Medicine in the university perhaps did not reach ten per cent. And at the present time, in the Institute of Basic Sciences, that is, the first course given in the School of

Medicine, 50 per cent of the students are women. These facts are clear evidence of how in four years of Revolution women have been truly integrated into social life, into the life of society, into the life of their country, into the life of the environment in which they live and function.

Women, for example, also marched next to our soldiers on January 2nd. There were contingents of women's military battalions. And in our army there are a series of jobs which are filled by women and through which they serve.

The bourgeois concept of woman has been slowly disappearing from our country. The caste concepts, concepts which discriminate, have truly been disappearing and the masses of women have become aware of that reality. And prejudice has been replaced by a new concept, a concept by which women's qualifications are evaluated for fulfilling a series of social activities, activities for some of which they demonstrate exceptional abilities. A wide field of activity has been opened to them.

If you compare the reports made by the Cuban delegation with those made by the delegations from Latin America, you will see great differences. The problems now faced here are, for example, how to free women from domestic slavery, how to create conditions permitting their fullest incorporation into production, and by this incorporation women gain and the Revolution gains. Because in a society like capitalist society, where there is unemployment, where millions of men are without work, it is logical to expect that frequently women will be relegated to restricted economic activities.

## Planned Economy

In a society such as ours where, because of a full development of the resources of the nation and because of a planned economy, more and more workers are needed for production, it is logical that the Revolution should concern itself with the creation of those conditions. And so today the Revolution is concerned with creating the greatest number of child-care centers, with school dining halls and — in creating those conditions which will make it possible for women to be freed from the slavery of the kitchen — the establishment of laundromats.

Of course, establishing sufficient numbers of certain institutions, like child-care centers is limited in certain situations by the resources which we can count on. And in the same way that this year we are emphasizing the establishment of workers' dining halls in the principal factories of the country, next year the emphasis will be put on establishing school dining halls. Establishing those institutions will make it possible for women to be integrated more and more into work, into production and into the life of their country. Not only into its economic activities but also into its political and social activities. Those are the things which concern us today inasmuch as women in our country are in a position to be able to concern themselves with those solutions.

The Cuban delegation has also spoken about the tremendous efforts which the Revolution has made in the field of education. It is hardly necessary to speak about this. It is enough to see. Because that movement can be felt; it can be seen. A movement which is forging a great future for this country; a movement which demonstrates the aims of the Revolution, which are projected towards the future. And which has made possible the doubling of the number of children in the schools, the doubling of the number of junior and senior high school students, the eradication of illiteracy and which will make it possible for this country to go forward with

the forging of a magnificent youth destined to inherit the conditions which the Revolution is creating for that youth.

Today our problem is not *how* to win the right to do that, but rather what is the best way of making it come true. There is a difference between the situation in which the representatives of the women of Cuba find themselves and that of the representatives of the women of Latin America. And that is that the women of Cuba have the opportunity to do all that and the women of America are in need of the opportunity. Our problems are different in the sense that now we are concerned with *how* we do it and with *how well* we are able to do it.

We are no longer worried, for example, about how we can have



PASTORA NUNEZ, director of INAV, the Cuban public housing authority. A veteran of the struggle against the Batista dictatorship, she fought in the Sierra Maestra with the Rebel Army.

almost, let us say, almost 100,000 young people studying, holding state scholarships, but rather with how they are to be organized, with how to make the schools more and more efficient, with how to prepare cadres of teachers and with how to carry out that task well. This does not mean that we do not have much work to do. On the contrary, in the Revolution there is always more work to do, but the Revolution creates more and more resources as it proceeds.

We have an example of how those resources are created in the fact that in recent days we had to receive in our capital about 10,000 young girls from the countryside, who came from Oriente Province. Who was to be charged with that task? The Federation of Cuban Women had been doing that work, but the Federation of Cuban Women already had the task of caring for all the shelters for scholarship holders, it did not possess the necessary cadres. But there was a school for teachers which had been organized with girls selected from the brigades which had taken part in the great literacy campaign of 1961, a school with 1,100 girls studying to be teachers. And it is a good school, under the direction of the *compañera* who heads that school and who is a great teacher because she knows how to train teachers, *compañera* Elena Gil.

She had started with a group of 300 revolutionary instructors, that is, with 300 teachers who had been trained from nuclei of girls who had volunteered to teach in the mountains. And she began to work with 300 instructors, to train 300 revolutionary instructors for the evening schools organized for the girls who do domestic work. That was the first school. First there were 300. With those 300 girls the evening schools were organized.

Then there were another 300 to make a total of 600.

With the help of those girls the Macarence School of Education was organized. There were 1,100. Three hundred from these 1,100 were selected to take special courses. And with those 300 and the rest of the girls, the schools for the 10,000 *campesinas* who arrived here were organized. We already had cadres: girls who had participated in the literacy campaign, girls who had already studied one year, girls who already are well disciplined, with a sense of responsibility. It was truly impressive to go through one of these avenues, where formerly the millionaires used to live, and meet groups of girls dressed in their uniforms, girls from the countryside, going from one place to the other, perhaps to eat or to some class, and with them there would be a girl dressed in the uniform of the scholarship holder, in some cases, a girl younger than the girls from the countryside but the leader. They were in charge of the group, in charge of the house where they live and in addition are the teachers of the *campesina* girls. They work and they study. Just imagine how these girls will develop, girls who already assume such a responsibility, who already are charged with carrying out important assignments, who fulfil them, who have a method of work and who combine study with work. This shows that the number of trained people will increase.

Now we have to organize a school, another school for teachers, and in addition the more advanced school, because the Revolution has changed the methods for training teachers. Because formerly teachers were chosen from people living in the cities. The Revolution changed that procedure. It established a system of selection and of opportunities for those young men and women who may desire to become teachers and preference is being given to those who come from the mountains. And so at the present time we have in the mountains 5,000 young people who have begun their first year of study to become teachers. Later on they will go to a school where they will stay two more years and then will leave for a higher institute where they will remain another two years.

## Educational Plans

And many of those teachers will be of *campesino* origin; girls who will be familiar with the mountains and with the countryside. At the same time we are preparing advancement courses for girls from the countryside who are in the fourth or the fifth grade and who want to begin studying to be teachers. From those same 10,000 girls from the countryside we will select those who show the most promise as teachers and we will prepare them so that they will be able to enter those schools.

In the course of time we will have the *Instituto Superior de Maestros* with 6,000 students, 6,000 students whom we will be able to mobilize so that they will be able to teach at the same time, combining thereby study with work.

This is being accomplished through the tenacious efforts of a certain group of people who are working in that area. Do we have many people who are competent in every respect to carry out that task? No, unfortunately, we do not have many. But when there is a competent person in charge of carrying out any such a task, he begins to create what we might call "a school." That is to say, a method of work. We do not have many "Elenas", but in the future we will have hundreds of "Elenas", because they are the girls trained by her.

