

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 44 Monday, December 3, 1962 Price 10c

Cease-Fire Uncertain In China-India Clash

By Edward Slater

NOV. 28 — The current cease-fire along the China-India border, initiated by Peking on Nov. 21, remains an uneasy one. Despite pressure from Asian and African countries to accept China's proposals, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru remains firm in his demand that Chinese troops withdraw at least to the positions they held as of Sept. 8 before any talks can be considered. China, on the other hand, insists that the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, be maintained until a solution can be negotiated.

The eastern area involved in the dispute is a mountainous territory inhabited by several tribes of Tibetan stock. The British claimed this area for India in 1914 when they forced upon Tibet the McMahon line — drawn for strategic reasons roughly along the Himalayan divide. No Chinese government has recognized this line. The area is now administered directly by the Indian External Affairs Ministry as the Northeast Frontier Agency, created after 1950 as a territory under the Indian constitution. The Chinese claim that India displayed no interest in occupying the area until 1950-51 when Chinese troops entered Tibet and that until that time the area continued to be administered by Tibetan local officials.

The second major area of conflict, about 800 miles to the west, is the Aksai Chin plateau in Ladakh, which juts between Tibet and the Chinese Province of Sinkiang. Almost impenetrable mountains and a vast desert to the North make this plateau the only readily accessible route between Sinkiang and Tibet, and in 1954 the Chinese began the construction of a road through the area. Previously, the only relatively modern road into Tibet had been an arduous 1,200 mile road from Lanchow, India, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, did not begin administering or patrolling the desolate Ladakh area until as late as 1957.

In 1959, shortly after the Chi-



Mao Tse-tung

nese had put down a revolt led by Tibetan landlords and slave-owners, many of whom fled to India, fighting broke out along the McMahon line between Indian and Chinese border guards. On Nov. 7 of that year, the Chinese proposed that both sides withdraw 12½ miles from the existing lines of control, refrain from sending out border patrols, and open negotiations. This proposal was rejected by the Indian government, which insisted that the Chinese withdraw from all territory claimed by India. However, an uneasy cease-fire ensued which lasted until the recent flare-up.

Minor Clashes

In Nov. 1961, Nehru announced that India would, at the proper time, take steps to occupy the territory it claimed in Ladakh, and early this spring flew some 25,000 troops into the area. By early September the Indian army had established some 43 military posts beyond the 1959 cease-fire line.

A number of minor clashes preceded the full-scale fighting which began Oct. 20, both in Ladakh and in the eastern border area. China protested the Ladakh outposts and charged that Indian troops had crossed the McMahon line in the east to set up an outpost near Che Dong, north of the line. At the same time, India was charging Chinese incursions south of the McMahon line and behind

(Continued on Page 4)

More Sit-In Demonstrations Hit Greensboro and Nashville

More than two years after sit-ins began in Greensboro, N.C., demonstrators are still being jailed in that city for attempting to integrate lunch-counter facilities. On Nov. 22, sixty demonstrators were arrested for attempting to eat their Thanksgiving Day dinners at the S and W Mayfair cafeterias. The sit-ins, conducted by students and faculty members of the A. and T. Bennett Colleges, were part of a drive by the Congress of Racial Equality against restaurant and theater discrimination. The arrests brought to 100 the number of persons jailed here over a ten-day period. James Farmer, CORE executive secretary, said the demonstrations

would continue until victory was won, no matter how many persons were arrested.

Sit-in demonstrations were also held over the weekend in Nashville, Tenn., scene of a national conference of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee. Sit-in demonstrators in drug stores were attacked by local racists, and one restaurant owner was charged with squirting a fire extinguisher at demonstrators.

In Mississippi, Chief U.S. Marshal James J. P. McShane surrendered Nov. 21 to Judge Claude F. Clayton, on a warrant charging him with inciting the Sept. 30 riots against the admission of

(Continued on Page 6)

Text of Cuba's Inspection Proposal

— See page 6 —

Is Negro Struggle Being Radicalized? — See page 7

Repressions in Chile for Pro-Cuba Acts — See page 3

Review of James P. Cannon's New Book — See page 5

Cuba Says: Let U.S. Agree To Reciprocal UN Inspection

By Fred Halstead

"What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." The whole world understands the justice of that. By demanding United Nations inspection of U.S. bases being used against Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has made it easier for the world to understand what is really involved in Kennedy's demand for inspection of Cuban defenses.

The Cuban position, contained in a Nov. 25 statement (the full text appears on page 6 of this issue), is simple: "The United States Government demands that the United Nations should verify in our territory the withdrawal of strategic weapons. Cuba demands that the United Nations should verify in the territory of the United States, in Puerto Rico and in other places where attacks on Cuba are in preparation, the dismantling of the training camps for mercenaries, spies, saboteurs



Fidel Castro

and terrorists; of the centres where subversion is prepared; and of the bases from which pirate vessels set out for our coasts."

