

THE MILITANT

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Mercenaries Fail to Crush Congo's Freedom Fighters

By Barry Sheppard

When the U.S., Belgium and Britain conspired to drop paratroops into Stanleyville, they hoped that city's loss would be the decisive blow against the Congolese revolutionaries. The paratroop attack was timed to spearhead the assault on Stanleyville by the white mercenaries leading the army of the Tshombe puppet government.

The world-wide reaction to this hypocritical imperialist aggression — especially the fury of the newly independent nations of Africa — forced the imperialists to withdraw their paratroops ahead of schedule. Although press reports in this country portray the Congolese revolutionaries as savages who fight with black magic, it is now clear that the paratroops and white mercenaries have failed to crush the revolution against Tshombe.

Under Heavy Attack

The mercenaries hold only sections of cities like Paulis, and are under heavy attack by the revolutionaries. Many areas terrorized by the mercenaries as they marched to Stanleyville have been re-captured by the revolutionaries.

That Tshombe had to rely on Belgian paratroops and white mercenaries to take Stanleyville was evidence of his regime's weakness. It hasn't enough support among the Congolese or among any other black Africans to form an effective army despite all the arms and cash from the U.S. It must depend on white soldiers furnished by the imperialists. Indeed, Tshombe recently declared that he would need the white mercenaries for years to come.

In Panic

The regime's shakiness was further illustrated by its panic over rumors that the people of Leopoldville, the capital, were planning an uprising Christmas Day. Tshombe's mercenary pilots consequently spent the holiday flying U.S.-supplied planes low over the capital's shantytowns to let it be known that any signs of unrest would bring bombing and strafing.

Whereas hatred of this bloody neo-colonialist puppet is almost universal in the Congo, the revolutionary forces are gaining in popularity and strength. Moreover they have the support and sympathy of almost all black African nations. In view of this development, the U.S. and Belgian imperialists are now pressuring Tshombe to "broaden" his government by bringing some other Congolese political figures into it.

The imperialists believe such a coalition would dilute the hatred

and contempt in which the regime is presently held domestically and internationally. This, they hope, not only would weaken the revolutionary forces in the Congo, but might draw support of some of the "moderate" African nations. Recently summoned to Brussels, Tshombe accepted the coalition proposal. But back in the Congo, he began to balk. He realizes that once they had "broadened" his regime, the imperialists might take a second step — dumping him altogether.

Text of UN Speech By 'Che' Guevara

— See page 4 —

Pressure Is Mounting To End Vietnam War

With the U.S. forces in Vietnam suffering a steady erosion of their political and military positions, a significant number of politicians in Washington are finally beginning to identify themselves with the proposal of some form of U.S. withdrawal.

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho), for example, now declares his belief that U.S. involvement

in Vietnam was a mistake in the first place and that while he doesn't like the idea of the U.S. being forced out, "we must be prepared for that possibility." His remarks were made in an interview in the January-February issue of *Ramparts*, a liberal Catholic magazine.

Church said he opposed proposals for extending the war to

North Vietnam because it is "folly" to believe that would not involve China. He indicated he was one of a number of Democrats in Congress opposed to spreading the war and critical of present U.S. policy. This change of attitude in some circles in Washington is due to the simple fact that the U.S. effort at counter-revolution in South Vietnam is meeting defeat.

The other critical Congressmen, who were listed in the press for the first time Dec. 26, are: Senators Mike Mansfield of Montana, who is Majority Leader; Ernest Gruening of Alaska; J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas; George McGovern of South Dakota; Wayne Morse of Oregon; E. L. Bartlett of Alaska; Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin.

Previously, Morse and Gruening were alone in public criticism of U.S. involvement. They advocate withdrawal. The others, including Church, say they favor continued U.S. involvement pointed toward some kind of negotiated settlement. But the only solution which can end the threat to world peace is for the U.S. to pull out completely and let the Vietnamese alone.

Tough Situation

The U.S. military and diplomatic missions in Saigon are desperately trying to patch together some semblance of a South Vietnamese government. But dealing with the greedy puppet politicians and militarists there is like trying to organize a bucketful of eels. Ambassador Taylor is demanding that the most current set of military rulers restore "legality" by re-instating the "civilian legislature" they just threw out. But this "civilian legislature" is a fraud. It was never elected, but was appointed by the off-again-on-again dictator, Gen. Nguyen Khanh, last fall.

The Christmas Eve bombing of the U.S. officers' billet in Saigon was a further illustration of the precarious position of the American forces. The building was one of the most heavily guarded U.S. installations in the country. But the Americans are so universally regarded by the Vietnamese as the perpetrators of the war and the puppet masters of the hated government that no amount of screening of Vietnamese employes can keep out the guerrilla underground organization. The U.S. forces are thus in a situation comparable to that faced during World War II by the Nazi armies of occupation.

Art Preis, Socialist Journalist And Historian, Is Dead at 53

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Art Preis, a heroic figure in the fight for socialism, died here on the morning of Dec. 26 after years of serious illness. The immediate cause of death was pneumonia. He was 53.

He had an outstanding record of achievements in the labor and socialist movement, including some 20 years as labor editor of *The Militant*. The crowning work of his career was his just published book, *Labor's Giant Step — 20 Years of the CIO*.

His life was all the more remarkable in that his achievements were made in the face of seemingly insuperable physical obstacles.

In 1940 he learned that he had diabetes, a condition that worsened with the years. Along with the diabetes he contracted other ailments. He was in the hospital ten times in the past eight years and on at least several of these occasions the doctors gave little or no hope for his recovery. Throughout this period he was in



Art Preis

May 22, 1911 — Dec. 26, 1964

constant pain — pain that heavy doses of medicine could only lessen, not eliminate.

Despite all this he waged an incredible fight to continue his work. He clung to life until he saw the publication of his book,

Memorial Meetings for Art Preis

As we go to press, memorial meetings for Art Preis have been scheduled in New York and Los Angeles.

The meeting in New York will be held Friday, Jan. 8, 8:30 p.m. at 116 University Place.

The Los Angeles meeting will be held Friday, Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum, 1702 East Fourth St. The speakers will include James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, Milton Alvin and other participants in the building of the CIO.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

Hear MALCOLM X at Militant Labor Forum

Thurs., Jan. 7, 8:30 p.m. Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52 St.

East Coast Dockers Hit New Job-Cutting Pact



QUIET ON WATERFRONT. Longshore strikes have left usually hectic Port of New York looking like this.

By Edward Shaw

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Work on the piers of this city and several other East Coast and Gulf ports is being disrupted by irate rank-and-file members of the International Longshoremen's Association who are showing their displeasure with a proposed contract for an unprecedented four-year stretch.

The proposed agreement gives a yearly wage boost of slightly more than three per cent the first two years and slightly less the last two years, plus the promise of a minimum of 1,600 hours of work annually. The gimmick in the agreement, however, is not the very modest economic proposal — though more was expected — but the reduction of the work force by 15 per cent. Both the bosses and labor bureaucrats claim that the raise and promise of steadier work will offset the loss of jobs. The job cut-back is to be accomplished by eliminating three of the traditional 20 men on work gangs and by drastically reducing the number of cargo checkers.

Under an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction, issued after a one-day

strike on Sept. 30 when the old contract expired, the union and the operators met with federal mediators headed by Assistant Secretary of Labor James J. Reynolds. Counting time spent before the T-H injunction, negotiations took a full six months.

The four-year agreement was announced Dec. 16. Its terms, particularly those calling for increased speed-up and work load, closely follow the proposals of the U.S. Department of Labor in its study on "better utilization of labor" on the docks. The government agency recommended that this could be done "by cutting the work gang in exchange for a guaranteed annual wage and job security."

The rank-and-file response the following day was one of disapproval. ILA President Thomas W. Gleason said he was sure the men would react differently after the contract had been more fully explained. Gleason reportedly headed South to explain matters to members in other ports while local officials arranged meetings for the New York membership.

By Dec. 21, however, work in the Port of New York was cut 50 per cent by "unauthorized" walkouts. Gleason and ten vice presidents held a hurried emergency conference and issued orders to all locals for additional meetings to "explain to the rank and file the terms and conditions of the new proposals."

The walkouts led to an apparent break in the friendly relations between longshore union officials and company representatives. Alexander P. Chopin, head negotiator for the employers, had lavishly praised the ILA president upon the announcement of the contract. But following the walkouts the employers were reported to be reacting "angrily" to the way things were being handled.

The new contract remains to be ratified by the ILA membership in all ports. Voting is expected to be completed by early January.

In addition to reducing the work force on the piers, the proposals would close the registration list for employment on the docks, so that the normal attrition of about 1,400 men per year (by death, retirement, etc.) would provide jobs to a certain extent for those dismissed from the work gangs.

Still unsettled are issues which have been dominant in the past and which are topics of daily conversation among longshoremen, such as the "modernization" of port facilities to increase efficiency and the use of pre-loaded pallets which greatly reduce dockside labor. As knowledge of the contract terms spreads among the rank and file, fears grow that the proposed four-year period of "peace" may lead to an even more drastic reduction of jobs than that formally proposed in the new contract.

McDonald's Rival Off to Head Start in Steel Union Contest

In the first formal test of strength between candidates for the presidency of the AFL-CIO United Steelworkers of America, I.W. Abel has outscored David J. McDonald. Abel, the union's present secretary-treasurer, received nominations from 1,310 local unions, while McDonald, who is campaigning to retain the presidency, received nominations from 904 locals. In addition, all candidates on the Abel slate got more nominations than candidates running with McDonald for the Feb. 9 election.

Joseph Germano, director of the union's District 31 in the Chicago area, is Abel's campaign manager. James P. Griffin, director of District 26 in Youngstown, Ohio, is chairman of the campaign committee supporting McDonald.

IUE Vote

Meanwhile, James B. Carey claimed victory in his bid for reelection as president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO. He claimed 67,897 votes to 65,704 for his opponent, Paul Jennings of Newark, N.J. Jennings is suing in court for a recount, charging ballot fraud.

"With considerable difficulty," Jennings charged, "my observers discovered that Jennings ballots were being put into Carey piles and counted as Carey votes." Jennings went to court after the union's five-man board of trustees — composed of Carey supporters — rejected his complaint as unfounded.

Attorney Seeks Federal Writ in Wm. Epton Case

By Robert Shann

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Defense counsel Conrad Lynn argued in federal criminal court here today for a writ of *habeas corpus* granting William Epton permission to travel to Berkeley, Calif. in order to speak at a public meeting there. Epton is out on bail on a charge of "criminal anarchy" under the New York state "sedition" law, but the conditions of the bail restrict him to New York City.

Earlier a state court had refused to allow Epton to travel to Berkeley where he had been invited to speak. Lynn argued that the state has no right to limit travel, since freedom to travel is a right guaranteed to all U.S. citizens. He also pointed out that this ruling by the state court violated Epton's freedom of speech. The federal court decided to consider Lynn's arguments.

Key Issue

At the heart of the Epton case is the unconstitutionality of the New York "criminal anarchy" law, and of all state sedition laws. The case of the Bloomington students, which involved charges against three student officers of the Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance under Indiana's "sedition" law, involves many of the same issues. Both state sedition laws infringe upon freedom of speech and assembly, and both are unconstitutional on the additional ground that state sedition laws are superseded by federal laws. It was on this latter ground that the Supreme Court ruled the Pennsylvania "sedition" law unconstitutional in the Nelson case.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which fought the Nelson case to its successful conclusion and has taken the Bloomington case as a test case, intends to file a friend of the court brief in the Epton case.

Fight for Union Rights Waged By Negro Tobacco Workers

Negro tobacco workers at the Liggett & Myers plant in Durham, N. C., are fighting a case touching on key questions for the labor and Negro equality movements. In effect, the Negro members of the AFL-CIO Tobacco Workers International Union at the plant are demanding equality with the white union members before they give up a separate local which constitutes an independent power base within the union from which they can fight to protect their interests.