Each day there will be more schools, schools of a higher level and we need cadres in education

## Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy And Sectarianism

March 26 speech assailing Anibal Escalante and others for converting the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations into "a yoke, a straitjacket."

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# A Peaceful Transition in Cuba?

to organize and to direct those schools.

And thus does the Revolution advance with its youth. It can do this. We have been successful in achieving for ourselves the opportunity of beginning to do all of that.

The *compañeras* from Latin America present a true picture of the situation on the continent. It is truly frightful. We believe that all of those reports should be published in a pamphlet and should be distributed here and elsewhere, that it should be distributed here and elsewhere in Latin America. Those figures are truly overwhelming: the data about the number of children without schools, without teachers, undernourished; the shameful data about the percentage of the children who can go only as far as the sixth grade, of the percentage who can undertake secondary school studies, and of the percentage who can undertake studies at the university level. The figure on infant mortality, the result of the unhealthy conditions in which they live, of undernourishment, of the lack of medical programs. These are no longer our conditions for we are able to say that today not a single child [in Cuba] is paralyzed by poliomyelitis.

We are able to say today that tens of thousands of children are saved because they receive medical attention and more and more public-health programs are being developed. The number of hospital beds has been increased almost threefold. The resources destined for public health have been increased fivefold. Today those are not our problems, but they are the problems of a whole continent.

Today our problem is how to create all that we need in order to satisfy so many untold wants, in order to overcome the poverty which imperialist exploitation left us. That is our problem. Great are our tasks, arduous, hard, difficult. And it is no easy task to have to carry out that work with the talons of imperialism poised above us, ready to strike, with the incessant hostility of the most powerful and aggressive imperialist country of the world.

Ours is the problem of how to carry that task forward. Ours is the problem of how to defend this country's independence and sovereignty and yet continue our forward march.

But this is not your problem, women of America. Your problem and that of the people whom you represent is how to win the opportunity to do what we are doing here. We are sure that we will succeed though it may take us a few years more or a few years less. We are sure that we will overcome our difficulties, though it may mean that we will have to make a few sacrifices more or a few sacrifices less. We are sure that imperialism will not be able

to defeat us. For in this country there will never be any vanquished. There may be fallen here. There may be dead people here. But there will not be any vanquished here.

If some day the Yankee imperialists, making full use of all their forces and resources, should decide to destroy this country, the most they will be able to say is, "We have destroyed them." But not, "We have defeated them." And we know that we face such a danger. But we also know that there remains a whole continent, and that a whole world remains. And we are not only Cubans, we are Latin Americans. We are even more, for we are not only Latin Americans, we are human beings who live on the planet Earth. What matters is the victory of humanity.

We know that by resisting the imperialists, that by remaining firm against the Yankee imperialists, we are defending the rights of humanity. That is how we Cubans think.

And the problem for us today is, I repeat, to work and to struggle. And your problem is to struggle so that you may be able to work later on. For the figures are there. Those cold, terrible figures, those figures which say — when the UNESCO or the FAO, or any organization of the United Nations prepares statistics — so many millions of this and so many millions of that. And which say so many millions dead from hunger, from disease each year, or so many millions of children are without schools, or so many millions are suffering from undernourishment, such and such a rate of life-expectancy, which turns out to be half the rate of the highly industrialized countries and of the exploiting countries.

### The Number Dead

The figures are there, including the figures for the dead, which are more than those of any revolution. Because the number who die from hunger in Latin America, of those who die in one year from hunger and from disease, without treatment, is higher than the number of those who would die in the liberation of the peoples of Latin America. For the fight here cost 20,000 lives, but the number who have been saved is 20,000 many times over.

We can wait, and the figures will grow and so will the millions of unfortunates, of poor wretches, of exploited ones, of the dying. And the figures are there as the result of feudal exploitation, of imperialist exploitation. And the problem of the figures should not be confined to handling them, to writing them in a notebook or publishing them in a pamphlet, but rather one should think of how that situation can be changed.

There are people who are experts in figures, but what is needed are experts in changing the situation, experts in leading people towards revolutions. And therein resides the art of the revolutionist. The art which must be learned and which must be developed — how to lead the masses to revolution. For the masses are the ones who make history. But in order for them to make history the masses must be led to battle. And that is the duty of leaders and of revolutionary organizations. They must put the masses into action, to hurl the masses into combat.

And that was what they did in Algeria. And that is what the patriots of South Vietnam are doing. They have hurled the masses into struggle, with correct methods, with correct tactics, and they have taken along with them the largest possible number of the masses into the struggle. And that is what we did, for power was not won by the four, or five, or six, or seven of us who one day were scattered here, but rather by the action of the masses unleashed

by the struggle against the tyranny which culminated in the people's victory.

There are some concepts in regard to these matters which we would like to clear up, for there have been some vulgar theoreticians who have asserted that in Cuba a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism took place. To say this is to deny that in this country thousands upon thousands of fighters fell. To say this is to deny that an army, which sprang from the very heart of the people, destroyed a modern army armed and trained by Yankee imperialism. To say this is to deny that explosive and incendiary bombs, bearing the trade-mark "Made in USA," fell upon our *campesinos*, upon our cities and towns. To say this is to deny the excellent fight put up by our people. To say this is to deny [the invasion of] Playa Giron and those who fell there.

This was not a peaceful transition. It was a transition made through combat, without which there would not have been any transition in our country. Without that heroic struggle, without that armed struggle of the Cuban people, perhaps we would still have here Mr. Batista, "Made in USA."