In other words, if Cuba can be certain that it will not be attacked by or from the U.S., it

won't need special weapons for its defense against such attack. "Reciprocal concessions and guarantees" are necessary say the Cubans. The U.S. government has indicated its rejection of this reasonable proposal.

This makes more clear to the world the fact that Kennedy has been insisting on unilateral inspection of Cuba, not out of fear of strategic weapons there, but as an excuse to continue air flights over Cuba and other preparations for crushing the Cuban Revolution.

This policy was bluntly described in a Washington dispatch by Tad Szulc in the Nov. 22 *New York Times*:

The Real Purpose

"The United States intends to keep its position on Cuba fluid with the hope that Premier Fidel Castro's status at home and internationally will deteriorate. This is the Administration's purpose in the new phase of the Cuban crisis following . . . lifting of the naval quarantine . . . The cornerstone of United States policy in the current stages of the Cuban problem is its insistence that Premier Castro submit to international inspection . . .

"Actually, the Administration is reasonably satisfied that all the missiles have been taken out of Cuba. It has no doubts that the bombers will be shipped out within 30 days . . . The Administration does not seriously expect either that the Soviet Union will again begin secretly to move nuclear weapons into Cuba."

Napalm Bombs

Why then has Kennedy been insisting on inspection? The dispatch continues: "Officials here believe that what seems scheduled to be a long argument over the inspection issue will maintain the whole situation in a highly desirable state of fluidity contributing to undermine further . . . Premier Castro."

This "highly desirable state of fluidity," includes maintaining the military force built up near Cuba. A Nov. 27 *Chicago Daily News* dispatch revealed that "a variety of air force fighters," flown to Florida from "all over the U.S." and armed with "rockets, bombs and napalm fire bombs" remain on the ready.

Cuban Position on Peace

The new Cuban counter-proposal makes it difficult for Kennedy to use the inspection issue to precipitate a new crisis immediately. The statement containing the proposal also has broader significance. It is an important presentation of the Cuban position on the problem of world peace.

It recognizes peace as "the supreme aspiration of mankind," presents a reasonable attitude toward attempts to alleviate the dangers of war and points out that peace is not broken by revolution but by the imperialists. "It must be made quite clear to them," says the statement, "that they are in no position today to impose their law on the world and that they will not be permitted to do so."

Grand Jury Indicts 3 Cubans In Alleged 'Sabotage' Plot

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Nov. 28 — Two Cuban-Americans and a member of the Cuban diplomatic staff at the UN were indicted here Nov. 21 by a federal grand jury on the dual charge of "conspiring" to commit sabotage on behalf of Cuba and thereby also "conspiring" not to register as agents of a foreign government.

The two Cuban-Americans, José Garcia and Antonio Sueiro pleaded not guilty and are slated for trial Dec. 10. Pleading was adjourned in the case of Roberto Santiesteban pending disposition of his demand for release on the ground that the FBI arrested him in violation of his diplomatic immunity.

Yesterday Federal Judge Edward Weinstein heard arguments by Santiesteban's attorney, Leonard Boudin, to release him on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Counter-arguments were presented by U.S. Attorney Vincent Broderick and

further argument will be heard tomorrow. Meanwhile Santiesteban is being held without bail.

In court yesterday, Ada Dritsin, who had been held as a material witness in the case, was released on her own recognizance on the basis of a writ of *habeas corpus* filed by her attorney Stanley Faulkner who is also defending Garcia and Sueiro. At the time of detention she was held in \$25,000 bail. Garcia and Sueiro are being held in \$50,000 bail each, an amount they have been so far unable to post.

In all its aspects there is bad stench to the government's role in this case. The arrests were made by the FBI in a manner clearly calculated to further inflame anti-Cuban sentiment in this country. In this effort it enjoyed the full co-operation of the press, radio and television, which featured the FBI announcement of the arrests with blazing headlines and fantastic stories of a plot to unleash a bloody reign of terror in the city including the burning of department stores and the destruction of "national defense" installations and oil refineries.

All of this was to be accomplished with six incendiary bombs, three hand grenades and one unloaded pistol which the Justice Department claims it found concealed in a shop owned by Garcia.

The government sought to create the link with Cuba by bringing the UN Mission into the "conspiracy" and by noting to the press that Garcia is president of Casa Cuba, a social club supported by the pro-Castro Cuban community here, and that Sueiro is treasurer of the club. It was also alleged that both had been active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the now defunct 26th of July Movement.

Santiesteban is being held on the flimsy legalistic claim that al-

(Continued on Page 4)



Nehru

Peaceful Co-Existence—What Is It?