The plant has been organized since 1937 on a segregated basis, with white workers in Local 176 and Negroes in Local 208 and another smaller unit. Each local maintained separate seniority lists and jurisdiction, though they bargained together against the company. The white local had jurisdiction over the better paid, more skilled jobs, and Negroes couldn't get those jobs no matter how high their seniority.

In 1956 a small concession was made allowing a small handful of Negro workers to transfer into formerly "white" jobs, but the situation remained essentially the same.

Now the international union has ordered the merger of the locals. Local 176 insists that when the members of the Negro local come in, the seniority lists not be

meshed, but that all members of Local 208 be placed on the bottom of the Local 176 seniority list.

The Negroes do not insist on taking jobs now held by white workers, but they want their seniority to count for any job openings as they occur. White members of Local 176 resist this on the grounds that their chances of advancement will be greatly slowed by meshing of the lists.

The Negro case is given greater urgency by the fact that automation is expected to eliminate many "unskilled" jobs.

The case took an ironic — and infuriating — twist when the international union tried to place the Negro local in trusteeship for refusing to "integrate." Local 208 leaders refuse to merge unless the seniority lists are meshed. International union officials had the monumental gall to call this a demand for "preferential" treatment and an assault on seniority rights.

There are 1,600 workers in Local 176 and only 900 in the Negro local. Unless they get a fair shake on seniority as a condition of the merger, the Negroes point out, they will simply be outvoted in the merged local and placed at the bottom of the seniority list. The case is now before the National Labor Relations Board and the courts.

Cuban Exiles Tell the Judge: Bazooka Shot at UN a 'Stunt'

NEW YORK — Three Cuban counter-revolutionaries arrested Dec. 22 are reported to have confessed to firing a bazooka shell across the East River at the United Nations where Cuban Minister of Industries Ernesto "Che" Guevara was speaking Dec. 11.

The national director of the Cuban Nationalist Association, the anti-Castro organization to which the three accused terrorists belong, boasts that it was responsible for an explosion aboard the Cuban ship *Maria Teresa* in Montreal Aug. 9, as well as for fighting in front of the Cuban Consulate in New York in 1960 and violent disturbances in the past year at the UN and at the Washington, D.C., meeting of the OAS.

Luckily the high-explosive bazooka shell fell into the East River instead of hitting the UN, where 5,000 people normally work,

or exploding on the traffic-filled East River Drive.

Following the attempted shelling of the UN, army and police officials, with the co-operation of the press, made some tentative moves to frame-up or blame pro-Castro Cubans for the crime. This was in the face of the boasting — open at first, muted later — of Cuban counter-revolutionaries that the bazooka explosion was the work of their people.

Thus on Dec. 15, spokesmen for the Army Ordnance Depot in Picatinny, N.J., where the bazooka had been sent for expert examination, told reporters that the weapon might have come from Red China. After the arrest of the trio accused of using the weapon, Stanley Ross, well-known editor of anti-Castro Spanish-language newspapers in New York, who had arranged for them to surrender to the police, revealed that they had bought the bazooka in an army surplus store on 8th Ave. in New York. It turned out to be of German manufacture. It is rumored that the shell or rocket, itself, came from U.S. Army or National Guard sources.

To bolster the smear or a possible frame-up of pro-Castro Cubans, Queens District Attorney Frank D. O'Connor had announced that he was investigating the possibility that Castroites had staged the bazooka attack for their own ends, such as "embarrassing" the U.S. and inducing the UN to leave this country.

The day after their arrest, the three accused Cuban counter-revolutionaries were released in \$5,000 bail each.

The three men — at least one of whom is reported to have been a security cop under the Batista tyranny — have agreed on a story that the reason the shell fell short of the UN is because they didn't intend to hit it to begin with.

Cleveland Protest On Vietnam, Congo

By Rachel Gage

CLEVELAND — A picket line in the heart of downtown Cleveland on Dec. 19 protested U.S. intervention in the Congo and in Vietnam. Thirty-five individuals from many of this city's militant civil-rights and political groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, marched for two hours in front of the Federal Building with such signs as: "Hands Off the Congo" and "End U.S. Intervention in South Vietnam."

Leaflets were distributed to hundreds of passers-by, many of whom stopped to discuss the question of U.S. intervention.

A few hours earlier there had been another picket line of about the same size. It was participated in by Women Strike for Peace, Students for a Democratic Society and the Socialist Party. It protested U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

The YSA and SWP had earlier proposed a combined picketline, but because of objections to including the issue of the Congo and to use of such words as "imperialism" on the picket signs, the unity proposal was refused.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

A STUDY IN BLACK HISTORY, a four-week lecture series by Ernest Holmes and Joseph Simms of the black nationalist movement of Roxbury. Jan. 8, Ancient Kingdoms; Jan. 15, Sub-Sahara Kingdoms; Jan. 22, Slave-Trade to Slavery; Jan. 29, Black Reconstruction to Black Nationalism. All talks Fridays, 8:00 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ART PREIS. Speakers, James P. Cannon, national chairman, Socialist Workers Party; Milton Alvin and other participants in building of CIO. Fri., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Jan. 5, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Jan. 6, 9 a.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

SEE THE REAL CUBA, slides by a student who traveled to Cuba last summer. Fri., Jan. 8, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Aisp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

MALCOLM X speaks at Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52nd St. (West of 8th Ave.) Thursday, Jan. 7, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ART PREIS. Fri., Jan. 8, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place.

CHICAGO

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL CRISIS AND THE HAVIGHURST REPORT. Speaker: Meyer Weinberg, vice-president of Teachers for Integrated Schools. Fri., Jan. 8, 8:00 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Aisp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

First-Amendment Defendants

New Court Challenge to Witch Hunters

Three First Amendment defendants who challenged the authority of the Senate Internal Security (Eastland) Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee have asked the U.S. Court of Appeals to overturn their convictions for contempt of Congress. John Gojack, Herman Liveright, and William Price were convicted of contempt because they refused to answer questions put to them by the witch-hunting committees on the grounds of the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press.

Previous convictions of all three were overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in May 1962 on technical grounds. The Supreme Court said the indictments did not

specify the matter supposedly "under inquiry" by the witch hunters when the hearings were held. In October of the same year, Robert Kennedy, the then attorney general, obtained new indictments, which resulted in convictions.

John T. Gojack was subpoenaed in 1955 by HUAC when he was president of District 9 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, covering 34 local unions in several Midwest states. The HUAC hearings were scheduled a few days before crucial NLRB elections in plants where the jurisdiction of Gojack's union had been challenged. Before the hearings, the late Rep. Francis E. Walter, who was then chairman of HUAC, publicly stated his plans "to hold large public hearings in industrial communities where subversives are known to be operating" so that "active communists will be exposed before their neighbors and fellow workers and I have every confidence that the loyal Americans who work with them will do the rest of the job." The UE subsequently lost the elections.

Television Director

Herman Liveright of Philadelphia was subpoenaed by the Senate committee in 1956 when he was television program director for WDSU-TV in New Orleans, La. Liveright had pioneered in producing a number of integrated TV programs and openly favored better TV opportunities for Negroes. He was questioned directly by Mississippi's Eastland, chairman of the committee.

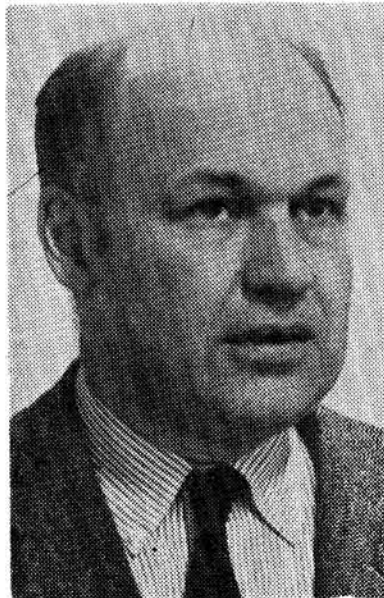
Liveright's hearing coincided with anti-integration activities in New Orleans and preceded by only a few days the first mass rally of the regional White Citizens Council and by only a few weeks the passage of a series of segregationist statutes by the Louisiana legislature. Liveright was fired from the TV station the day after the hearing.

The Eastland committee also attempted to pillory William Price in 1955 and 1956, when he was a reporter for the New York *Daily News*. The witch hunters were "investigating" the New York press. At the time, the hearings were opposed as an intervention into freedom of the press by a number of newspapers and columnists including Walter Lippmann. Price was fired by the *News* at the termination of the hearings, and is currently the executive secretary of the New York Council to Abolish HUAC.

When Kennedy drew up the second indictment against Price, the "subject of inquiry" of the witch hunt was described as "Communist activities in the news media." David Rein, Price's attorney, told the three-man Court of Appeals that if they upheld the government contention that "news media" were really the subject of the "inquiry," then it must decide whether that violated First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press. In the 1962 decision of the Supreme Court, Jus-

tice William O. Douglas said in reference to the Price case, "Where men's minds are free, all shades of opinion must be immune from governmental inquiry lest we end with regimentation. Congress has no more authority in the field of the press than it does where the pulpit is involved."

Of the three defendants, only Gojack faces a prison term, having been sentenced to three months in jail and a \$200 fine. Both Liveright and Price were placed, without sentencing, on ten days probation. All are appealing because of the important constitutional questions involved.



William A. Price

South Africa Minister of 'Justice' Spurned Pleas for Doomed Men

LUSAKA, Zambia (*World Outlook*) — South Africa's Minister of Justice Vorster stated that he had received more than 2,000 cables and letters from all over the world, including the United Nations, pleading that he reprieve Zinakale Mkaba, father of three, Vuyisila Mini, trade-union organizer, and Wilson Khayingo, a delivery hand, who were alleged to have killed a police informer named Mange.

Vorster said that he was rejecting these pleas with contempt because "murder" had been committed.

On the morning of Nov. 6, the three opponents of apartheid met their death as martyrs to the cause of freedom.

Vorster is a sadist of notorious background. During the last war he was a general in a pro-Hitler Afrikaner secret organization, the *Ossewa-Brandwag*, which had an extremist corps called the *Stormjaers* (stormtroopers). This organization, which openly espoused the doctrines of Nazism, was responsible for many acts of sabotage during the war. Pylons and post offices were blown up, rails were tampered with. In the bombing of the post office at Benoni, an innocent passer-by was killed.

Under the Smuts government, two *stormjaers* were found guilty and sentenced to death. There was a hue and cry amongst Afrikaner circles and petitions for mercy flooded the government. Smuts reprieved them and within a fortnight of the Nationalist Party victory in 1948, they received free pardons and were subsequently feted as heroes at a big dinner

given in Pretoria to celebrate their release.

Vorster, as one of the leaders, was interned during the war. Verwoerd was editor of *Transvaler* at the time. He was found guilty in a court of law of being an agent for the Nazis and an upholder of fascism.

As minister of justice in charge of one of the biggest police forces in the world, Vorster has transformed the whole country into a virtual concentration camp. For its size, South Africa has the biggest daily jail population in the world. Figures released in South Africa itself on Nov. 5 reveal that the daily jail population for 1963 was 67,000 (mainly for violations of racial laws) as against 3,000 in Holland. By way of comparison, the population of the latter country in 1962 was an estimated 11,797,000; South Africa's estimated 1961 population was 16,236,000.