### Historical Truths

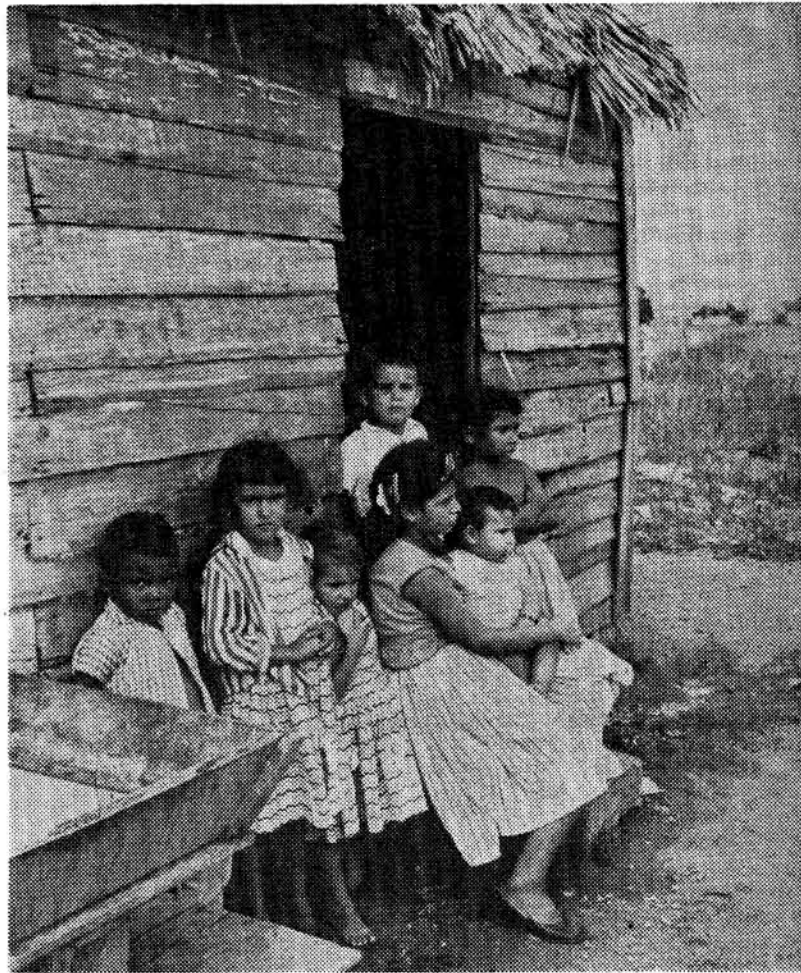
Those are historical truths. And we believe that at least about our historical truths we have a right to speak. And we are not going to permit certain theoreticians, from a distance and without ever having been here, to tell us what happened here. We do not have to blush when we say these things, nor do we have to whisper them. They must be said in a loud voice so that they may be heard and so they may be heard for real, and so that the peoples may hear them, for such false interpretations of history tend to create that conformity which suits imperialism so well. They tend to create that resignation, and they tend to create that reformism and that policy of waiting for the Greek kalends [a time that will never come] to make revolutions.

Such false interpretations of history do not square with the existing situation in the great majority of Latin American countries where objective conditions — and the imperialists have seen this all too clearly — that objective conditions exist. But what are lacking are subjective conditions. And those subjective conditions are created by telling the historical truth and by not falsifying history. Those subjective conditions are not created by saying that in Cuba a genteel transition of power took place.

We are not dealing with cowards but rather with people who are confused — with incorrect evaluations. We do not deny the possibility of a peaceful transition although we are still waiting for the first case. But we do not deny it because we are not dogmatists. We understand the unceasing change of historical conditions and historical circumstances. We do not deny it, but what we do say is that there was no peaceful transition here. And what we protest against is that Cuba's case be used to confuse the revolutionists of other countries where objective conditions for revolution exist and where they can do the same as was done in Cuba.

It is logical to expect that the theoreticians of imperialism should concern themselves with seeing to it that no revolutions take place, and that the theoreticians of imperialism should concern themselves with defaming the Cuban Revolution — with spreading deceptions and lies, with telling the most horrible tales, with instilling fear of revolutions in the people. But let no one from a revolutionary position attempt to instill conformity or fear of revolutions. Such a thing is absurd.

Let the theoreticians of imperialism preach conformity. Let



"GOOD OLD DAYS." That's the way U.S. business interests remember the pre-revolutionary Cuba from which they wrung super-profits. Then, poverty of the kind indicated in this photo was widespread and the people were oppressed by the bloody Quisling at bottom of this page.

the theoreticians of the revolution fearlessly preach the revolution.

That is what we think. That is what we said in the [Second] Declaration of Havana, a declaration which was honored by some revolutionary organizations in some sister countries by being put into a desk drawer instead of being disseminated as it deserved. We would be doing the same if we tucked away in a drawer all that you have discussed here. And of course, if we do not want the masses to know, we have to tuck such things away in a drawer. But if we tell the masses that that is the situation, then we also have to tell the masses what road to take. And they must be led into the struggle for that road is much easier in many Latin American countries than it was in Cuba.

I want to make clear, so that the theoreticians do not get angry, that we are not making an irresponsible generalization. I want to make clear that we know that each country has its special conditions and that is why we do not generalize — but we do say in the majority. We know there are exceptions. We know that there are countries where those objective conditions don't exist, but they exist in the majority of the countries of Latin America. And that is our opinion. It is our duty to say it here because we are hopeful that 40 years from now it will not be necessary for the granddaughters of the members of the Federation of Cuban Women — your granddaughters — to meet as today in order to deal with the same problems.

Our country faces difficult situations, great risks. We do not have to stick our heads ostrich-like into a hole but rather we have to see things as they are. Our country is passing through a period of great risks, of great dangers. On the one hand our country faces Yankee imperialism, the most aggressive, the most offensive, the most powerful of all the imperialist powers, which has set for itself as its principal goal the destruction of this Revolution. And on the other hand it faces situations which hinder and which are unfavorable to the world revolutionary movement.

I would like to say now that for

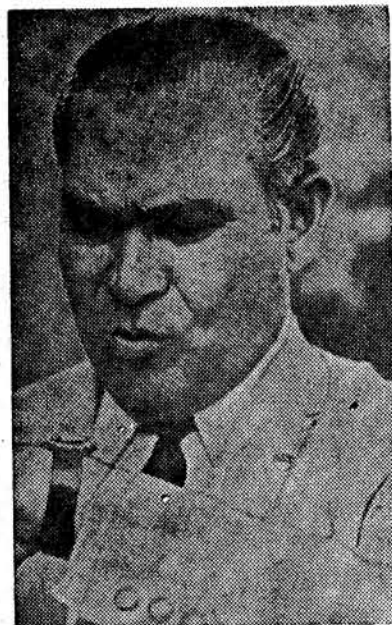
us the Caribbean crisis has not been resolved. I want to say that in our opinion, in the opinion of the leaders of the Revolution, of our country, that a war was prevented but that peace was not won — which is not the same thing. Do not the exact, same conditions exist which forced us to take the measures we took and which forced us to take the steps we took? Does not the same declared policy of hostility and aggression against our country practiced by the Yankee imperialists continue in force?

We do not believe in Kennedy's word, but the fact of the matter is that Kennedy did not give his word. And if he gave it, he has already withdrawn it. And that is why we said that for us there were no satisfactory guarantees without the five points which we put forth when that crisis arose. One must be very clear about these matters which are a bit controversial, which are a bit subtle. One must be very clear about them.

If it is said that we are here, that is, that they have not been able to destroy us because of the solidarity of the socialist camp, that is the truth. But if it is said that we are here because Kennedy gave his word, that would not be telling the truth. We have been able to resist for four years, thanks to that solidarity.