By Tom Kerry

In the recent New York gubernatorial elections, a leading spokesman for the American Communist Party warned against voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, because "the phrase 'peaceful co-existence' [was] completely absent" from the SWP election platform.

Because of this dereliction, the readers of *The Worker* were given to understand that the "principle" of peaceful co-existence could best

"five principles" have more in common with muddle-headed liberalism than with Marxism, which spurns lofty abstractions and deals with the real world in which we live.

The *Pancha Shila* is a plagiarism from the golden book of bourgeois-democratic mythology. Its first three "principles" have been borrowed, almost verbatim, from the charter of the United Nations, whose exalted tenets have been honored more in the breach than in the observance. The fourth "principle" is a meaningless abstraction and the fifth, a mere reiteration of the ritual phrase itself.

Probably the most monstrous perversion of history is the attempt to claim Lenin as the source of the "peaceful co-existence" policy. It is not the least of the products of the Stalin School of Falsification. Stalin was notorious for his technique of tearing out of context quotations from Lenin to justify and bolster a policy that did violence to the whole of Lenin's life and teaching.

As a matter of historical truth, the theory and practice of "peaceful co-existence" is a creation of Stalin not Lenin. Stalin sought historical precedent in Lenin's controversies with the ultra-lefts after the Bolshevik conquest of power in October 1917, especially in the dispute that raged around the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty.

Ultra-Lefts

The ultra-lefts opposed, in principle, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and advocated carrying on a revolutionary war. Lenin denied the validity of any such principle, saw that the young Soviet Republic was in no condition to carry on the war against the German military machine and advocated submission to the territorial demands of the German brigands.

We must surrender space in order to gain time, he said, for the German workers to come to our assistance by making their own revolution. Lenin viewed the Soviet State as a beleaguered fortress in a sea of hostile capitalist states. "It is important for us to hold out," he said, "until the coming of a general socialist revolution, and we can achieve this only by signing the peace."

Matching word with deed, as was his practice, Lenin pressed for the formation of the Third (Communist) International, to organize the vanguard party of the world revolution. The most effective defense of the revolution, he averred, was the extension of the October conquests to other nations. He viewed this as a more or less prolonged process in which the Soviet Union would be compelled to co-exist (hold out) side by side with world capitalism.

However, Lenin entertained no illusions, nor did he sow any, about what this would entail. "A free union of nations in socialism," he emphasized, "is impossible without a more or less lengthy and stubborn struggle of the socialist Republics against the remaining states."

Class Conflict Unavoidable

At no time did Lenin ever entertain the notion that the class struggle for workers power be subordinated to the exigencies of "peaceful" co-existence between states with conflicting social systems. Such an idea would have been anathema to him. In 1919, at the time of the formation of the Third International, he explained his position again:

"We live not only in a State but in a system of States, and the existence of the Soviet Republic beside the imperialist states during a lengthy period of time is inconceivable. In the very end either one or the other will win. And before this result, a series of most horrible conflicts between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is unavoidable."

Lenin saw in the isolation of the

first workers' state a weakness which could find its fundamental solution only in the extension of the socialist revolution. Stalin seized upon this isolation as justification for the promulgation of a "new" theory — the building of "socialism in one country."

From the Stalinist theory of building socialism in a single country there flowed, inexorably, the policy of subordinating the world communist movement to the diplomatic policy of the Kremlin. For, it was argued, to build socialism in the USSR required a lengthy period of time in which "peace" must be assured. The parties of the Third International were thoroughly bureaucratized and converted into frontier guards to ensure "peace" by supporting the good, "peace-loving" capitalists, against the bad.

"Collective Security"

Prior to World War II the Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence went by the name of "collective security." Did it serve to ensure peace? On the contrary, the policy was blown sky-high by the Hitler-Stalin pact which ushered in the bloody war. The subsequent invasion of the Soviet Union resulted in incalculable destruction. And the cost in terms of human life have been estimated at 20 million Russian dead.

With the end of the war, the theory of peaceful co-existence was given its most fantastic expression. The leaders of the American Communist Party declared that the class struggle was outmoded. That the treaties, pacts



Stalin

and agreements, signed by the victorious allied powers at Teheran, Yalta, Casablanca, Bretton Woods, Potsdam, etc., had ushered in a new era of class peace on a world scale. The whole edifice was to be crowned by a new edition of the League of Nations — the United Nations.

No-Strike Pledge

If there was to be no class struggle, then obviously workers would have no need of the strike weapon. Following word with deed, the American CP launched a nationwide campaign for labor and management to enter into agreements, incorporating the provision of a permanent no-strike pledge! This was "peaceful co-existence" elevated to the point of insanity.