Bonn's Hitler-Loving Prof

A West German newspaper has exposed pro-Nazi activities of the new rector of Bonn University, Professor Hugo Moser. Moser wrote for Nazi publications before World War II, opposed the teaching of French as a defilement of "the purity" of German culture, and edited a book of Nazi youth songs. In the face of demands for a thoroughgoing investigation of Bonn University's "brown-shirt" past, another professor addressed the university's student parliament. It was necessary, he said, to "understand the spirit of the times" in which Moser's actions took place.

Filipinos Demand End of U.S. Bases

The recent killing of two young Filipinos by American soldiers on guard duty has resulted in a protest movement demanding the removal of United States military bases from the Philippines.

One of the youths, 14-year-old Rogelio Balagtas, was shot while scavenging metal at U.S. Air Force Crow Valley bombing range on Nov. 25. The other, Gonzalo Vidello, was shot on Dec. 13 in "restricted" waters at the U.S. Navy's Subic Bay Air Station.

On Dec. 27 some 2,000 people attended a rally in Angeles near Clark Air Force Base demanding the recall of the U.S. Ambassador, William McCormick Blair, Jr., and the removal of U.S. military bases.

A manifesto read at the rally demanded the prosecution of those responsible for the killing of 31 Filipinos on American bases since 1952, and compensation for the families of the victims.

The movement for the recall of Ambassador Blair is reportedly led by city councilman Dr. Carlos Sandico, who addressed the rally. This demand has arisen in response to a statement issued by Blair that two Filipinos had attempted unsuccessfully to bomb an elementary school at Clark Air Force Base on Dec. 18. Sandico said the incident was a hoax staged by the U.S. Embassy to divert attention from the two shootings.

Similar shootings of civilians by American soldiers stationed in foreign countries have occurred repeatedly. There were many such deaths in Korea. Mass protests over similar incidents also occurred in Japan. Usually the victims were poor people collecting empty shells on military target ranges as scrap metal.

... Art Preis, Heroic Fighter

(Continued from Page 1)

tant unemployed organizations in the country. This movement served as the springboard for organizing auto workers and other unions in the area. Among the workers Art organized in this period were a group of teachers working on WPA. Along with them, Art became a charter member of the CIO's United Office and Professional Workers Union.

At the same time Art turned toward socialism and became an early member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, a group of radical-minded unionists led by A.J. Muste. This group then formed the American Workers Party and shortly afterward merged with the Trotskyist organization of that period, the Communist League of America. Art became a leading figure in the Trotskyist movement and was a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1940, Art came to New York for his first stint on *The Militant*. In 1942 he went to Chicago for a year to be the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party there.

One of his accomplishments of that period of which he was very proud was helping to integrate into the SWP Laura Slobe, a brilliant young painter and sculptor. It was Art who recognized the possibility of utilizing her talent for political cartooning. He persuaded both Laura and the editors of *The Militant* that she should come to New York as staff cartoonist. Under the pen name "Gray" she became an outstanding cartoonist whose works were reprinted internationally in the radical and labor press. Art worked closely with Laura until her death in 1958 and she credited him with the ideas for some of her best cartoons.

From 1943 on, Art devoted himself to his work on *The Militant*,

specializing in labor news. When the United Mine Workers defied the wartime no-strike pledge, Art went into the coal fields to get and report their story. He got the story and told it eloquently. In many coal towns he was welcomed into union meetings where other members of the press were barred because he had made *The Militant* known among the miners as the one paper which told their side of the story and supported their struggle. This was when all the rest of the press — including that of the Socialist and Communist parties — were denouncing the miners' fight as virtual treason.

Art's next major contribution to *The Militant* was his slashing exposure of the true U.S. role in the Korean War. On the basis of painstaking research, he documented the record of U.S. atrocities against the Korean people in many articles which remain invaluable for those who want to find out the real history of the Korean war.

In 1956, shortly after the unification of the AFL and the CIO he wrote a series of articles for *The Militant* on the history of the CIO. It was this series that he later expanded into his book.

The actual writing of the book was begun in the period after his illness became more acute and was interrupted by several hospital sieges but somehow he always mustered the strength to return to his work, determined to see it completed and published.

It was a source of great joy for Art and Ethel and for all their comrades that he did live to see the book in print and that he was able to participate in a gala reception here celebrating its publication.

His near-miraculous capacity to continue his work sprang from his deep dedication to the socialist cause. It was this that gave him a purpose in life and a breadth of vision greater than his own personal difficulties — no matter how extreme they were.

Nor did his overriding interest in politics leave him a one-sided person. In school he had studied journalism and drama. While at the University of Pennsylvania he worked with the Hedgerow Theater, one of the early modern theaters. He was a cultured man with a deep love for literature, art and music. In all these fields his taste ranged from the great classics to the best of the moderns.

But above all, he was deeply involved with his fellow men. During one of his recent critical sieges when neither he nor the doctors expected he would survive, he raised his head from the pillow and said to Ethel:

"Give my love to the human race."

Gift Suggestion

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'Che' Guevara: The Free Men of the World Must Avenge the Crime Committed in the Congo

domestic cohesion, faith in one's own destiny and the unrenounceable desire to fight to the death for the defense of one's country and revolution. These conditions exist in Cuba.

Of all the burning problems to be dealt with by this Assembly, one of those that is of special significance for us and whose solution we feel must be found first, so as to leave no doubt in the minds of any, is that of peaceful co-existence among states with different economic and social systems. Much progress has been made in the world in this field. But imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, has attempted to have the world believe that peaceful co-existence is the exclusive right of the great powers on earth. We say here what our president said in Cairo, and which later took shape in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries: that there can not be peaceful co-existence only among the powerful if we are to ensure world peace. Peaceful co-existence must be exercised among all states, independently of size, of the previous historic relations that linked them, and of the problems that may arise among some of them at a given moment.

At present, the type of peaceful co-existence to which we aspire does not exist in many cases. The Kingdom of Cambodia, merely because it maintained a neutral attitude and did not bow to the machinations of U.S. imperialism, has been subjected to all kinds of treacherous and brutal attacks from the Yankee bases in South Vietnam.

Laos, a divided country, has also been the object of imperialist aggression of every kind. Its people have been massacred from the air. The conventions concluded at Geneva have been violated and part of its territory is in constant danger from attack in a cowardly manner by imperialist forces.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), which knows all these histories of aggression as few people on earth, once again has seen how imperialism violated, has seen how enemy bomber and fighter planes attacked its installations, how U.S. warships, violating territorial waters, attacked its naval posts.



"Che" Guevara

Further, it is a principle proclaimed in this organization that of the right to full independence from all forms of colonial oppression. That is why we are expressing our solidarity with the people of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique who have been massacred for the crime of demanding their freedom, and we are prepared to help them to the extent of our ability in accordance with the Cairo Declaration.

We express our solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico and its great leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, who, in another act of hypocrisy, has been set free at the age of 72, almost without the ability to speak, paralytic, after spending a lifetime in jail. Albizu Campos is a symbol of the still unredeemed but indomitable America. Years and years of prison, almost unbearable pressures in jail, mental torture, solitude, total isolation from his people and his family, lackeys in the land of his birth — nothing broke his will. The delegation of Cuba, on behalf of its people, pays a tribute to admiration and gratitude to a patriot who confers honor upon America.

The North Americans, for many years, have tried to convert Puerto Rico into a mirror of hybrid culture — the Spanish language with English inflection, the Spanish language with hinges on its backbone, the better to bend before the U.S. soldier. Puerto Rican soldiers have been used as cannon-fodder in imperialist wars, as in Korea, and even been made to fire at their own brothers, as in the massacre perpetrated by the U.S. army a few months ago against the helpless people of Panama — one of the most recent diabolical acts carried out by Yankee imperialism — and yet despite that terrible attack against its will and its historic destiny, the people of Puerto Rico have preserved their culture, their Latin character, their national feelings which, in themselves, give proof of the implacable will for inde-

pendence that exists among the masses on that Latin American island.

We must also point out that the principle of peaceful co-existence does not imply a mockery of the will of the peoples, as is happening in the case of so-called British Guinea, where the government of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan has been the victim of every kind of pressure and manuever while the achievement of independence has been delayed by the search for methods that would allow for the flouting of the will of the people while ensuring the docility of a government different from the present one, placed there by the German imperialists, and then to grant an incomplete freedom to this piece of American soil.

Whatever roads Guiana may be compelled to follow to obtain independence, the moral and militant support of Cuba goes to its people.

Furthermore, we must point out that the islands of Guadalupe and Martinique have been fighting for a long time for their autonomy without obtaining it. This is a situation that must not continue.

Once again we raise our voice to put the world on guard against what is happening in South Africa. The brutal policy of apartheid is applied here the eyes of Africa are compelled to tolerate that in that continent, the superiority of one race over another should be made official, that in the name of that racial superiority, the people should be murdered with impunity. Can the United Nations do nothing to prevent this? I should like specifically to refer to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world, which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynicism, the rights of peoples can be ignored. The prodigious wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist nations wish to keep under their control, is in direct relation to this. In the UN our comrades, Fidel Castro, said that the whole problem of co-existence among peoples was reduced to one simple question: of what's the wealth of a people? When this philosophy of despoliation disappears, and the philosophy of war will have disappeared.

Murder of Lumumba

The philosophy of despoliation not only has not stopped but, rather, is stronger than ever, and that is why those who used the name of the UN to commit the murder of Lumumba, are today, in the name of the defense of the white race, assassinating thousands of Congolese. How can one forget how the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the UN was betrayed? How can one forget the machinations and maneuvers which followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by UN troops under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget that he who flouted the authority of the UN in the Congo — and not necessarily for patriotic reasons, but rather in virtue of conflicts between imperialists — was Moïse Tshombe, who initiated the secession in Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify, how can one explain, that at the end of all the UN activities there, Tshombe, dislodged from Katanga, should return as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the sad role that the imperialists compelled the UN to play?

To sum up, dramatic mobilizations were made to avoid the secession of Katanga, but today Katanga is in power. The wealth of the Congo is in imperialist hands and the expenses must be paid by the decent nations. The merchants of war certainly do good business.

linked to such an agreement is the problem of the peaceful reunification of Germany. So long as there is no clear understanding, the existence of two Germanys must be recognized: that of the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic. The German problem can only be solved with the direct participation in negotiations of the Democratic Republic of Germany with full rights.

We shall touch lightly on the questions of economic development and international trade which take up a good part of the agenda. In this year of 1964 was held the Conference of Geneva at which a multitude of matters related to these aspects of international relations was dealt with. The warnings and forecasts of our delegation were clearly confirmed to the misfortune of economically dependent countries.

We wish only to point out that insofar as Cuba is concerned, the United States of America has not implemented the explicit recommendations of that conference, and recently the U.S. Government also prohibited the sale of medicine to Cuba, thus divesting itself, once and for all, of the mask of humanitarianism with which it attempted to disguise the aggressive nature of its blockade against the people of Cuba.

Unequal Exchange

Furthermore, we once more state that these colonial machinations which impede the development of the peoples are not only expressed in political relations. The so-called deterioration of the terms of trade is nothing less than the result of the unequal exchange between countries producing raw materials and industrial countries which dominate markets and impose apparent justice on an inequitable exchange of values.

So long as the economically dependent peoples do not free themselves from the capitalist markets and, as a bloc with the socialist countries, impose new terms of trade between the exploited and the exploiters, there will be no sound economic development and in certain cases, there will be regression, in which the weak littoral dominations of imperialists will fall under the political domination of imperialists and colonialists.

Finally, it must be made clear that, in the area of the Caribbean, manuevers and preparations for aggression against Cuba are taking place; of the coast of Nicaragua above all, in Costa Rica, in the Panama Canal Zone, in the Marquesas Islands of Puerto Rico, in Florida, and possibly in other parts of the territory of the U.S. Cuban mercenaries are training, and also, perhaps, in Honduras, as well as mercenaries of other nationalities, with a purpose that cannot be peaceful.