Well now, what kind of peace is there for us? Where is there peace for us? Since Kennedy spoke in the Orange Bowl the agents of imperialism have committed four murders. They murdered a *campesino* who was a scholarship-holder when he went on vacation to Trinidad. And they killed a worker in Las Villas province by burning him alive, a worker who was employed in the reforestation program. And they killed an eleven-year-old boy in San Antonio de las Vegas. And they murdered two *compañeros* who were members of the FAR [Rebel Air Force] in Matanzas province. This was done by Yankee agents, with Yankee arms, following Yankee orders in line with the imperialists' declared policy of subversion.

We asked how there could be  
(Continued on Page 6)



FULGENCIO BATISTA—"Made in USA"

# 'To Resist Aggression Is to Fight for Peace'

(Continued from Page 5)

a solution if the imperialists reserved for themselves the right to try to strangle our country through starvation? To isolate our country? To pressure all the airlines and shipping lines to deny us the essential raw materials and to cause hunger in this country while the imperialists reserved the right to maintain that policy of blockade against us and to place all possible obstacles in violation of international law, in violation of the principles of the United Nations? If the imperialists reserved the right to subvert the social order, to introduce arms, saboteurs, to train, to organize mercenaries? If the imperialists reserved the right to violate our territorial waters and our air space? If the imperialists reserved the right to organize pirate bands? If the imperialists reserved the right to keep a portion of our territory which is pointed like a dagger towards the heart of our country? And what right do the imperialists have to demand the withdrawal of friendly arms, while they maintain — on the territory of the Cuban nation — enemy arms, arms that are intended for aggression? What right do the imperialists have to do all that?

And in that statement which Mr. Kennedy made after the crisis, he spoke an evasive, menacing language while maintaining his policy of using against Cuba economic, political and other kinds of pressure, and that he would guarantee not to invade us if we did not promote subversion! But for Kennedy this is subversion! Our goose is cooked! There is a congress of women held at which they speak of the hunger and frightful misery of Latin America, and that is subversion.

When he spoke to the mercenaries in the Orange Bowl he said that he would return the flag of the mercenaries in Havana. And recently when Mr. Rusk, the Yankee Secretary of State, spoke he said that the United States had not bound itself not to invade Cuba, and that if it had so bound itself, it had so merely as far as the immediate situation was concerned — apart from its agreements with the other countries of Latin America.

That is the way they have spoken. Where is the agreement not to invade Cuba? But besides, it is insolent for the Yankee Secretary of State to say that they have not agreed not to invade Cuba. As if international laws, the Charter of the United Nations and all of the norms which govern relations between nations did not bind them not to invade our country — since obviously they have no right to invade. And when they speak thus, far from promising not to invade, they are denying their obligation under international law not to do so. And in addition, they put in evidence the souls of gangsters and pirates, which the Yankee leaders have.

I do not think that many more proofs are needed. There you have their words and their deeds. And that is why we say that a war has been prevented, but that peace has not been won. That is the situation.

The imperialists are optimistic. This is reflected in their evaluations. I do not think that such optimism is warranted, but is rather the result of the underestimation of the realities of the world and the underestimation of the strength of the peoples.

It is quite clear that they do not want anyone to move a finger in Latin America; they do not want the peoples to struggle. For instance, the example of the heroic people of Venezuela is a terrible nightmare for them. They want to be allowed to establish calmly the base of a long empire based on an exploitation even more inhumane, because all those programs are always based on a so-called austerity which mean more privations for the workers, more sacrifices for the masses.

The Alliance for Progress, let no one doubt it, will not succeed, because it is a policy of exploitation, of humiliation, and of retrogression, for the partners of that "alliance" are characters like Stroessner, like Guido, like Romulo Betancourt, like Somoza, like the junta of "gorillas" of Peru. Those are the "progressives," and the alliance of the Yankee empire is with those "progressives," who are the most regressive, the most reactionary and the most antediluvian of Latin America.

## Bound to Fail

That will not succeed; that is bound to fail. It is a desperate attempt by the imperialists to deceive, to confuse. In one of those speeches of his, Mr. Kennedy asked us to compare Cuba with the Alliance for Progress. If we compare, Mr. Kennedy will lose, because here — in spite of the imperialist propaganda — the reality is that each child is guaranteed a quart of milk a day.

We have had to establish rationing simply because employment increased tremendously. Almost half a million people began to work, to receive incomes. The *campesinos* no longer had to pay rent, [urban] rents were reduced by 50 per cent. All education has been made free. Hospital services were increased five-fold. Incomparably more resources than ever were put at the disposal of the people. And it was logical that under those conditions we would have to adopt measures which would guarantee every family the articles which they needed at a just price, because there still remained here a sufficient number of rich people to create all sorts of speculative demands as long as it was a question of price, as happens in capitalist countries.

There they solve matters by pricing. They raise the price of milk to two pesos, and there is enough for the one who can pay the price. Meat is raised to five pesos, and there is enough for anyone who has five pesos. There is no rationing. There is something much worse: the one who has the means to buy, gets it all and the one who does not, gets nothing.

But they try to confuse with all those things. It is true that our country is facing a difficult situation which is the result of two circumstances: that it is the principal and immediate target of Yankee imperialism and two, because of the divisions or differences, or however more or less optimistically they want to call them, within the socialist camp.

We have stated our position. We are not going to add fuel to the fire of those differences. I believe that whoever adds fuel to the fire of those differences is working against the best interests of the world revolutionary movement. In view of the arrogance of the imperialists that is a bitter fact. It



**BUILDERS OF FUTURE.** Policies of revolutionary Cuba are based on firm conviction that the youth will reshape the country and help reshape the world. That's why tremendous energies have been poured into providing the best educational facilities possible.

is hard. We have stated our position. What our duty is, as we understand it — not to add fuel to the fire of those differences but instead to work for the unity of the socialist camp, a unity based on principles. And to work for that unity based on principles, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. Marxism-Leninism is sufficiently rich in ideological treasure and in experience to be able to find the necessary means to overcome this difficulty, to overcome that obstacle. It's merely a matter of setting one's mind to the task.

And I think that we should exert our efforts towards accomplishing that end. We should struggle to accomplish that unity. And that is what we propose to do with our very own criterion. Chauvinists, no — Marxist-Leninists! For imperialism exists, and it is there, dangerous and aggressive. The under-developed world exists, and it is there. The liberation movement of the peoples subjugated by colonialism and by imperialism is there struggling in Angola, in Vietnam, in Latin America, everywhere in the world, and that struggle has need of the united forces of the socialist camp.

It is a pity, a great pity that those differences have arisen. And we must fight against them, because above all, we must unite. And what Marx said was, "Workers of the world, unite!" Marx and Engels worked to achieve that unity unceasingly, untiringly, their whole lives. And that is what we say, our political leadership, our party and our people: "Workers of the world, unite!" "Unite against the class enemies!" "Against the imperialist enemies!" "Against the aggressors!" "Against the warmongers!"