True, this period of euphoria was not long to endure. It was soon dispelled by the chilling winds of the cold war which gripped the world following Winston Churchill's bellicose 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri. After a brief flirtation with third party politics, the American CP settled down to its present line of supporting Democrats as the "lesser evil."

If this be "peaceful co-existence" then we want no part of it!

Crisis Easing? — Selective Service headquarters says Patrick Reilly of Philadelphia won't have to serve in the army even though he had been served a draft notice. Reilly is 78.



The International Typographical Union has authorized the taking of a strike vote Dec. 2 by its affiliate, New York Typographical Union No. 6. "Big Six" represents 3,100 printers at nine New York City newspapers where the contracts expire Dec. 7. Authorization from the international for a strike vote before contract expiration is unprecedented for the local. The printers have declared that a settlement obtained by the Newspaper Guild from the *New York Daily News* and four other papers, calling for wage increases averaging less than 2.5 per cent, is not a pattern for them.

Big Six President Bertram A. Powers said the local "is determined to put an end to the technique of the Publishers Association of agreeing with one of ten unions, calling that agreement a pattern, and denying collective bargaining to the unions that follow." The printers are demanding a reduction in the work week to 30 from 36 1/4 hours, a substantial wage increase and training for workers displaced by new machines. The New York Guild says it will support a printers' strike.

More and more overtime is being worked by U.S. factory workers in spite of continuing high levels of unemployment. Overtime at penalty pay, usually time and one half, rose to an average of three hours a week for some 12 million factory workers this fall. That is as high as it has been since the Bureau of Labor Statistics began compiling these figures in 1956. At this rate, the overtime replaces 900,000 full-time workers.

The United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists have failed to obtain the specified two-thirds majority vote for a union-shop clause in contracts with Ryan, North American, and Convair aerospace corporations. The procedure for such a vote as well as the need to hold it was part of a federal mediation proposal accepted by the unions and all the companies but Lockheed, which faced a strike deadline on the issue Nov. 28.

Youngstown Steelworkers Local 1330 sought strike authorization from the international union last week. Some of the local's members have been bumped off jobs by salaried supervisory employees being demoted as a result of a heavy cutback in white-collar jobs at the U.S. Steel Corporation. The company has announced it will reduce its white-collar force "significantly" in the next few months. Industry sources estimate that over a thousand white-collar jobs will be eliminated in various U.S. Steel operations.

A strike against speed-up by 6,700 General Motors workers;

members of UAW Local 25, was settled Nov. 25. The strike had shut down the Chevrolet assembly and Fisher Body plants in St. Louis since Nov. 13.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has petitioned for a National Labor Relations Board election to gain bargaining rights for 17,000 Western Electric telephone installers now represented by the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO. Leading the IBT drive is Kenneth Silvers, former CWA national director of the union's installers unit. Silvers and 18 others were recently expelled from the CWA for leading the move to switch the unit into the IBT.

One key issue involved is the fact that the last installers contract was signed by CWA president Joseph Beirne over the protest of Silver. The contract contained a hated merit clause that leaves advancement raises to the discretion of the company. Beirne signed it in spite of promises that it would be eliminated. Since the bolt to the IBT by leaders of the unit, Beirne has declared that the merit clause "has got to go." Negotiations for a new contract come up in 1963.

A strike by East and Gulf Coast longshoremen seems likely to resume Dec. 23. The 80-day cooling-off period invoked by Kennedy ends this month and the ILA membership is not expected to accept the employers' latest offer for a nine-cent raise and a cut in work gangs.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT
The Negro Revolt Against the Labor Bureaucrats. Speaker, George Breitman. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m.; Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK
For the Lowest Prices by Far Visit Our Xmas Bazaar! Costume jewelry, ceramics, appliances, toys, LP's — pops and classical, perfumes, books, clothing and what-have-you. Fri., Dec. 7, from 4 to 10 p.m. Sat., Dec. 8, noon till 6 p.m. at 116 University Place.

PHILADELPHIA
HE REFUSED TO INFORM! hear Wendell Phillips, on national tour. Attend and support this key academic freedom case. Fri., Dec. 7, 6534 Cutler St. 8:30 p.m. WA 7-5857.

SAN FRANCISCO
Sterling Hayden, actor and writer; Prof. Paul A. Baran, economist; Dr. Carlton Goodlet, publisher, The Sun-Reporter; and William Worthy, foreign correspondent, The Afro-American; discuss THE WILLIAM WORTHY CASE — TRUTH NEEDS NO PASSPORT. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. California Hall, Polk & Turk Sts. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



A Four-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name
Street Zone
City State

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

A pamphlet presenting a program against unemployment

WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

By Fred Halstead
16 pages

10c per copy
13 copies for \$1

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

Persecutions in Chile for Pro-Cuba Actions

By Carlos Hugembert

SOMEWHERE IN CHILE, Nov. 13 — At the very moment when humanity was on the brink of a world war and revolutionary Cuba was on the point of invasion by the Yankee imperialists, the only organized political force in Chile which took to the streets to lead the fight in defense of Cuba was the *Movimiento de Fuerzas Revolucionarias* (Movement of Revolutionary Forces) to which the Trotskyist *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Workers Party) belongs.