After a clear scandal, the government of Costa Rica — it is said — has ordered the elimination of all training fields for Cuban exiles in that country. No one knows whether this attitude is sincere, or whether it is a simple maneuver because the mercenaries training there were about to commit some offense. We hope that full cognizance will be taken of the true situation in those bases for aggression, which we denounced long ago, and that the national responsibility of the government of a country which authorizes and facilitates the training of mercenaries to attack Cuba.

Against All Aggression

We feel that that conference is necessary to obtain the total destruction of thermo-nuclear weapons and, as a first step, the prohibition of tests. At the same time, there must clearly be established the obligation of all states to respect the present frontiers of other states and to refrain from including in any aggression, even with conventional weapons.

In adding our voice to that of

monitions for the cessation of the violation of the airspace over our territory, as well as the provocation of the American navy against our sentry posts in the zone of Guantanamo, the "buzzing" by aircraft over our ships or ships of other nationalities in international waters, the practical attacks against ships sailing under different flags, and the infiltration of spies, saboteurs and weapons on our island.

Cuban Goals

We want to build socialism; we have declared that we are patriots of those who strive for peace; we have declared ourselves as falling within the group of non-aligned countries, although we are Marxists-Leninists, because the non-aligned countries, like ourselves, fight imperialism. We want peace; we want to build a better life for our people, and that is why we avoid, in so far as possible, falling into the planned provocations of the Yankees. But we know the mentality of those who govern them; they want to make us pay a very high price for that peace. We reply that that price cannot go beyond the bounds of dignity.

And Cuba reaffirms once again the right to maintain on its territory the weapons it wishes and its refusal to recognize the right of any power on earth, however ever powerful, to violate our soil, our territorial waters or our airspace.

If in any assembly Cuba assumes obligations of a collective nature, it will fulfill them to the letter. So long as this does not happen, Cuba maintains all its rights, just as any other nation. In the face of the demands of imperialism, our prime minister posed the five necessary points for the existence of sound peace in the Caribbean. They are as follows:

- 1) Cessation of the economic blockade and all economic and trade pressures by the U.S. in all parts of the world against our country.
- 2) Cessation of all subversive activities, launching and landing of weapons and explosives by air and sea, organization of terrorist invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all of which acts are carried out from the territory of the U.S. and some accomplice countries.
- 3) Cessation of practical attacks carried out from existing bases in the U.S. and Puerto Rico.
- 4) Cessation of all the violations of our airspace and our territorial waters by U.S. aircraft and warships.
- 5) Withdrawal from the Guantanamo naval base and restitution of the Cuban territory occupied by the U.S.

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The North Americans claimed, furthermore, that the UN should respect our territory, which we refuse emphatically since Cuba does not recognize the right of the U.S., or of anyone else in the world, to determine what type of weapons Cuba may maintain within its frontiers.

In this connection, we would only abide by multi-lateral agreements, with equal obligations for all the parties concerned. Fidel Castro declared that so long as the concept of sovereignty exists as the prerogative of nations and of independent peoples, and as a right of all peoples, we shall not accept the exclusion of our people from that right; so long as the world is governed by these principles, so long as the world is governed by those concepts which have universal validity because they are universally accepted by peoples, we shall not accept the attempt to deprive us of any of those rights and we shall renounce none of those rights.

The secretary-general of the United Nations, U Thant, understood our reasons. Nevertheless, the U.S. presumed to establish a new prerogative, an arbitrary and illegal one: that of violating the airspace of any small country. Thus, we see flying over our country U-2 aircraft and other types of spy apparatus which, with all impunity, fly over our airspace. We have made all the necessary ad-

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Monday, January 4, 1965

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'Che' Guevara: The Free Men of the World Mu

[The following is the text of the speech delivered in the United Nations General Assembly Dec. 11 by Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Cuba's Minister of Industries.]

The delegation of Cuba to this Assembly has pleasure, first of all, in fulfilling the agreeable duty of welcoming the addition of three new nations to the large number of those that discuss the problems of the world here. We therefore greet in the person of their Presidents and Prime Ministers the peoples of Zambia, Malawi and Malta, and express the hope that from the outset these countries will be added to the group of non-aligned countries which struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We also wish to convey our congratulations to the President of this Assembly [Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana], whose elevation to so high a post is of special significance since it reflects this new historic stage of resounding triumphs for the peoples of Africa, until not so long ago subject to the colonial system of imperialism, and which, today, for the great part in the legitimate exercise of self-determination have become sovereign states. The last hour of colonialism has struck and millions of inhabitants of Africa, Asia and Latin America rise to meet a new life and impose their unrestricted right to self-determination and to the independent development of their nations.

We wish you, Mr. President, the greatest success in the tasks entrusted to you by member states.

Cuba comes here to state its position on the most important controversial points and will do so with the full sense of responsibility which the use of this rostrum implies, while at the same time responding to the unavoidable duty of speaking out, clearly and frankly.

Small Nations

We should like to see this Assembly shake itself out of complacency and move forward. We should like to see the Committees begin their work and that this should not stop at the first confrontation. Imperialism wishes to convert this meeting into a pointless oratorical tournament, instead of solving the grave problems of the world. We must prevent their doing so. This Assembly should not be remembered in the future only by the number 19 which identifies it; our efforts are directed to that end. We feel that we have the right and the obligation to do so, because our country is one of the most constant points of friction; one of the places where the principles upholding the rights of small peoples to sovereignty are tested day by day, minute by minute, and at the same time our country is one of the entrenchments of freedom in the world, situated a few steps away from United States imperialism, showing by its actions, its daily example, that peoples can liberate themselves, can keep themselves free, in the present conditions of mankind.

Of course, there is now a socialist camp which becomes stronger day by day and has more powerful weapons of struggle. But, additional conditions are required for survival: the maintenance of

domestic cohesion, faith in one's own destiny and the unrenounceable decision to fight to the death for the defense of one's country and revolution. These conditions exist in Cuba.

Of all the burning problems to be dealt with by this Assembly, one of those that is of special significance for us and whose solution we feel must be found first, so as to leave no doubt in the minds of any, is that of peaceful co-existence among states with different economic and social systems. Much progress has been made in the world in this field. But, imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, has attempted to have the world believe that peaceful co-existence is the exclusive right of the great powers on earth. We say here what our president said in Cairo, and which later took shape in the Declaration of the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries: that there cannot be peaceful co-existence only among the powerful if we are to ensure world peace. Peaceful co-existence must be exercised among all states, independently of size, of the previous historic relations that linked them, and of the problems that may arise among some of them at a given moment.

At present, the type of peaceful co-existence to which we aspire does not exist in many cases. The Kingdom of Cambodia, merely because it maintained a neutral attitude and did not bow to the machinations of U.S. imperialism, has been subjected to all kinds of treacherous and brutal attacks from the Yankee bases in South Vietnam.

Laos, a divided country, has also been the object of imperialist aggression of every kind. Its people have been massacred from the air. The conventions concluded at Geneva have been violated and part of its territory is in constant danger from attack in a cowardly manner by imperialist forces.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam [North Vietnam], which knows all these histories of aggression as few people on earth, once again has seen its frontier violated, has seen how enemy bomber and fighter planes attacked its installations, how U.S. warships, violating territorial waters, attacked its naval posts.

Threat of War

At this time, there hangs over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the threat that the U.S. warmongers may openly extend over its territory the war that, for many years, they have been waging against the people of South Vietnam.

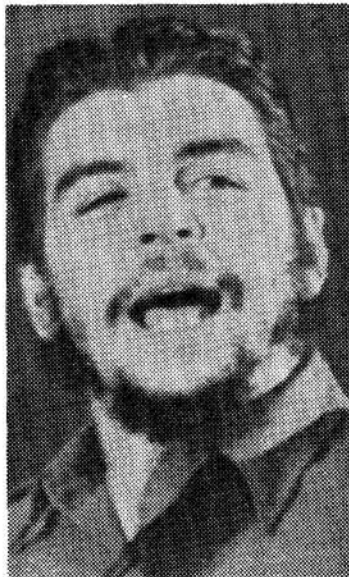
The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have given serious warning to the United States. We are faced with a case in which the peace of the world is in danger and, moreover, the lives of millions of human beings in this part of Asia are constantly threatened and subjected to the whim of the U.S. invader.

Peaceful co-existence has also been put to the test in a brutal manner in Cyprus, due to pressures from the Turkish Government and NATO, compelling the people and the government of Cyprus to make an heroic and firm

stand in defense of their sovereignty.

In all these parts of the world, imperialism attempts to impose its version of what co-existence should be. It is the oppressed peoples in alliance with the socialist camp which must show them what is true co-existence, and it is the obligation of the United Nations to support them.

We must also say that it is not only in relations in which sovereign states are involved that the concept of peaceful co-existence must be clearly defined. As Marxists we have maintained that peaceful co-existence among na-



"Che" Guevara

tions does not encompass co-existence between the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed.

Furthermore, it is a principle proclaimed in this organization — that of the right to full independence from all forms of colonial oppression. That is why we express our solidarity with the colonial peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique who have been massacred for the crime of demanding their freedom, and we are prepared to help them to the extent of our ability in accordance with the Cairo Declaration.

We express our solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico and its great leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, who, in another act of hypocrisy, has been set free at the age of 72, almost without the ability to speak, paralytic, after spending a lifetime in jail. Albizu Campos is a symbol of the still unredeemed but indomitable America. Years and years of prison, almost unbearable pressures in jail, mental torture, solitude, total isolation from his people and his family, the insolence of the conqueror and lackeys in the land of his birth — nothing broke his will. The delegation of Cuba, on behalf of its people, pays a tribute of admiration and gratitude to a patriot who confers honor upon America.

The North Americans, for many years, have tried to convert Puerto Rico into a mirror of hybrid culture — the Spanish language with English inflection, the Spanish language with hinges on its backbone, the better to bend before the U.S. soldier. Puerto Rican soldiers have been used as cannon-fodder in imperialist wars, as in Korea, and even been made to fire at their own brothers, as in the massacre perpetrated by the U.S. army a few months ago against the helpless people of Panama — one of the most recent diabolical acts carried out by Yankee imperialism — and yet despite that terrible attack against its will and its historic destiny, the people of Puerto Rico have preserved their culture, their Latin character, their national feelings which, in themselves, give proof of the implacable will for inde-

pendence that exists among the masses on that Latin American island.

We must also point out that the principle of peaceful co-existence does not imply a mockery of the will of the peoples, as is happening in the case of so-called British Guiana, where the government of Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan has been the victim of every kind of pressure and maneuver while the achievement of independence has been delayed by the search for methods that would allow for the flouting of the will of the people while ensuring the docility of a government different from the present one, placed there by underhanded tactics, and then to grant an incomplete freedom to this piece of American soil. Whatever roads Guiana may be compelled to follow to obtain independence, the moral and militant support of Cuba goes to its people.

South Africa

Furthermore, we must point out that the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique have been fighting for a long time for their autonomy without obtaining it. This state of affairs must not continue.

Once again we raise our voice to put the world on guard against what is happening in South Africa. The brutal policy of *apartheid* is applied before the eyes of the whole world. The peoples of Africa are compelled to tolerate that in that continent the superiority of one race over another should be made official, that in the name of that racial superiority people should be murdered with impunity. Can the United Nations do nothing to prevent this? I should like specifically to refer to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world, which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynicism, the rights of peoples can be flouted. The prodigious wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist nations wish to keep under their control, is the direct reason for all this. In his speech on his first visit to the UN our comrade, Fidel Castro, said that the whole problem of co-existence among peoples was reduced to the undue appropriation of another's wealth. He said: "When this philosophy of despoilment disappears, the philosophy of war will have disappeared."