That is the position of our party and of our people, the criterion of our national leadership and of our people who have marched together united in difficult moments, in difficult situations. For our people passed through difficult tests during those days, tests of bravery, in the face of Kennedy's threats, in the face of his threats to make us the target of his atom bombs. There is no doubt that the nerves of this people were less shaken than those of the generals of the Yankee Pentagon.

Isolated expressions of criticism were not lacking. As is logical, there was not lacking some few confused but, perhaps, well-intentioned people, or perhaps confused but with evil intentions, who criticized the national leadership of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations over Cuba's attitude immediately after the crisis regarding the matter of inspection

and the matter of the pirate flights. Apparently, as far as these people are concerned, we should allow inspection as if to give our blessing to the right of the imperialists to tell us what arms we could or could not have and to take this country back to days of the Platt Amendment when, the Government of the United States decided for us.

To have accepted inspection would have meant that we would have had to agree to give an accounting to the Yankee imperialists of the arms which we could have or not have in our territory. And that to us involved a question of principles. That would have meant for us a renunciation of our sovereignty. That would have meant that we accepted the inferior position of this country among the rest of the nations of the world. And we do not accept nor will we accept such a thing.

Those who think that such a thing is acceptable also think that it would be all right for them to land without a shot being fired against them, because that is where such a road leads. And the Revolution did not reach power by following such a road, the Revolution was not defended at Playa Giron by following such a road, on the contrary, it was done by following other roads, the road of firmness and of determination to fight against the imperialists.

And apparently, those people thought that we should allow the Yankee planes to fly and to dive over our anti-aircraft batteries without giving the order to fire. And such a thing can never be expected of us because what the enemy can expect from us each time that they attack us will be that we will fight them and not that we will give in.

There will not be lacking those who will say — there will not be lacking those who may try to insinuate that we are against a policy of peace. The answer to that is this: We want peace with rights, with sovereignty and with dignity. We want peace without having to stop being revolutionists, without having to renounce the revolution.

When we fought against the invaders at Playa Giron, against those who bombed us, against those who attacked us, no one can deny that we were defending peace. When this people organized itself and determined to fight to the last man or woman against the imperialists who were attacking us, no one can deny that we were defending peace. Because to resist aggression is to fight for peace. To resign oneself before the aggressors is to take the road

which leads to war, to take the road which leads to subjugation of peoples. When we defend our sovereignty and our rights, we defend peace. And when we speak to the Latin Americans and tell them that there are objective conditions favorable to revolution, we defend peace. Because the weaker imperialism is, that much less dangerous will it be. The weaker imperialism is, the less aggressive will it be. And the liberation, the peoples' liberation movements, weaken imperialism. And it makes them less aggressive, less dangerous! The struggle of the peoples for their independence is the struggle for peace!

We believe that, yes, peace is the principal objective of humanity. Let us strive for it by following the roads of national sovereignty, of freedom from the exploiters and against the imperialists. By marching against imperialist exploitation, we fight for peace.

We are the enemies of war, and the imperialists are the ones who impose wars on humanity. And the stronger they feel, the more dangerous they will be. And that is why every people that fights for its sovereignty and its independence is defending peace.

## Stand Firm

That is how we Cuban revolutionists, firmly united, think. Those who think that they are going to fish in muddy waters, are making a mistake. Those who think that in the face of this goodwill and unity and determination and dignity of our people, that they may, opportunistically, try to sow confusion, to place in doubt the firmness of the Cuban revolutionary leadership, are making a terrible mistake, because that would be a sign that they do not understand this people, that they do not know the qualities of our people.

Those who, taking advantage of the difficult situations through which our country has had to pass and through which it still has to pass, foment division, are committing a deplorable act of treason against the Revolution. And the masses will cross swords with the intriguers, with the divisionists, and they will follow the line of our party, and the line which the revolutionary leadership charted for them because they will say: "That is our line; that is the line of our leaders, and we have faith in that line!"

That is how our people will conduct itself, how our revolutionary militants, who do not lose heart, who are not afraid of the struggle, who are not afraid of difficult circumstances, no matter what they might be, will conduct themselves. And there will be no division here! There will be unity here! Because we need it! Because the imperialist enemy is before us, wanting to destroy us, and we need unity in order to be able to resist! We need unity to win! We need unity more than ever before to move forward! And with our unity, with our firmness, and with our line, we will continue to move forward, facing up to the difficulties, facing up to the hardships, no matter what they may be!

We will exercise our right to think with our own minds! And we will be true, we will be true to our revolutionary thinking! And that thinking has one motto above all: "Resist the imperialist enemy! Fight against the imperialist enemy! Always move forward! Not one step backwards in the history of the nation! Not one single waverer in the revolutionary ranks! Forward against the imperialists!"

Those are and will always be our enemies; they are and will be the enemies of the Americas! We will continue forward following the road of revolution, following the road of socialism, following the road of Marxism-Leninism!

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# Letters From Our Readers

## Early 'Chicken Thieves'

Winnipeg, Canada

In February, 1911, Jack London addressed a letter to "the dear, brave comrades of the Mexican Revolution" who were engaged in a revolt against the dictatorship of Gen. Porfirio Diaz.

To evaluate the ideals of London, it is necessary to read part of this letter, reproduced hereunder:

"We socialists, anarchists, hobos, chicken thieves, outlaws and undesirable citizens of the United States are with you heart and soul in your efforts to overthrow slavery and autocracy in Mexico. You will notice we are not respectable in these days of the reign of property. All the names you are being called, we have been called. And when graft and greed get up and begin to call names, honest men, brave men, patriotic men and martyrs can expect nothing else than to be called chicken thieves and outlaws.

"So be it. But I for one wish

that there were more chicken thieves and outlaws of the sort that formed the gallant band that took Mexicali; of the sort that is heroically enduring the prison holes of Diaz, of the sort that is fighting and dying and sacrificing in Mexico today.

"I subscribe myself a chicken thief and revolutionist — Jack London."

Perhaps you can find some use for this *belle lettre*.

G. J. N.

[Our thanks to G. J. N. for the above quotation. The big business press of this country hasn't as yet called the Cuban revolutionists chicken thieves as they did the Mexican. However there is an echo. The yellow press often refers to Castro and other Cuban revolutionists as "chicken pickers" or "chicken pluckers."

This supposedly devastating appellation is based on an incident at the Hotel Shelbourne in New York during the stay of Fidel Castro and the Cuban delegation during the UN session of September 1960. A pillow in one of their rooms broke open and feathers from it scattered about. When Castro and his comrades left the midtown hotel — because of the management's publicity-seeking rudeness to them — and moved to Harlem, the press parlayed the few feathers into lurid stories about the Cubans plucking chickens in their rooms — something no capitalist "gentleman" would do. EDITOR.]