The street demonstrations which began Oct. 23 were led by Clotario Blest, leader of the Chilean workers and of the MFR, and by the Trotskyists. They led the march which followed the mass meeting of some 15,000 called by CUT (*Central Unica de Trabajadores* — Chilean Central Labor Council) to defend the Cuban Revolution. POR was the organization which distributed the greatest number of leaflets and issued press releases and bulletins as the world events took place.

Right after the mass street demonstration, Clotario Blest and four Trotskyists — Luis Vitale, F. Ulloa, A. Miranda and M. Contreras — were arrested. Those arrested were temporarily freed Oct. 26. A few days later the oligarchic and pro-imperialist government of President Alessandri began the trials.

The MFR and the POR were charged with having distributed propaganda calling for a general strike in defense of Cuba. All radio stations broadcast that Blest and the Trotskyists were directing all the pro-Cuba actions.

Accused of Terrorism

On October 26 a bomb was exploded near President Alessandri's house. On Oct. 27 a bomb was placed in the Ford Motor Company. It caused some damage. Tragedy struck on the 28th: a supporter of the Cuban Revolution who allegedly was making a bomb to throw at the American Embassy lost both hands and an eye when it exploded. Immediately after this dozens of people were re-arrested, accused of terrorism, and charged with being in the pay of the Cuban Embassy. The homes of several Trotskyists were searched and the POR leaders — among them its secretary, Humberto Valenzuela — had to go into hiding. Clotario Blest was arrested for the third time in a week — he has been arrested 23 times for having defended the Cuban Revolution — and charged while in jail.

On Nov. 3 the newspaper *El Mercurio* stated: "The undersecretary of the Interior declared that a deportation order had been issued against Luis Vitale, one of those implicated in the affair. Vitale, an Argentinian, became a Chilean citizen and has taken part in illegal activities since he entered the country. He wrote a book which he distributed widely . . ." Other bourgeois newspapers described him as a "professional international agitator with a long history in the Argentine and in other countries," etc., etc.

In the face of such arbitrariness — since he had not yet made any statement because he was in hiding and no evidence had been presented against him, Vitale sent a letter, from which we quote the following:

"The government wants to deny me my Chilean citizenship and to deport me. I am a naturalized citizen of Chile. I have a wife and a daughter who are Chilean. And I am fighting so that my family and the workers may live in a better world, a socialist world. My thoughts and my actions have always been revolutionary but I have never fallen into the error of engaging in individual terroristic activities, removed from the masses. Rather I have always appealed to the mobilized workers. I believe that the mobilization of the masses is the only thing that at the present time can restrain the attack of the Yankee executioner against revolutionary and worker's Cuba.

"The wave of persecution which the bourgeoisie has loosed against Blest, leader of the MFR and against POR and its Trotskyist leaders, including the writer of this letter, is part of a vast plan of repression through which the FBI and the Chilean oligarchy hope to put out of action the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the CUT if they succeed in breaking relations with Cuba.

"We Should Act Like Fidel"

"To be on the defensive at the present time would mean our death. We should act as Fidel did . . . counterattacking, always counterattacking . . . That is why I asked the CUT not to permit the revocation of my citizenship or my deportation from Chile."

This letter, sent by Vitale to CUT, labor unions and parties, was published in Chile's most popular newspaper, *El Clarin*. The entire letter was read on the radio program *Entretelones*, the most listened to program of political commentary in Chile.

Several organizations have responded to Vitale's appeal. The CUT has had an audience with the Minister of Interior. There was also a demonstration of class solidarity at the Nov. 10 meeting of 7,000 people held by FRAP [*Frente de Accion Popular* — an anti-imperialist front participated in by the Socialist Party, Communist Party, the bourgeois nationalist Padena, the *Partido Radical Doctrinario* and the nationalist *Vanguardia Nacional del Pueblo*].

Commenting the following day on this meeting, the newspaper *El Clarin* (Nov. 12) said: "A message sent by Luis Vitale, a naturalized Chilean labor leader, persecuted by the political police and against whom a deportation order is pending, was read. Vitale asks in his letter that CUT — even if it does not agree with his political position — mobilize itself to prevent the government from denying him his rights. The message was sent from 'somewhere in Chile.' His request received a favorable response among those who were present. On the 11th the *Movimiento Libertario*, an anarcho-syndicalist tendency, called a meeting at which a resolution was adopted demanding the freedom of Clotario Blest and withdrawal of the order cancelling Vitale's citizenship. The meeting called by FRAP at which support was given to Vitale was broadcast on radio. In addition, a petition is being circulated among labor leaders, writers, and professionals asking the government to rescind the orders against Vitale.