Murder of Lumumba

The philosophy of despoilment not only has not stopped but, rather, it is stronger than ever, and that is why those who used the name of the UN to commit the murder of Lumumba, are today, in the name of the defense of the white race, assassinating thousands of Congolese. How can one forget how the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the UN was betrayed? How can one forget the machinations and maneuvers which followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by UN troops under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget that he who flouted the authority of the UN in the Congo — and not necessarily for patriotic reasons, but rather by virtue of conflicts between imperialists — was Moïse Tshombe, who initiated the secession in Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify, how can one explain, that at the end of all the UN activities there, Tshombe, dislodged from Katanga, should return as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the sad role that the imperialists compelled the UN to play?

To sum up, dramatic mobilizations were made to avoid the secession of Katanga, but today Katanga is in power. The wealth of the Congo is in imperialist hands and the expenses must be paid by the decent nations. The merchants of war certainly do good business.

That is why the government of Cuba supports the just attitude of the Soviet Union in refusing to pay the expenses for this crime.

And, as if this were not enough, we now have flung in our faces these latest acts which have filled the world with indignation. Who are their perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers, carried by U.S. planes, who took off from British bases. We remember as if it were yesterday that we saw a small country in Europe, a civilized and industrious country, the Kingdom of Belgium, invaded by the hordes of Hitler. Our consciences were bitterly affronted to know that that small people was massacred by the German imperialists, and we felt affection for them. But this other side of the imperialist coin was the one that many of us did not see. Perhaps the sons of Belgian patriots who died defending their country are now assassinating thousands of Congolese in the name of the white race, just as they suffered under the German heel because their blood was not sufficiently Aryan. Our free eyes open now upon new horizons and can see what yesterday, in our condition of colonial servitude, we could not observe — that "Western civilization" disguises under its showy front a picture of hyenas and wolves. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfill such "humanitarian" tasks in the Congo. This is what imperialism does to men; this is what marks the white imperialist.

The Colored Peoples

The free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime committed in the Congo. It is possible that many of those soldiers, who were converted into supermen by imperialist machinery, believe in good faith that they are defending the rights of a superior race, but in this Assembly those peoples whose skins are darkened by a different sun, colored by different pigments, constitute the majority, and they fully and clearly understand that the difference between men does not lie in the color of their skins, but in the ownership of the means of production and in the relationships of production.

The Cuban delegation extends greetings to the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, oppressed by white colonialist minorities, to the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, French Somaliland, the Arabs of Palestine, Aden and the Protectorates, Oman, and to all peoples in conflict with imperialism and colonialism, and we reaffirm our support.

I express also the hope that there will be a just solution to the conflict facing our sister republic of Indonesia in its relations with Malaysia.

One of the essential items before this conference is general and complete disarmament. We express our support of general and complete disarmament. Furthermore, we advocate the complete destruction of thermo-nuclear devices and the holding of a conference of all the nations of the world towards the fulfillment of this aspiration of all people. In his statement before this Assembly, our prime minister said that arms races have always led to war. There are new atomic powers in the world, and the possibilities of a confrontation are grave.

Against All Aggression

We feel that that conference is necessary to obtain the total destruction of thermo-nuclear weapons and, as a first step, the total prohibition of tests. At the same time, there must clearly be established the obligation of all states to respect the present frontiers of other states and to refrain from indulging in any aggression, even with conventional weapons.

In adding our voice to that of

THE MILITANT

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Let Us Avenge the Crime Committed in the Congo

all the peoples of the world in their clamor for general and complete disarmament, the destruction of all atomic arsenals, the complete cessation of thermo-nuclear devices and atomic tests of any kind, we feel it necessary to stress, furthermore, that the territorial integrity of nations must be respected and the armed hand of imperialism held back, for it is just as dangerous with conventional weapons. Those who murdered thousands of defenseless citizens in the Congo did not use the atomic weapon. They used conventional weapons, and conventional weapons were also used by imperialists and caused so many deaths.

U. S. Bases

Even if the measures advocated here were to become effective and make it unnecessary to say so, we must point out that we cannot adhere to any regional pact for denuclearization so long as the U.S. maintains aggressive bases on our own territory, in Puerto Rico and Panama, and in other American States where it feels that it has the right to situate them without any restrictions on conventional or nuclear weapons.

However, we feel that we must be able to provide for our own defense in the light of the recent resolution of the Organization of American States against Cuba which, on the basis of the Treaty of Rio, might permit acts of aggression.

If the conference to which we have just referred should achieve all these objectives — which, unfortunately, would be rather difficult to do — it would be one of the most important developments in the history of mankind. To ensure this we must have represented the People's Republic of China, and that is why such a conference must be held. But it would be much simpler for the peoples of the world to recognize the undeniable truth that the People's Republic of China exists, that its rulers are the only representatives of that people, and to give it the place it deserves and which is, at present, usurped by those who control the province of Taiwan [Formosa], with U.S. aid.

The problem of the representation of China in the UN cannot, in any way, be considered as a case of a new admission to the organization, but rather as the restitution of their legitimate rights to the people of the People's Republic of China.

We repudiate strongly the concept of "two Chinas." The Chiang Kai-shek clique of Taiwan cannot remain in the UN. It must be expelled and the legitimate representative of the Chinese people installed.

Admission of China

We warn, also, against the insistence of the U.S. government on presenting the problem of the legitimate representation of China in the UN as an "important question" so as to require a two-thirds majority of members present and voting.

The admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN is, in fact, an important question for the entire world, but not for the machinery of the UN where it must constitute a mere question of procedure.

Thus will justice be done, but almost as important as attaining justice would be the fact that it would be demonstrated, once and for all, that this august assembly has eyes to see, ears to hear, tongues to speak with, and definite standards in making its decisions.

The proliferation of atomic weapons among the member states of NATO and, especially, the possession of these devices of mass destruction by the Federal Republic of Germany, would make the possibility of an agreement on disarmament even more remote, and

linked to such an agreement is the problem of the peaceful reunification of Germany. So long as there is no clear understanding, the existence of two Germanys must be recognized: that of the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Federal Republic. The German problem can only be solved with the direct participation in negotiations of the Democratic Republic of Germany with full rights.

We shall touch lightly on the questions of economic development and international trade which take up a good part of the agenda. In this year of 1964 was held the Conference of Geneva at which a multitude of matters related to these aspects of international relations was dealt with. The warnings and forecasts of our delegation were clearly confirmed to the misfortune of the economically dependent countries.

We wish only to point out that insofar as Cuba is concerned, the United States of America has not implemented the explicit recommendations of that conference, and recently the U.S. Government also prohibited the sale of medicine to Cuba, thus divesting itself, once and for all, of the mask of humanitarianism with which it attempted to disguise the aggressive nature of its blockade against the people of Cuba.

Unequal Exchange

Furthermore, we once more state that these colonial machinations which impede the development of the peoples are not only expressed in political relations. The so-called deterioration of the terms of trade is nothing less than the result of the unequal exchange between countries producing raw materials and industrial countries which dominate markets and impose apparent justice on an inequitable exchange of values.

So long as the economically dependent peoples do not free themselves from the capitalist markets and, as a bloc with the socialist countries, impose new terms of trade between the exploited and the exploiters, there will be no sound economic development and, in certain cases, there will be retrogression, in which the weak countries will fall under the political domination of imperialists and colonialists.

Finally, it must be made clear that, in the area of the Caribbean, maneuvers and preparations for aggression against Cuba are taking place; off the coast of Nicaragua above all, in Costa Rica, in the Panama Canal Zone, in the Vieques Islands of Puerto Rico, in Florida, and possibly in other parts of the territory of the U.S. and also, perhaps, in Honduras, Cuban mercenaries are training, as well as mercenaries of other nationalities, with a purpose that cannot be peaceful.

After a clear scandal, the government of Costa Rica — it is said — has ordered the elimination of all training fields for Cuban exiles in that country. No one knows whether this attitude is sincere, or whether it is a simple maneuver because the mercenaries training there were about to commit some offense. We hope that full cognizance will be taken of the true situation in those bases for aggression, which we denounced long ago, and that the world will ponder on the international responsibility of the government of a country which authorizes and facilitates the training of mercenaries to attack Cuba.

Press Reports

We must point out that news of the training of mercenaries at different places in the Caribbean and the participation of the U.S. government in such acts is news that appears openly in U.S. newspapers. We know of no Latin American voice that has been lifted officially in protest against

this. This shows the cynicism with which the U.S. moves its pawns.

The subtle foreign ministers of the OAS had eyes to see Cuban emblems and find "irrefutable proof" in the Yankee weapons in Venezuela, but do not see the preparations for aggression in the U.S., just as they did not hear the voice of President Kennedy, who explicitly declared himself the aggressor of Cuba at Playa Girón. In some cases, it is a blindness provoked by the hatred of the ruling classes of the Latin American people against our revolution; in others, and these are sadder and more deplorable, it is the

Stevenson's Foolish Reply
Reporting on the Congo debate in the UN, I.F. Stone's Weekly commented:
"Che Guevara in his green fatigues, symbol of the guerrilla fighters against whom the West has proven powerless, suited the mood of the moment and was given an ovation by the Afro-Asians after a revolutionary speech even the Chinese might have thought a bit sweeping.
"He was escorted out of the hall by a throng of admiring blacks. Mr. Stevenson could not have made a more foolish reply than calling Guevara 'a man with a long Communist and revolutionary record in Latin America.' In that atmosphere it sounded to the Europeans as a feeble echo of McCarthy and to the embittered Afro-Asians as a positive accolade."

product of the blinding light of Mammon.

As is well known, after the terrible upheaval called the "Caribbean crisis," the U.S. undertook certain given commitments with the Soviet Union which culminated in the withdrawal of certain types of weapons that the continued aggressions of that country — such as the mercenary attack against Playa Girón and threats of invasion against our country — had compelled us to install in Cuba as a legitimate act of defense.

The North Americans claimed, furthermore, that the UN should inspect our territory, which we refuse emphatically since Cuba does not recognize the right of the U.S., or of anyone else in the world, to determine what type of weapons Cuba may maintain within its frontiers.

In this connection, we would only abide by multi-lateral agreements, with equal obligations for all the parties concerned. Fidel Castro declared that so long as the concept of sovereignty exists as the prerogative of nations and of independent peoples, and as a right of all peoples, we shall not accept the exclusion of our people from that right; so long as the world is governed by these principles, so long as the world is governed by those concepts which have universal validity because they are universally accepted by peoples, we shall not accept the attempt to deprive us of any of those rights and we shall renounce none of those rights.

The secretary-general of the United Nations, U Thant, understood our reasons. Nevertheless, the U.S. presumed to establish a new prerogative, an arbitrary and illegal one: that of violating the airspace of any small country. Thus, we see flying over our country U-2 aircraft and other types of spy apparatus which, with all impunity, fly over our airspace. We have made all the necessary ad-

monitions for the cessation of the violation of the airspace over our territory, as well as the provocations of the American navy against our sentry posts in the zone of Guantánamo, the "buzzing" by aircraft over our ships or ships of other nationalities in international waters, the piratical attacks against ships sailing under different flags, and the infiltration of spies, saboteurs and weapons on our island.

Cuban Goals

We want to build socialism; we have declared that we are partisans of those who strive for peace; we have declared ourselves as falling within the group of non-aligned countries, although we are Marxists-Leninists, because the non-aligned countries, like ourselves, fight imperialism. We want peace; we want to build a better life for our people, and that is why we avoid, in so far as possible, falling into the planned provocations of the Yankees. But we know the mentality of those who govern them; they want to make us pay a very high price for that peace. We reply that that price cannot go beyond the bounds of dignity.