## Questions to Kennedy

Boston, Mass.

The following is a copy of a letter I sent to President Kennedy: "I understand from people who have been to the Socialist countries, and this includes Russia, Poland and Cuba, that things are not as represented in the U.S. press or by the U.S. government. In fact they are very different. The lower stratas of working people are far better off than they were 20 years ago under Stalin, Hitler or Batista.

"There are jobs for everyone. There is food for everyone. Housing is constantly expanding. There are free schools for all levels of scholastic attainment. There is true opportunity for each person to develop his capacities to the fullest. The specter of the 'tyrannical monolithic slave state' seems to have wandered off to outer space somewhere.

"People I have talked with who came from their native Europe and from Asia paint me a different picture of the U.S. which I find difficult to look at. When I contrast this picture with that of my memory of 20 years ago I see a kind of a Dorian Grey image emerging.

"President Kennedy, shouldn't we take a look at ourselves here in the U.S.? We have created a gigantic military-industrial system, one which has tremendous inertial force, one which is rolling relentlessly toward the ultimate war. Are we so absorbed in sustaining this system that we are losing all sense of perspective?

"Are we truly the Great Prophet of Freedom that our press leads us to believe we are? If so, then why don't people in Europe and Africa and Latin America and Asia and even in Australia believe so also? I do not think it can be said this image they have of us is all due to Communist propaganda. I believe we have contrib-

uted to it ourselves. People don't believe propaganda when the truth is evident . . .

"They see a new world being constructed along a broad base of equal distribution but they see us outside of this with our missiles and armament threatening to destroy everything.

"Are we still suffering from fear of Stalin? Is there a study being made by our government to determine whether it is possible for us as a capitalist nation to live together on one planet with an emerging socialist population of nations?"

"There is a tremendous social change taking place. Why must we impede this? Can't we co-exist with it? Is the only solution for us to destroy it?"

"I would greatly appreciate any help you can give me on these last questions."

Thomas W. Shepard

## How to Bring Home Bacon

Santa Cruz, Calif.

When socialism is mentioned to workers who are presently engaged in a rat race just to exist they agree it's a pleasant new religion and have no idea how it can change their mode of life.

Socialism is a planned, co-operatively-owned economy that transfers ownership and control of the means of production from the hands of a small percentage of the people to those who really operate them.

In such a revolutionary change, all the advantages are in favor of the workers. Labor would produce the necessities and luxuries of life in abundance — including the billions now siphoned off as profit

by the industrialists and financiers.

There would be no need for war since co-operatively-operated countries would not have to compete with each other, and that's all war really is — competition in aggravated form.

Federal statistics years ago showed that a 20-hour week in this country could supply the world with all its material needs.

Imagine, machines pouring out the goods we need and inventing more machines so that we can just push a button and the machine brings home the bacon. This is the machine age. Let's get the benefit of it at long last. Whether one likes it or not, it's evident that the countries which have eliminated the profit motive have made tremendous progress and would make even more if there were no wars.

We are at a crucial point in our economic and political relations with the world and the "reforms" offered by Washington can only delay for a while the ultimate collapse of a bankrupt system.

Think it over.

H. C. B.

## Black Rebel's Creed

New York, N. Y.

A few weeks ago when I was in Detroit I attended a symposium on the future of the Negro struggle at the Friday Night Socialist Forum. Your paper was on sale there with others.

All three speakers had important things to say, and other points of view were ably presented from the floor. It was a meeting to make a man think and I came up with these thoughts which I would

call a Black Rebel's Creed.

My people's fight for equality shall continue and grow stronger until we are all dead or free.

No fight in this country or the world shall be more important to me than this one.

If the white people who control the country continue to deny our equality I shall watch their political defeat without shedding a single tear. In fact I shall aid and abet the defeat of those who withhold my natural right to equality. I have no reason to trust white people merely because they claim to be my friend. I shall trust only those who join and help my people's fight as John Brown did 100 years ago.

I shall have only contempt and loathing for leaders who tell me my freedom must be delayed to another day.

My people shall have their own philosophy or ideology which shall be drawn from the lessons of the past and the necessities of our present oppressed plight. It shall not matter to us if parts of our philosophy or ideology resemble those of other groups, it shall be our own.

We need allies, but before we can unite with allies we must unite ourselves. We shall make alliances, but only as equals. And we shall learn always to depend on ourselves, with or without allies.

Political power being the answer, I shall work against the Republicans and Democrats and for a new party that will accept my people as equals and make our equality a goal in the fight for power and office.

A Black Rebel

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"Secretary of State John Foster Dulles . . . on Jan. 17 issued his first major official policy statement. The statement sought to conceal American imperialism's aggressive advance all over the globe . . . by accusing the Soviet Union of attempting to 'encircle' the United States . . .

"As for encirclement, it is U.S. imperialism that has built a menacing ring of atomic bombers and armies around the Soviet Union . . . U.S. bombers in Korea drop high explosives within yards of the Chinese and Russian borders. U.S. warships hold maneuvers right in the mouth of the Baltic Sea. U.S. military bases have been built in 29 foreign countries around the Soviet Union and China . . . U.S. military missions have been sent to another 28 foreign countries." — Feb. 2, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"On Jan. 19 Marcel Peyrouton was appointed governor-general of Algeria. This constitutes another victory for those French capitalists who hope to keep possession of this valuable colony and defend their vested interests not only against German and American imperialism, but against the French anti-fascist workers and Algerian natives as well . . .

"In 1935-1936 he governed Tunisia and Morocco in turn. He smashed the trade unions, suppressed in blood the slightest resistance on the part of the natives, and openly praised Mussolini and the 'creative spirit of fascism.' When France fell in 1940, Peyrouton was elevated to power, becoming Minister of the Interior in Petain's cabinet.

"Peyrouton established the German anti-Jewish laws in France and established the first concentration camp on French soil. He fell from power because he backed the wrong horse at Vichy — he led the anti-Laval group within the Petain cabinet . . .

"This butcher of the French workers could not have received his new appointment without the approval of the U.S. State Department, which arranged for his passage from South America. When questioned last week as to the possibility of repealing the anti-Jewish laws in North Africa now that Peyrouton was in power, Secretary of State Hull became extremely irritated and told reporters that he wished people would pay more attention to the war and less to political questions." — Jan. 30, 1943.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Proclamation** — President Kennedy has proclaimed May 1 "Law Day, USA," and urged Americans to "work for a day when law may govern nations as it does men within nations." Wonder if President Kennedy is planning any innovations for that day?