The Communist Party of Chile has played a sinister role. Its weekly magazine *Vistazo* published the following article on the front page: "The Movement of Revolutionary Forces, the party of Blest, Miranda, and Luis Vitale (the naturalized Chilean citizen being sought by the police) is made up of class-conscious workers, but who ideologically and practically do not conceive of any other way for the workers to achieve power than by 'violent means.' They are instruments which the reactionaries use for



Clotario Blest

their ends. The political police of F. Acebal know very well the comings and goings of these organizations which are a discredit to the people's movement . . . They receive generous funds from the CIA which pays for all terroristic activities in Latin American countries. The police arrested Clotario Blest who was participating in the street meetings together with other provocateurs."

The very same issue of *Vistazo*, organ of the CP, publishes photos of some of those who are under arrest and their comrades who are not under arrest with such captions as, "He is a terrorist by avocation," "Another of the instruments used by the CIA for its ruinous ends," "One of the novice terrorists," etc. And it gives a whole series of data to the police to make it easier for them to arrest more comrades.

All this demonstrates that the bureaucratic leadership of the Chilean CP continues to suffer from its old Stalinist vices. With malevolent intent it attacks a figure such as Blest (who has been

president of the CUT for nine years), the MFR and the Trotskyists because it is now difficult for them to defend themselves openly since their leaders are in hiding.

The fact that the CP has fingered for the police the only people in Chile who defended the Cuban Revolution with actions has caused much concern in the labor movement, and particularly among the Communist Party's rank and file, who have approached Trotskyist comrades to tell them that they are not in agreement with the methods used by their leaders.

The newspaper *El Clarin* in its editorial of Nov. 11 defended the comrades who were under attack, saying the following: "A magazine which is edited in Santiago maintained that a plot was being brewed by the reactionaries of Chile, and financed with dollars supplied by the CIA. On the other hand the political police maintain that it was financed by Cuban dollars and carried out by agents of Fidel Castro. Both the magazine and the police fell into the error of imaginary extremism by creating fantastic and incredible stories. The truth is that there was no plot, that there were no dollars, there was no Cuban money nor were there agents of anyone . . ."

The root of the problem is that the CP was forced to unmask itself through the use of police methods because the rank-and-file Communist is unhappy about the CP leadership's inaction in defense of Cuba and they have looked with sympathy on the action taken by the MFR and the Trotskyists, and in addition they co-operated with the Trotskyists — without a show of sectarianism — in the street demonstrations of Oct. 23, 24, and 25. It must be taken into account that this internal crisis of the CP has been developing for several years and has caused the separation from it of several groups, some of which have joined the Trotskyist movement. It must also be taken into

account that this crisis is taking place in the strongest CP in Latin America. It is the strongest workers' party in Chile — it elected four senators and 16 members of congress, polling nearly 11 per cent of the votes cast in the 1961 elections. At present, the Chilean CP is stronger than the Brazilian CP which up to a few years ago was the bastion of Communism in Latin America. The crisis of the CP has worsened with Havana's opposition to Khrushchev's unilateral action during the Cuban crisis and with the China-India border clash. CP writers and rank-and-file members are beginning to have grave doubts. They are approaching Trotskyists and saying to them in a friendly manner: Please let me have some of that 'disruptive' literature which you people published. I merely want it to clarify some doubts I have.

Repercussions of these great international events coincide with dissatisfaction in the CP ranks with their leaders' role of restraining the masses in the face of grave domestic problems now confronting the Chilean workers. The cost of living has gone up more than 50 per cent in two weeks due to the devaluation of the Chilean monetary unit and the consequent increase in the price of the dollar. In response to pressure from its ranks, CUT has scheduled a 24-hour nation-wide strike for Nov. 19.

Slowly but surely the MFR — a new revolutionary movement — is beginning to take shape in Chile. It is similar to other movements of a new type which have arisen in Latin America in the past three years. It is a movement in which the Chilean Trotskyists are playing a decisive role because of their program, orientation, organizational ability and determined action to accelerate, both in Chile and throughout Latin America, the socialist revolution which daily comes closer to reality on our continent.

World Events

Elected Candidates Barred

The Supreme Electoral Court of Brazil has refused to certify the election of two candidates for federal deputy in the Oct. 7 elections on grounds that they are Communists. This decision could bar from the congress a number of newly-elected deputies who are accused of having Communist connections. Among those mentioned is Francisco Juliao, organizer of the peasant leagues in northeastern Brazil. The two deputies who were blocked from taking office by the electoral court, Gerald Rodriguez dos Santos and Jose Rio Branco Pranhos, were candidates of the Brazilian Labor Party.