And Cuba reaffirms once again the right to maintain on its territory the weapons it wishes and its refusal to recognize the right of any power on earth — however powerful — to violate our soil, our territorial waters or our airspace.

If in any assembly Cuba assumes obligations of a collective nature, it will fulfill them to the letter. So long as this does not happen, Cuba maintains all its rights, just as any other nation.

In the face of the demands of imperialism, our prime minister posed the five necessary points for the existence of sound peace in the Caribbean. They are as follows:

- 1) Cessation of the economic blockade and all economic and trade pressures by the U.S. in all parts of the world against our country.
- 2) Cessation of all subversive activities, launching and landing of weapons and explosives by air and sea, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all of which acts are carried out from the territory of the U.S. and some accomplice countries.
- 3) Cessation of piratical attacks carried out from existing bases in the U.S. and Puerto Rico.
- 4) Cessation of all the violations of our airspace and our territorial waters by aircraft and warships of the U.S.
- 5) Withdrawal from the Guantánamo naval base and restitution of the Cuban territory occupied by the U.S.

Provocations

None of these fundamental demands has been met, and our forces are still being provoked from the naval base at Guantánamo. That base has become a nest of thieves and the point of introduction for them into our territory.

We would bore this assembly were we to give a detailed account of the large number of provocations of all kinds. Suffice it to say that, including the first days of December, the number amounts to 1,323 in 1964 alone. The list covers minor provocations such as violation of the dividing line, launching of objects from the territory controlled by the North Americans, the commission of acts of sexual exhibitionism by North Americans of both sexes, verbal insults; others which are graver, such as shooting off small-caliber weapons, the manipulation of weapons directed against our territory and offenses against our national emblem. The more serious provocations are those of crossing the dividing line and starting fires in installations on the Cuban side, 78

rifle shots this year and the death of Ramón López Peña, a soldier, from two shots fired from the U.S. post three and a half kilometers from the coast on the northern boundary.

This grave provocation took place at 1907 hours on 19 July 1964, and our prime minister publicly stated on 26 July that, if the event were to recur, he would give orders for our troops to repel the aggression. At the same time orders were given for the withdrawal of the advance line of Cuban forces to positions farther away from the dividing line and construction of the necessary housing.

One thousand three hundred and twenty-three provocations in 340 days amount to approximately four per day. Only a perfectly disciplined army with a morale such as ours could resist so many hostile acts without losing its self-control.

Forty-seven countries which met at the Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at Cairo unanimously agreed that:

Guantánamo Base

"Noting with concern that foreign military bases are in practice a means of bringing pressure on nations and retarding their emancipation and development, based on their own ideological, political, economic and cultural ideas . . . declares its full support to the countries which are seeking to secure the evacuation of foreign bases on their territory and calls upon all states maintaining troops and bases in other countries to remove them forthwith.

"The Conference considers that the maintenance at Guantánamo (Cuba) of a military base of the United States of America, in defiance of the will of the government and people of Cuba and in defiance of the provisions embodied in the Declaration of the Belgrade Conference, constitutes a violation of Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Noting that the Cuban government expresses its readiness to settle its dispute over the base at Guantánamo with the U.S. on an equal footing, the Conference urges the U.S. government to negotiate the evacuation of this base with the Cuban government."

The government of the U.S. has not responded to the above request of the Cairo Conference and presumes indefinitely to maintain
(Continued on Page 6)

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(Continued from Page 5)

its occupation by force of a piece of our territory from which it carries out acts of aggression such as those we mentioned earlier.

The Organization of American States — also called by some people the United States Ministry of Colonies — condemned us vigorously, although it had excluded us from its midst, and ordered its members to break off diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. The Organization of American States authorized aggression against our country at any time and under any pretext and violated the most fundamental international laws, completely disregarding the UN. Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico opposed that measure, and the government of the United States of Mexico refused to comply with the sanctions that had been approved. Since then we have no relations with any Latin American countries except the latter, and this fulfills one of the prior stages of direct aggression by imperialism.

Common Ties

We want to point out once again that our preoccupation for Latin America is based on the ties that link us: the language we speak, our culture and the common master that we all had; that we have no other cause for desiring the liberation of Latin America from the colonial yoke of the U.S. If any of the Latin American countries here decide to re-establish relations with Cuba, we shall be prepared to do so on the basis of equality and not with the assumption that it is a gift to our government that we be recognized as a free country in the world, because that recognition we won with our blood in the days of our struggles for our liberation. We acquired it with our blood in the defense of our shores and in the face of Yankee invasion.

Although we reject any attempt to attribute to us interference in the internal affairs of other countries, we cannot deny that we sympathize with those people who strive for their freedom, and we must fulfill the obligation of our government and people to state clearly and categorically to the world that we morally support and feel as one with those peoples who struggle anywhere in the world to make a reality of the rights of full sovereignty proclaimed in the United Nations Charter.

U.S. Guilty

It is the United States of America which intervenes. It has done so historically in America. Since the end of the last century Cuba has known this truth; but it is known, too, by Venezuela, Nicaragua, Central America in general, Mexico, Haiti and Santo Domingo. In past years, apart from our people, Panama has known direct aggression, where the marines in the Canal opened fire against the defenseless people; Santo Domingo, whose coast was violated by the Yankee fleet to avoid an outbreak of the just fury of the people after the death of Trujillo; and Colombia, whose capital was taken by assault as a result of a rebellion provoked by the assassination of Gaitán.

There are masked interventions through military missions which participate in internal repression, organizing forces designed for that



José Martí
Father of Cuban Independence

purpose in many countries, and also in *coups d'état* which have been repeated so frequently on the American continent during the past few years. Specifically, U.S. forces intervened in the repression of the peoples of Venezuela, Colombia and Guatemala, who fought with weapons for their freedom. In the first of these countries, not only do they advise the army and the police, but they also direct acts of genocide carried out from the air against the peasant population in vast rebel-held areas, and the U.S. companies established there exert pressures of every kind to increase direct interference.

The imperialists are preparing to repress the peoples of America and are establishing an "international" of crime. The U.S. intervenes in America while invoking the defense of free institutions. The time will come when this assembly will acquire greater maturity and demand of the U.S. government guarantees for the life of the Negro and Latin American population that lives in that country, most of them native-born or naturalized U.S. citizens.

No Moral Right

How can those who kill their own children and discriminate daily against them because of the color of their skin, presume to guide — those who leave free the murderers of the colored people, protecting them, and furthermore punishing the colored population because they demand their legitimate rights as free men? We understand that today the assembly is not in a position to ask for explanations of these acts, but it must be clearly laid down that the government of the United States is not the champion of freedom, but rather that it perpetuates exploitation and oppression against the peoples of the world and against a large part of its own population.

To the confused language with which some delegates have painted the case of Cuba and the Organization of American States, we reply with clear-cut words and we proclaim that the peoples of America will make those governments pay for their treason.

Cuba, a free and sovereign state, with no chains binding it to anyone, with no foreign investments on its territory, with no proconsuls orienting its policy, can speak while holding its head high in this assembly and proving the justice of the phrase by which we will be called "Free Territory of America."

Our example will give fruit and prosper in our continent, as it is doing to a certain extent already in Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela. There is no small enemy nor contemptible force, because there are no longer any isolated people.

As is laid down in the Second Declaration of Havana:

"No people of Latin America is weak, because it is part of a family of 200 million brothers beset

by the same miseries, who harbour the same feelings, have the same enemy, while they all dream of the same better destiny and have the support of all honest men and women in the world.

"This that we have before us is the history that will be written by the hungry masses of Indians, of landless peasants, of exploited workers, will be written by the progressive masses, by the honest and brilliant intellectuals who abound in our unfortunate lands of Latin America, by the struggle of the masses and of ideas: an epic that will be carried forward by our peoples who have been ill-treated and despised by imperialism, our peoples who have gone unrecognized so far, but who are awakening. We were considered an impotent and submissive flock; but now they are afraid of that flock, a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin Americans, which is sounding a warning note to the Yankee monopolist capitalists.

"Anonymous Mass"

"... The hour of vindication, the hour that it has chosen for itself, is being pointed to with precision, from one end to the other of the continent. That anonymous mass, that coloured America, somber, adamant, which sings throughout the continent the same sad, mournful song; now that mass is beginning definitely to enter into its own history, it is beginning to write it with its blood, to suffer and to die for it. Because now, in the fields, and in the mountains of America, in its plains and in its forests, in the solitude and in the traffic of the cities, on the shores of the great oceans and rivers, it is beginning to shape a world full of quickening hearts, who are ready to die for what is theirs, to establish their rights which have been flouted for almost 500 years.

"History will now have to deal with the poor of America, with the exploited of Latin America, who have decided to begin to write for themselves, for ever, their history. We see them already along those roads, day after day, on foot, in long and endless marches, of hundreds of kilometers, until they reach the governing "Olympus" and get back their rights. We see them armed with stones, with sticks, with machetes, here and there, daily, occupying their lands, and taking root in the land that is theirs and defending it with their lives; we see them carrying banners, their banners, we see them running in the wind in the mountains and on the plains. And that wave of heightening rancor, of just demands, of rights that have been flouted, is rising throughout Latin America, and no one can stem that tide; it will grow day by day because it is made up of the majority, the majority in every respect, those who with their work accumulate the riches, create values, and make the wheels of history turn and who are now awakening from their long, stupefying sleep.

Moving Forward

"For this great humanity has said 'enough' and has started to move forward. And their march, the march of giants, cannot stop, will not stop until they have conquered their true independence, for which many have already died, and not uselessly. In any event, those who die will die as those in Cuba, at Playa Girón; they will die for their unrenounceable, only true independence."

All this, this new will of a whole continent, of America, is made manifest in the cry proclaimed daily by our masses as the irrefutable expression of their decision to fight, and to paralyze the armed hand of the invader. It is a cry that has the understanding and support of all the peoples of the world and especially of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union.

That cry is: "Fatherland or Death!"



WELCOME IN U.S. Tyrannical Shah of Iran received royal welcome from State Department Chief of Protocol Angier Biddle Duke on arrival here last June.

(World Outlook) — Two members of the Central Committee of the League of Iranian Socialists, Ahas Aghelisade and Manuutcher Safa, who were arrested last June, have been condemned by a military court in Teheran to three years at hard labor. They were convicted of the crime of "having insulted His Majesty the Shah of Iran."

The insult to the royal cloth-horse was alleged to have been committed in the wording of a leaflet distributed in Teheran commemorating the popular uprising of the year before. The real reason for the arrest was to strike a blow at the socialist organization which has been meeting with a favorable reception, particularly among students. The League of Iranian Socialists is seeking to build a "national united front" to replace Mossadegh's National Front.

The trial itself was a travesty. The attorney appointed by the court followed the proceedings for only the first day. He was afraid of being jailed himself if he showed himself too zealous in defending his clients!

The defendants who were processed in this kangaroo trial join other socialists in the jails of Iran. Among the leading socialists or nationalists in prison are Professor Basargan, Dr. Sahahi, Taleghani and Fruhar. Dr. Mossadegh, the former prime minister and leader of the National Front, who nationalized the oil wells of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was then overthrown by a combination of British-American imperialism and native reaction, has been under house arrest for many years. Iranian socialists claim that the Shah's secret political police have blocked him from coming out in favor of the "national united front" which they advocate.

For eleven years terror has replaced democratic liberties in Iran. The influence of foreign capital has increased tremendously

as has the strength of the indigenous capitalists.

The Shah's "agrarian reform" turned out to be a complete failure. Prices have been rising rapidly along with inflation. Unemployment, a traditional problem in a country where the average peasant finds only 90 days' work a year on his tiny plot, is spreading more and more.

Iran is close to a pre-revolutionary situation. Up to now, however, the government-sponsored terror has succeeded in preventing formation of a genuinely revolutionary leadership. The workers and peasants also lack militant mass organizations.