**Capitalism, USA** — Secretary of Welfare Anthony Celebrezze said Jan. 19 that this country is suffering from an educational crisis of alarming proportions that is stunting the economy. He said there are "more than eight million functional illiterates, one million school dropouts a year, and hundreds of thousands of men and women whose skills are becoming obsolete."

**Economic Theory Dept.** — "There are imbalances in our economy between our ability to produce and our desire to consume . . . The consumer is not saturated with goods and services — he just has not learned to consume them as fast as industry has learned to produce them." — *Battelle Technical Review*.

**Progress Report** — "VALDOSTA, GA. — An agreement has been reached on the issue of segregated windows for paying taxes at the Lowndes County courthouse. 'White' and 'Colored' have been removed from the newly built service windows, but tax record books will still be kept by race. The tax commissioner says separate books are required by state law. A Negro organization, the Valdosta-Lowndes County Political League, had protested the

segregation signs." — A Jan. 24 *Associated Press* report.

**Capitalophobia** — Modern living may be inducing urbophobia, or city jitters, according to Dr. I. H. Kornbluh of the University of Pennsylvania. He said, "The wearisome monotony of an immured existence within the confines of the residence and the place of employment" leaves its mark on the physical and mental capacity and productivity and creativity of people.

**New Ally** — Fighters for a ban on nuclear tests may have a powerful new ally. A Bell Telephone scientist said Jan. 23 that high altitude blasts may damage satellite communications systems. Bell is a subsidiary of AT&T which stands to make a juicy profit out of the government give-away of the federally developed satellite system.

**"No Danger"** — Clyde Thomas, 36, an employe of the super-secret Rocky Mountain Arsenal is in "fair" condition in a Denver hos-

pital from the effects of a deadly nerve gas made at the plant. He inhaled fumes when some liquid gas spilled over from a storage tank. Maj. Harry Barton, arsenal information officer, said an investigation is under way to find out how it happened but assured there is "no danger" to area residents.

**A Question** — Would the Eastland Committee probes be going after the Pacifica Foundation because its three FM stations persist in the un-American activity of not carrying commercials?

**Breathe Deep** — "The new problem of space pollution was brought up last week at a meeting here of the Institute of Aerospace Science. Pollution of the uppermost layers of the atmosphere could be created, scientists said, by the growing number of huge rockets being fired into space, leaving behind tons of exhaust gases that could affect radio communications and give us something to look at in the night sky by reflecting sunlight." — The Jan. 28 *New York Standard*.

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## Thought for the Week

"The employer, in strike stories, always 'offers' and the union 'demands.' A publisher, for example, never 'demands' that the union men agree to work for a four-bit raise; the union never 'offers' to work for more." — From an article on the New York printers strike by A. J. Liebling in the Jan. 26 *New Yorker*.

## Jail Term for Black Muslim Arrested While Selling Paper

By M. L. Stafford

NEW YORK — Two adherents of the Black Muslim faith were sentenced here Jan. 25 on disorderly conduct and assault charges. They had been arrested at gun point on Christmas in Times Square while selling copies of *Muhammed Speaks*, newspaper of their movement. They were tried and convicted Jan. 11.

General Sessions Judge John H. Murtagh sentenced Hugh X. Morton to 60 days in jail. Albert X. Reese was given a suspended 30-day sentence.

The two had been convicted on the testimony of two cops. The arresting patrolman, Raymond Sullivan, said they had blocked a subway entrance, bumped into a woman passer-by and refused to move on when asked. He said Reese had attacked him and another cop when they were arresting Morton. He also claimed they had said: "We are Black Muslims and don't have to move for anyone."

Both defendants denied the charges. Michael David, a passer-by who witnessed the episode, testified at the trial and corroborated the story of Morton and Reese.

Their attorney, Edward Jacko, argued they could not be barred from selling a religious paper on a public street. Pointing up the discrepancies in the prosecution testimony, he read entries from Patrolman Sullivan's memo book made immediately after the arrests and contrasted them to his testimony. The memo book made no mention of the use of obscene language and included no refer-



Malcolm X

ence to the courtroom charge that Morton and Reese had asserted they didn't have to move because they were Muslims. "This alleged quotation," Jacko declared, "was solely an afterthought."

Judge Murtagh said he was giving Morton the 60-day term because he had been convicted of other charges prior to joining the Muslim movement two years ago.

At the time of the trial, hundreds of Black Muslims turned out at the courthouse, with some picketing in front. Following the convictions, Muslim leader Malcolm X conferred with city officials on the problem of police brutality.

The convictions will be appealed.

## No Atom Bombs For Canada Say Young Laborites

Opposition is developing in Canada to the acceptance of nuclear weapons from the U.S. government. Spearheading this opposition is the militant New Democratic Youth, youth section of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party.

The New Democratic Youth picketed both the national convention of the Conservative Party and the recent speaking tour of Toronto by Liberal Party leader Lester B. Pearson. The pickets were protesting the fact that both major parties have buckled under Washington's pressure to accept nuclear warheads.

A petition campaign calling for a national referendum on the question has been initiated by the NDY. The idea of letting the people vote on this issue has already received the support of the University of Toronto Combined Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the newly-formed Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Both major parties are trying to stall and hedge on the issue until after the elections which are due to take place soon. Both parties have zig-zagged in their positions as the pressure from the U.S., on the one side, and from Canadians, on the other, has been applied.

U.S. pressure is mainly in the form of subtle threats about reducing or withdrawing lucrative "defense" contracts from Canadian companies. Home pressure takes the form of vocal opposition and the prospect of losing votes.

The *Christian Science Monitor* of Jan. 28 reported that "Ban-the-Bomb groups, active in Canada and frequently led by influential citizens, were furious with Pearson. Three former Liberal candidates, defeated last June, quit the party." Opposition to "joining the nuclear club" under U.S. hegemony is particularly strong in French Canada, where polls show 75 per cent opposed.

## ACLU Scores Pacifica Probe

NEW YORK — The American Civil Liberties Union reported that on Jan. 7 it had urged the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to cancel its investigation of the Pacifica Foundation which operates FM stations in San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York.

The Eastland committee brushed aside the ACLU appeal and held executive hearings Jan. 10 and 11 on alleged Communist infiltration into the stations.

In a public statement issued Jan. 21 the ACLU said the investigation is particularly harmful because the three Pacifica stations "focus especially on all kinds of controversial issues." Investigation of this kind, the statement said, "strikes at all radio-TV broadcasters and the principle of controversial discussion on the airwaves by warning that if broadcasters present controversial speakers and subjects then they, too, may be subject to Congressional investigation."

The probe cannot help but include the stations' program content, the ACLU pointed out, adding "indeed the Subcommittee from time to time has requested and received tapes of particular programs. This makes it abundantly clear that the opinions expressed over the stations are of direct concern to the Subcommittee. The American Civil Liberties Union believes that the Subcommittee has no authority to investigate political opinion expressed on the air."