Cambodia Charges Raid

The government of Cambodia charged Nov. 23 that South Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodian territory the previous Sunday, firing on peasants and destroying a rice field. A Cambodian communique said the Diem troops had penetrated nearly two miles into Cambodia under air cover of two fighter planes before withdrawing. The Cambodian government warned Saigon that if South Vietnam committed further violations resulting in deaths, diplomatic relations would be severed.

Ungrateful

Despite the stand taken by the Indian Communist Party backing India against the Chinese workers' state, and the statement issued Oct. 23 by three leaders of the party calling on all patriotic Indian forces to "rally as one man in defending the safety and integrity of our motherland," India's bourgeois government is un-

impressed. On Nov. 21, 200 Indian Communist Party members, including members of parliament and state legislatures, party officials, former ministers and journalists were placed under arrest.

Inquiry in Mexican Incidents

The office of the Attorney General in Mexico announced Nov. 23 that it had opened an investigation into a series of anti-government activities around the country. Among the incidents under investigation are an attack Nov. 16 on an army garrison by about 300 farm laborers in a village near Oaxaca, an attack by armed civilians Nov. 17 on the town hall of Hidalgo in the state of Michoacan, and the arrest of 30 persons charged with attempting to lead attacks on the state police in Mexicali Valley, Lower California. A member of the House of Deputies has accused the rightist National Action Party of responsibility for the incidents. It denied the charge.

Arrest 300 in South Africa

Heavily armed police raided the African quarters in Paarl, South Africa, at dawn Nov. 23. They arrested 300 Africans accused of participating in a riot the previous day in which ten persons were killed, eight of them Africans who died when police opened fire on a demonstration. Police said they sought to smash "a dangerous African underground movement." An indication of the tension which exists in the community was given by the town's only gunsmith who said that he had sold nearly all his stock of automatic pistols and revolvers. Only whites are allowed

to own guns in racist South Africa. Africans have armed themselves with homemade machetes, clubs, iron bars, and other improvised means of defense.

New Cuban-Soviet Film

The production of a joint Soviet-Cuban film will get under way in Havana during January. The film, "Soy Cuba" (I am Cuba), will be based on a script by Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Cuban poet Enrique Barnet. It will be directed by Soviet director Mikhail Kalatsov, who directed the Soviet film, "The Cranes Are Flying."

Bastion of the Free World

Officials of the military dictatorship in South Korea have indicated that if a referendum scheduled for December on proposed constitutional changes does not turn out to their satisfaction, the present regime will "continue indefinitely." One of the provisions of the new constitution is that only members of political parties may run in elections. The junta plans to proclaim a law "regulating" political parties before the end of the year, with the aim of "curbing the advent of an excessive number of minor parties and banning all 'leftist' political parties and groups. Junta members said privately that they would tolerate the emergence of "one or two conservative opposition parties." There is speculation that the junta might organize both government and opposition parties in order to have the "two-party system" it has pledged. The junta receives a considerable amount of help from U.S. advisors.

Yevtushenko

The November issue of the *Young Socialist*, America's only socialist youth newspaper, features an interview with Soviet Poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko by George Saunders, translator of a number of Yevtushenko's poems. Enter your subscription now to be sure of receiving this issue.

1 YEAR 1 DOLLAR

YOUNG SOCIALIST

Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 26 - No. 44 345 Monday, December 3, 1962

Fair Housing — Within Limits

Both major parties recognize that Jim Crow plays an important role in perpetuating the profit system to which they are so ardently dedicated. That's why it isn't easy to win a measure like the President's long-overdue executive order against discrimination in federally supported housing. And that's why, when the order was finally issued, it contained so few teeth.

The order covers only such multiple-dwelling categories as apartment houses and housing developments. The sale of individual homes is not included. The order doesn't cover existing housing and will affect only new housing directly financed by such agencies as the Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans Administration. A 1961 proposal by the President's Civil Rights Commission that such an order include federally insured bank loans was rejected by Kennedy.

Further, the administration intends to enforce this very limited measure only to the degree that popular pressure compels it to. A White House spokesman said court action would be taken against violators of the order "only as a last resort."

Civil-rights groups like the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the National Urban League and the NAACP are generally agreed that while the order is a significant opening wedge, it must be greatly strengthened.

The administration has tried to counter such criticism with not-for-attribution suggestions to the press that the order may be enlarged in the course of time. But the attitude of the administration was expressed more precisely by a "top White House aide" who is quoted in the Nov. 21 *New York Post* as saying: "If it is successful in breaking up housing discrimination without hurting home building, it will in all likelihood be extended."