The Iranian Communist Party (the Tudeh Party) is weak and discredited. The kowtowing of the Kremlin to the Shah and his family and its role in helping to deceive the people about his "progressiveness" has embittered the more conscious vanguard in towns and countryside alike. The National Front has disintegrated. Under these conditions, the Iranian Socialists have called for a united front of all the oppressed and exploited who want to free their country from the Shah, the domination of foreign capital, and the direct and indirect tools of these arch enemies of the Iranian people.

They do not conceive the proposed "national united front" in an opportunist manner, subordinating the exploited masses to the "national" bourgeoisie. They clearly state that the goal of their organization is to steer the mass struggle toward socialist revolution. In the program which they project for the "national united front," they propose such slogans as nationalization of the land and national resources, including the water supply, self-government of the peasants on nationalized farms, consolidation of the nationalized oil industry, nationalization of all foreign trade firms, a state monopoly of foreign trade, and nationalized industrial firms.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

On Speaking Up

Orange, Calif.

I read a lot in *The Militant* about unions and some of their shortcomings. I am a union mem-

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"Wall Street imperialism has given another graphic demonstration of what has made the United States a hated country throughout the world. This is the brutal and open campaign the Big-Business government in Washington waged to jam the German rearmament pact down France's throat in obvious violation of the will of the French people and even the resistance of an important section of the French ruling class.

"Eisenhower, in a virtually unprecedented act of intervention in the parliamentary affairs of another sovereign government, resorted to public threats to force a reversal by the French Chamber of Deputies of its 280 to 259 vote on Dec. 24 to reject rearmament of West Germany.

"The immediate effect of what the *United Press* described as the President's 'delicate warning' — as 'delicate' as an axe poised over the head — was to shift a sufficient number of votes of the French Deputies to win a slim plurality in favor of German rearmament. In the final vote today, Premier Mendes-France could muster only a 27 majority of all deputies because of numerous abstentions.

"Everyone in France cannot but feel indignation that this reversal — by a slim margin, to be sure — came directly in response to Eisenhower's statement that the 'adverse vote of yesterday (Dec. 24) was one of utmost seriousness. However, we cannot believe that this represents the final French decision on this matter.'

"To anyone who understands the language of diplomacy, this was nothing less than an ultimatum to the French government." — Jan. 3, 1955.

20 Years Ago

"President Roosevelt last Thursday intervened to halt the Montgomery Ward strikes by ordering War Department 'seizure' of company properties in seven cities where the administration previously had failed to enforce long-standing WLB directives against Open Shopper No. 1, Sewell L. Avery.

"The administration's action, similar to the one which broke the Chicago Ward strike eight months ago, was taken after nearly three weeks of the bitter Detroit walk-out, which spread to Chicago and Kansas City and inspired the threat of a CIO 'labor holiday' in the Detroit citadel of the mighty auto workers union.

"Roosevelt's statement made it clear that his 'seizure' was dictated by his desire to prevent the spread of such strikes to the war industries and by the need to bolster up his wage-freezing War Labor Board's authority, seriously undermined by Avery's long and contemptuous defiance of WLB directives." — Jan. 6, 1945.

ber in the AFL-CIO and if there is anything wrong with unions it is the same thing that is wrong with much of our society. People are afraid to speak out for fear of economic reprisals. We don't shoot our dissenters in this country — we just take their jobs away from them and let them starve to death, just as we do our aged.

I am an ex-convict, I did wrong and I paid for it, and I am still paying for it as I have never gotten the vote. I see more and more of our society becoming like a prison. Everyone can see it but about the only ones who speak out are paid civil-rights workers and socialist workers. But how many of the rank-and-file people in the U.S. will?

I am not only talking about union members but people as a whole. I think the proof of the pudding is right in your letters-to-the-editor column. How many rank-and-filers do you see who sign their name? Not because they are afraid, anymore than a man who doesn't commit suicide is a coward. It's getting so that to speak out in this society is tantamount to committing economic suicide. Why do I sign my name to my letter — because I am brave? Hell, no. It's because we don't have any more freedom left than a place to eat and sleep and keep your mouth shut. I don't put any value on it.

Carl A. Gregory

Our Error

New York, N.Y.

In your National Picket Line column of Dec. 21 you refer to the national AFL-CIO teachers union as the United Federation of Teachers. This is incorrect. The national organization is the American Federation of Teachers. The UFT, also known as Local 21, is the New York affiliate of the AFT. Charles Cogen used to be president of the UFT but now he is president of the AFT.

B.V.

Criticizes Hoover Editorial

Newberg, Ore.

Enclosed please find check for \$3 for renewal of *The Militant*. I find the paper extremely interesting. You cover the ground quite well.

However, sometimes an item creeps into *The Militant* which keeps me in a puzzle. I refer in this instance to *The Militant's* demand for the removal of J. Edgar Hoover as head of the notorious FBI.

Since when has it become the policy of a Marxist party to advocate the replacement of a police officer by another who is duty-bound to carry out the policies of the former?

Perhaps this writer has not sufficient knowledge concerning the class struggle. Perhaps the editorial staff of your fine paper can enlighten me. With fraternal greetings.

Dirk De Jonge

[As a veteran of the class struggle, Dirk De Jonge is unduly modest. We would, however, ask him to consider these points:

First, we raised the demand that Hoover be fired for the anti-Negro smear he directed at Martin Luther King in order to emphasize that responsibility for Hoover and the FBI rests squarely on the should-

ers of the national administration — in this case the Johnson administration.

Secondly, while the notoriously anti-Negro and generally reactionary record of the FBI is well known to many radicals and active civil-rights workers who have experienced it directly, it is not that obvious to the general public and it needs to be restated and facts brought out to demonstrate it whenever the occasion to do so arises.

Thirdly, Marxists do not limit themselves to preaching the fundamental truth that only the abolition of capitalism will eliminate such abominations as the FBI and the kind of man who heads it. Marxists also fight to curb anti-Negro and other reactionary moves today, under this system. The demand for the removal of Hoover is no different in essence from the demand often supported or initiated by Marxists for the removal of some cop from the force who is guilty of police brutality.

The struggle for such demands doesn't change the system but if the protest is sufficient it can serve to curb the repressive apparatus and the exposure of it does help to educate people to the need for a basic change. EDITOR.]

Bloomington Hearing

Frankfort, Ind.

Back home on vacation, I was able to attend the State Supreme Court hearing where they considered arguments on whether or not to renew the "sedition" indictments against Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt and Jim Bingham.

Leonard Boudin did a fine job in presenting the arguments for the defense. He did a particularly good job in describing the background of the Korean War, McCarthyism, the witch-hunting hysteria which led to the adoption of such state "anti-subversive" laws. He also pointed to the abundance of federal legislation covering this field which more than takes care of "communist activity" in Indiana or any other state.

The main point he kept hammering home is that what is involved is the issue of the doctrines and beliefs of the defendants, not any actions.

Associate attorney Daniel Taylor spoke out loud and clear, making good points about the vagueness of the Indiana "sedition" act which he charged alone makes it unconstitutional. He said the law is purposely vague in order to be all-inclusive to stifle academic

freedom and curtail academic rights.

The defendants were well represented on the legal front and among the many spectators were some very serious and sympathetic supporters to watch Indiana's high court in action.

Jack Marsh

Minneapolis Demonstration

Minneapolis, Minn.

About 55 people picketed here Dec. 19 against the war in Vietnam in a demonstration called by peace groups. The turnout wasn't bad considering the temperature was 25° and it was snowing.

The demonstration was important in that it was the first time there was complete freedom in regard to what slogans demonstrators could carry. In previous demonstrations here there were efforts to prevent anyone from participating who carried signs critical of the Democratic Party or implied that the liberals in the government condoned U.S. actions in Vietnam.

The Socialist Workers Party participated in the demonstrations with placards that identified the party and that branded President Johnson responsible for the war.

Everett Luoma

It Was Reported in the Press

That Answers That — At the UN Security Council, Algerian delegate Tewfil Bouattoura answered Adlai Stevenson's assertion that African condemnation of U.S. intervention in the Congo was an expression of "racism." Declared Bouattoura: "When the 20 assassins of the black Americans have been freed, we are within our rights to ask where racism is and who shows it." Stevenson, who has been somewhat shaken up lately, replied that the Algerian statement constituted "verbal violence." So it was left to the *New York Times* to rebut the Algerian charge. The paper gravely noted that only one of the three civil-rights workers murdered in Philadelphia, Miss., was black and, secondly, 21 not 20 were arrested, but charges against only 19 were dismissed. The U.S. dropped the charges against the other two.

Progress Report — The motion-picture censor in Atlanta, Ga., has resigned and recommended that her post be abolished, claiming that her powers have been diluted over the years by court decisions.

Note to Taxpayers — The cost of occupying Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba has gone up. Last February Cuba shut off the water it supplied to the base in order to force the release of 38 Cuban fishermen seized by the U.S. After that incident the U.S. began construction of three units to convert sea water to fresh. The project was completed last month at a cost of \$10 million. The units will cost about \$28,000 a month to operate. Cuba had been paid \$14,000 a month for supplying water.

Gift Suggestion — If you overlooked someone on your Xmas gift list and want to make amends with something unusual, you may be interested in this intriguing classified ad from the *Baltimore Sun*: "Ears — Human (2) bony structures, mounted under glass."

Planned Obsolescence? — "Today's youngsters know a thing or two about electronics too," comments the *Wall Street Journal*, "and they've already learned how to make Louis Marx & Co.'s Za-Soom unit for model road racing kits considerably louder than it was intended to be. They cross the wires to run the motor on considerably increased voltage. The resulting din is deafening. 'About the only consolation for parents is that the added current wears out the motor unit pretty fast,' a Marx man said."

Prize-Winner — Last week we reported about the safety-conscious New York cops who won department citations and \$15 prizes for such suggestions as nailing down the floor mats in police wagons so prisoners would not trip on them and putting bars on the front opening of the vans so cops wouldn't fall out. But we forgot to suggest the most obvious safety suggestion of all — namely, disarm all the cops.

Killer — The death rate for pre-school children in "newly developing" countries is sometimes 40 times higher than that among children of the same age in affluent countries, according to Dr. W. H. Sebrell, director of Nutrition Sciences at Columbia University. Malnutrition is the main killer of these children, he said. Many of them are easily killed by

diseases because of their undernourished condition. Dr. Sebrell spoke in Washington at a conference of a group with a rather impressive title: The International Conference on Prevention of Malnutrition in Pre-School Children. It would be good if the conference proposed that the imperialists get out of the colonial countries so that the people of those lands could use their resources to feed their children.

Changing Times — The Dec. 27 issue of *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, carries an article observing the fortieth anniversary of International Publishers, the publishing house associated with the Communist Party. Since the days of Stalin *The Worker* has never been noted for objective treatment of Trotsky or Trotskyism. But this article notes in a simply factual way: "The third book published in 1925 was *Literature and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky."

Might Even Get Down to His Level — We are indebted to *The Realist* for this choice declaration by California's Senator-elect George Murphy: "You have to remember that Americans can't do that kind of work [for fruit and vegetable farmers]. It's too hard. Mexicans are really good at that. They are built low to the ground, you see, so it is easier for them to stoop."

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Thought for the Week

"It is neither decent nor Christian to go on as we are, with unchanged economic rules which permit me to make more money in a few months on the stock exchange with a bit of capital than poor families with both parents working hard all year can earn to feed their children." — Rev. Eugene Carson Blake of the Presbyterian Church in a Dec. 27 sermon.