## Rockefeller Aims Anti-Labor Bill At Typo Strike

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, Jan. 30 — Mayor Wagner, Governor Rockefeller and the White House vied with one another this week to end this city's great printers' strike. The same combination of politicians had earlier concocted the so-called Board of Public Accountability, headed by Medina, whose report abetted the publishers and blamed the printers.

Mayor Wagner took over direct negotiations shortly after Gov. Rockefeller called upon the legislature to create a 12-man Commission of Public Concern to investigate labor disputes.

These high city and state officials entered the strike scene following White House intervention through Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and Presidential Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, both of whom sat in on negotiations but returned emptyhanded to Washington.

The commission being proposed by Rockefeller is a threat not only to the current printers' strike but to all organized labor. For if it is set up by the legislature, it will be a permanent body with subpoena powers. Its shadow will loom over all strikes in the state, as the Waterfront Commissions' does over the maritime workers, ready to intervene and to whittle the workers' demands down with "recommendations."

### Enormous Power

Its power to damage striking unions would be enormous. It could grill and pillory union leaders, subpoena union records, make public pronouncements of who is right and who is wrong.

The proposal for creating this anti-labor commission went to the legislature in the form of a special message from Rockefeller. It is now being processed in committee in both the Assembly and State Senate. It has the full support of the Republican leaders of both houses.

Save for the opposition of the AFL-CIO lobbyist in Albany, there has as yet been no mobilization of forces by the labor movement against this dangerous Public Concern Commission.

Meanwhile the printers' picket lines remain spirited and determined, evidencing high morale. They have "stopped the presses" of the most powerful newspapers in the world. In the course of the strike the men's consciousness of their power has increased and with it have gone illusions fostered by some forms of paternalism which existed in the industry. Now the publishers — most of whom have not been struck but who have instituted a lock-out — are exposed in all their nakedness as having the morals of a cash register.

Also the role of the politicians and the state itself has become clearer as a result of the Medina Board experience. That is why the strikers have given the leader of Typographical Union No. 6, Bertram Powers, a clear mandate not to enter the proceedings of any arbitration, fact-finding, citizens' committees, tri-partite or similar bodies.

Experienced unionists know that any kind of board with power to make recommendations will hurt a strike. Who imposes such a board, committee or commission? Who picked the three-judge board headed by Medina? It was the mayor, governor and secretary of labor. Are they completely unbiased between capital and labor



Bertram Powers

and unmoved by political considerations? Are there men in our society who are completely dispassionate, like eunuchs, who can dispense impartial justice in strikes? A eunuch may, indeed, be dispassionate but he sides with those who make him sleek and fat.

One weakness of the strike is the failure to publish a daily labor paper as was originally planned. Cleveland, where a city-wide newspaper strike is in its third month, is now producing a strike paper. If the printers mobilize their forces, reach the public and make their strike the cause of the city's working people, a quick and inevitable victory is assured.

## ... Rally for Kentucky Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

making these contributions or cut them drastically and the UMW threatened to close these hospitals.

Over 10,000 miners are now on strike demanding that all the mines live up to the union contract and that the hospitals remain open. In Perry County, all

the mines have been shut down, Gibson said.

He blasted the idea that the hospitals couldn't be supported because the area was depressed. "If they can make one phone call and raise a million dollars for prisoners in Cuba," he said, "they can raise enough money to keep the hospitals in southeastern Kentucky going." "I can tell you," he declared, "that if they shut them down and take the patients out, the patients are going to be put back in."

Both the chairman of the meeting, Arthur Berger (a striking printer), and committee chairman, Walter Linder (local chairman of Lodge 783 of the Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers), stressed that this strike is part of the struggle against automation unemployment facing all American labor. It was announced at the meeting that IUE Local 431 was contributing \$200 to the miners.

### Miners' Solidarity

Berman Gibson spoke warmly of the solidarity of Negro and white miners on the picket lines and this too was reflected by a \$25 contribution from the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee. The meeting collected \$1,500 for the strikers. Gibson said picketing expenses — for gasoline and food — run \$250 per day.

The meeting urged union members to raise the issue of support to the striking miners in their shops and locals. Contributions can be sent either to the committee at P.O. Box 1050, GOP Brooklyn 1, N.Y., or by registered mail to Berman Gibson, 321 Broadway, Hazard, Kentucky.

The class struggle was not an abstraction last Thursday night at New York's Community Church. And the singing of miners' union songs with Pete Seeger at the close of the meeting voiced a real feeling of solidarity.

## New York Court Denies Appeal in Molina Case

NEW YORK — The decision of the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, denying the appeal of Francisco Molina, was condemned Jan. 23 by the Molina Defense Committee as he "whitewash" of frame-up dictated by "reactionary political considerations."

Molina is serving a 20-year sentence in the accidental shooting of a Venezuelan girl during a bloody brawl provoked by Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

Deirdre Griswold, executive secretary of the defense committee, said: "The court's refusal to set a new trial for Mr. Molina spreads a new coat of whitewash over the frame-up condoned by the lower court. . . Just as in the infamous frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti, the criminal charges leveled at Molina were only a pretext for bringing him to trial for his political beliefs. Nearly a dozen men were involved in the brawl at El Prado Restaurant. The anti-Castro participants admitted having used chains and knives. But only Molina, an open supporter of the Cuban Revolution, was charged with any crime."

Defense attorney Samuel Neuberger states he will take the case to the state Court of Appeals, and if denied there, to the U.S. Supreme Court.

## Stamp-Lickers Register Gain

What won't they think of next! The *Detroit News* Jan. 12 reported a new scheme to encourage people to register to vote in West Palm Beach, Fla. The local registration supervisor, Republican Daniel Gorham, announced that starting Jan. 25 each person who registers will get 100 free trading stamps. Married couples who register together will get an extra bonus of 50 stamps.

Reactions have been strong. Loretta Colligan, an employe at the county registration office, refused to go along with the plan and was fired. "It's unethical, undignified and against my beliefs," she stated. Republican County Chairman Max J. Stark declared, "It's shocking and in bad taste. I don't think it's American."

Democrats, however, are happy with the plan. They figure a lot of common folks will be induced to register and thus help offset the growing Republican strength in the county, a traditional wintering spot for millionaires.

Actually the scheme opens up vast possibilities for influencing people and making friends. Why, politicians can offer to give away trading stamps at political rallies instead of beer. Lobbyists can ply legislators with trading stamps without breaking any laws. And here's a twist: If trading stamps can persuade people to register maybe they can be used to persuade people not to register. Instead of beating up or shooting Negroes who are trying to register, just offer to give them 500 trading stamps if they stop agitating for the vote. Why didn't the White Citizens' Councils think of that one?