Berkeley Student Battle — Its Real Significance

By Carol Sharpe

BERKELEY — The University of California has placed its mark on the life of the past two decades perhaps more than any other school. The University bore a primary responsibility for the development of the atomic bomb. With thousands of its employees engaged in nuclear arms research, it is the pace-setting institution of the Atomic Age. As an educational factory for the production of corporation executives, it is unmatched in the West. Such alumni as Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara fill top posts in the political-industrial apparatus. This is the synchronized machine which the Free Speech Movement has attacked and disrupted.

The students now in revolt at the University of California were born in the years around the close of the war. They grew up during the period of McCarthyism, and after the last great upsurges of the labor movement. This generation was educated in an era of boom and relative internal tranquility.

The capitalist power structure

Malcolm X Wins In Traffic Court

NEW YORK — Malcolm X was acquitted of a month-old charge of speeding on the Triboro Bridge. The Police Department had gone to the unusual lengths of having a lawyer in court. Judge William Brennan commented that this was odd, since in most traffic-ticket cases only the policeman is present.

The judge doubted the truth of the charge, despite the testimony of the patrolman that he had clocked Malcolm X doing 55 miles an hour for three-tenths of a mile. The black nationalist leader told the court that he has a buzzer installed in his car which sounds off when he goes faster than 40 and it had not gone off. The buzzer proved to be an effective precaution against frame-up.

BRITISH OFFER US A GOOD EXAMPLE

It's High Time to Abolish the Death Penalty

By Fred Halstead

The British House of Commons Dec. 21 voted to abolish the death penalty for murder in Britain. The bill was introduced by Labor Member of Parliament Samuel Silverman who has been fighting for the abolition of capital punishment for over a quarter of a century. The bill passed by the overwhelming vote of 355 to 170 and is virtually assured of becoming law.

We socialists hail this development as an advance for civilization. The British action should serve as an example for this country and should spur the movement here for the abolition of the death penalty.

Capital punishment is a barbarous relic of the past and is nothing more than an act of vengeance and sadism. It has long since been proven that the death penalty contributes nothing to the prevention of crime. Nine states and many foreign countries have abolished capital punishment and the incidence of murders there is no higher — and in some cases it is lower — than where it presently exists. Indeed, the death penalty only intensifies the atmosphere of violence and brutality which encourages murder.

applied every means it knew to exact unquestioning loyalty to the cold-war leadership from the present generation of middle-class youth. Through the use of the educational system, the mass media, and witch-hunt on the campus, America's rulers have spared no effort to shape these students into worthy replacements for themselves on the various levels of the Establishment.

Although the FSM's invigorating radicalism and its exposure of the oppressive power structure alone would qualify it as a development of major significance, it has a still deeper meaning. It is youth's reaction to the new stage of decay in American society.

Even in the absence of a challenge by labor to the capitalist power structure, and in the absence of a major economic crisis, a portion of the flower of middle and upper-class youth are questioning the course prescribed by their elders. They have expressed through their actions at Berkeley their loss of confidence in the future of cold-war liberalism, and are searching for a different road.

They reject the sterile role assigned them in society and are beginning to doubt as well the ability of the Establishment to maintain its existence in the coming years. Seen against the backdrop of internal poverty and racial oppression for wide sections of the American people, and external reverses for imperialism over the last ten years, this crisis among the campus youth is an important signal of the more basic opposition which is approaching.

It is ironic that a mile from the great atom-smashers and near the former offices of the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, 10,000 student rebels stood singing the songs of the Freedom Now Movement. Not only does American capitalism have to struggle to maintain its faltering domination over two-thirds of the world, it now finds it increasingly hard to justify itself to its own heirs.

It is also a well-known fact that many an innocent person has been convicted and executed.

One of the most revealing comments on the real nature of capital punishment in the United States was written by Lewis Lawes who, as warden of New York State's Sing Sing prison for 12 years, presided over the execution of 151 people. He said of them: "In ages they ranged from 17 to 63. They came from all kinds of homes and environments. In one respect they were all alike. All were poor, and most were friendless. The defendant of wealth and position never goes to the electric chair or to the gallows..."

In this country, capital punishment is not only a matter of class injustice, but of race injustice. The majority of victims of the death penalty are Negroes. In some states — in the South, in particular — capital punishment is applied not only for murder but also for lesser crimes such as rape and robbery. In these cases in the South it is almost exclusively applied to Negroes.

In addition, the death penalty has been used as a direct instrument of racial terror — a form of lynching — where white racist juries have convicted Negroes of

U OF CALIFORNIA FREE-SPEECH MOVEMENT

New Campus Fight Shaping Up

By Alan Sharpe

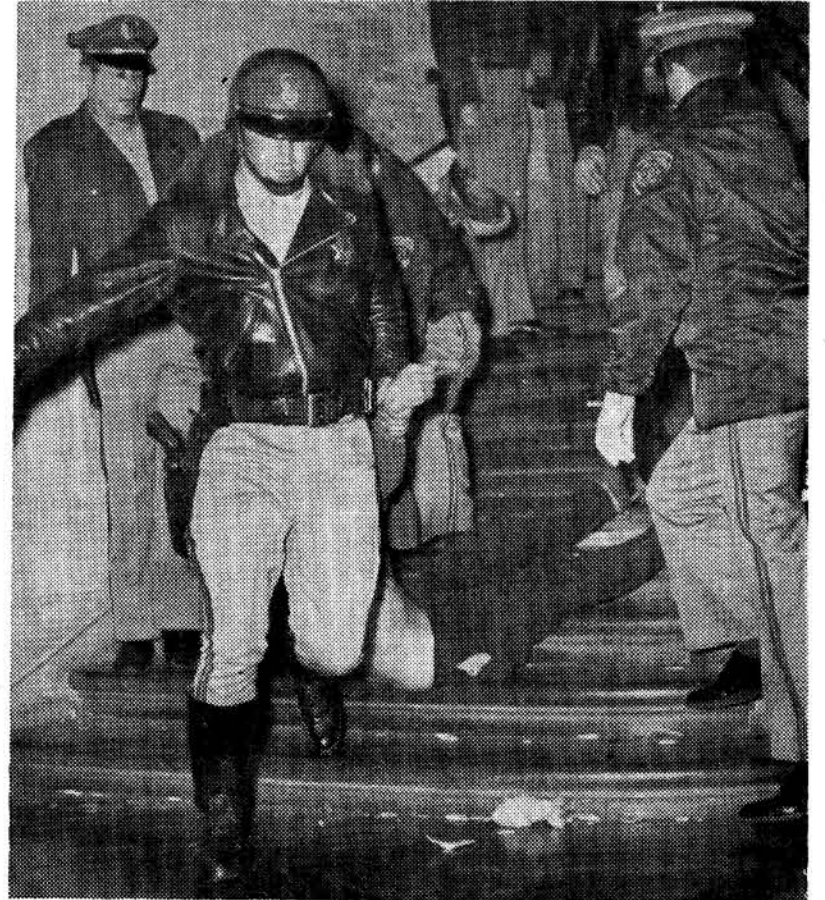
BERKELEY, Dec. 27 — A new confrontation between the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and the University of California administration appears certain when Christmas recess ends January 4. At present the forms and intensity of such a conflict remain unclear. That will be determined by a number of factors, including the effect on the students of the Christmas "cooling-off period" and any further administration provocations. Since the overwhelmingly successful student strike, terminated upon the faculty's Dec. 8 vote supporting the FSM demands, the cleavage between the Establishment and the student body has grown deeper.

On Dec. 18, the Regents of the University (its governing body) voted to set up a committee to study policy changes on political activity on campus, and turned down the faculty-supported FSM demand for full and immediate freedom of expression on campus. It is widely assumed that the Regents' action is a stall, and that they will move decisively against student rights when and if the protest movement begins to stagnate.

Regents' Statement

In voting down the FSM demand, the Regents cloaked their suppression with a statement that "the policies of the Regents do not contemplate that advocacy or content of speech shall be restricted beyond the purview of the First and Fourteenth Amendments." Since the Regents simultaneously upheld the existing policy which has consistently denied First Amendment rights to the student body, and which led to the uprising in the first place, FSM response to the Regents' statement was cool.

But the Regents' two-faced stand has had the effect of placating the faculty and breaking down its united front with the FSM. While free speech leader Mario Savio referred to the Regents' decision as "a repudiation of the policy we've been fighting for,"



NO FOOLING AROUND. Cops didn't let such things as constitutional guarantees get in their way when they decided to haul student sit-downers from University of California administration building.

faculty representatives said it marked substantial progress.

The conflict now extends far beyond the campus community and has become a major issue in California politics. During the past weeks, all the main factions in the two parties have lined up with the Regents in threatening the FSM with further police action. Democratic Gov. Brown, who ordered the mass arrests on Dec. 3, stated that he would not grant amnesty to the arrested students now or in the future.

The Dec. 27 *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "other more startling suggestions — even

in responsible circles — are that the Regents might close down the campus entirely or that Gov. Edmund G. Brown might call in the National Guard to keep order." Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh (Dem.), a leading contender for governor in 1966, pledged that in the event of further demonstrations at UC, the legislature "will be in the next morning."

Minn. DuBois Club Backs Socialist in Deportation Fight

MINNEAPOLIS — The Twin Cities W.E.B. DuBois Club has gone on record against the attempt to deport Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party organizer in this city.

The youth organization's action was embodied in a resolution passed at its Dec. 20 meeting. After stating the facts in the case, the resolution said:

"The Twin Cities W.E.B. DuBois Club, believing that the conflict of charges against Johnson indicates double jeopardy, do uphold the belief that citizenship is an inalienable right of all native-born Americans until that time when they renounce it.

"Therefore, be it resolved that the Twin Cities W.E.B. DuBois Club supports Joseph Johnson in his fight for his rights as an American citizen."

The resolution was adopted after much discussion and by an almost unanimous vote.

Johnson, a native-born U.S. citizen, is being threatened by the Immigration Service with deportation to an unspecified country for the "crime" of having lived in Canada as a young man and having participated in a municipal election there. He subsequently returned to the U.S. and served a jail sentence for selective-service-law violation because, unknown to him, his draft number had come up while he was living in Canada.

to grant Chessman clemency.

The legislature refused, and Brown — in an act that will go down in history for its cowardice and hypocrisy — refused to exercise his legal power and grant Chessman clemency. Hundreds of students staged a vigil outside the prison as the execution approached. Chessman went to his death calmly on May 2, 1960, asking that others carry on the fight against capital punishment.

A survey published by the Friends Service Committee shortly before Chessman was put to death showed that in spite of overwhelming newspaper and right-wing propaganda to the contrary, sentiment against capital punishment was very strong in the U.S. Of lower-income persons, 53 per cent were opposed to the death penalty, and 42 per cent of those in higher-income brackets opposed it. Among Negroes, 78 per cent were against capital punishment.

The most recent step forward in the struggle to end this inhuman, useless and unjust practice in the United States was registered in the November election when the voters of Oregon passed a referendum abolishing it. The British action should serve to encourage the movement for abolition of the death penalty throughout the U.S.

capital crimes on trumped-up evidence.

The movement for the abolition of capital punishment became widespread in this country in 1959 and 1960 around the case of Caryl Chessman who had been sentenced to die in California on charges of rape and robbery. Chessman's trial 12 years earlier was highly questionable, and he had educated himself in prison and carried on a legal fight through eight stays of execution.

He also wrote several remarkable books while in prison, including his autobiography, *Cell 2455, Death Row*, which made him world-famous. Chessman himself played a leading role in the campaign against capital punishment which centered on his case. There were mass demonstrations around the world, particularly in Latin America where the death penalty has largely been abolished and where President Eisenhower was on tour at the time. The State Department exerted its influence and the Supreme Court intervened with an order staying the execution until Eisenhower's trip was over.

California Governor Edmund G. Brown, who said he was against capital punishment, asked the state legislature to abolish it but refused to take it upon himself