Or, more simply, the fate of the order will be judged by whether or not it interferes with builders' profits.

... Alleged 'Sabotage' Plot

(Continued from Page 1)

though he had been admitted to this country six weeks previously on a diplomatic visa, the State Department had not yet completed processing approval of his diplomatic status at the time of his arrest.

In arguing for the writ of *habeas corpus*, attorney Boudin charged the arrest of Santiesteban was illegal on three counts: First, that he did enjoy diplomatic immunity (the current monthly UN "blue book" which lists all those of diplomatic status at the UN includes Santiesteban); Secondly, that the wording of the government charge strongly indicated the illegal use of wire-tapping; And, finally, that the charges were based solely on hearsay evidence.

"Key Witness" Not Called

This final point is given added weight by the fact that the government secured the indictment from the grand jury without calling to the stand its sole material witness, Miss Dritsas. According to her attorney, Mr. Faulkner, she was not even questioned by the U.S. Attorney's office during the period of her detention.

The strong possibility of a frame-up is underscored by the use of the notorious charge of "conspiracy" to commit a crime. Morton Sobell, for example, was convicted not of committing espionage but of "conspiring" to do so. Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were railroaded to prison in 1941 on charges, under the Smith Act, not of advocating force and violence but of "conspiring" to do so. The same method was applied in the Smith Act trials of the Communist Party leaders. "Conspiracy" is the vaguest possible type of legal charge and opens the door to all types of hearsay evidence that is inadmissible under other laws.

The vengeful character of the present prosecution would be almost humorous if it weren't so serious. It was someone with a

grimly ironical touch who figured out that "conspiracy" to commit sabotage without first notifying the government constitutes a second charge of "conspiracy" to violate the foreign agents registration act.

Since the original announcement of the arrests the wave of lynch-spirit publicity in the press has curiously subsided. However, the grand jury which handed down the indictments is reportedly continuing to call witnesses, including several dozen from the Cuban community and a number of local participants in the Puerto Rican independence movement. This means further indictments are possible.

Meanwhile, Radio Havana last night broadcast a detailed record of crimes committed on Cuban soil by U.S.-based saboteurs.

... China-India Truce Uncertain

(Continued from Page 1)

the outposts India had set up in Ladakh.

The Chinese government Oct. 3 proposed that negotiations be begun immediately on the border dispute and again urged that, pending a peaceful solution of the situation, forces of both sides withdraw 12½ miles from the 1959 line. Nehru again turned down this offer, and reiterated his position that China must yield all disputed areas before talks could begin. The Chinese rejected Nehru's demands, stating Oct. 10: "If India should realize its claim for the occupation of Chinese territory, what would there be to discuss?" Nehru announced Oct. 12 that he had ordered Indian troops to clear the Chinese from the disputed territory.

Indian officials claim that this operation had not been begun when Chinese troops began an offensive Oct. 20 against Indian-held positions. The Chinese charge India with initiating the conflict. Shortly after full-scale fighting

In Italy

CP Youth in Ferment

ROME — During October the Federation of Italian Communist Youth (FGCI) held its national convention in Bari. The FGCI is quite a large organization — about 250,000 members — principally young workers and students of good fighting spirit and militancy.

It differs from Communist youth organizations in other Western European countries — not to mention those in the Soviet-bloc countries — in that, though it obviously is closely connected to the Italian Communist Party, it has taken advantage of its formal autonomy sufficiently to permit the development of free debate within its ranks and, in some cases, to elect local leaderships which are far from being "orthodox" and acceptable to Palmiro Togliatti, the head of the Communist Party of Italy.

At the close of the Bari Congress, Ochetto, the official CP candidate for the post of FGCI national secretary, was elected to the central committee but only after his name had been crossed off the secret ballots by more than 100 delegates.

Opposition Vote

It should be noted that though Ochetto was the official choice of the CP, his political position is not 100 per cent in agreement with that of Togliatti. Nonetheless, as was shown by the vote Ochetto polled for membership on the central committee, the CP leadership's maneuver to put at the head of the youth someone who might be acceptable to the opposition did not altogether succeed because a considerable number of delegates considered his position was not sufficiently critical of party policy.

Still more significant was the vote for FGCI secretary by the central committee to which Ochetto had just been elected. It was 38 votes for Ochetto, 25 against. The immediate consequence was that Ochetto, realizing that he could not lead the FGCI against the will of such a large opposition in its central committee, was obliged to accept some of his left-wing opponents onto the FGCI political bureau and national secretariat.

How has this situation, which is rather extraordinary for the Communist movement, come about?

The previous FGCI congress was held immediately after the July 1960 demonstrations, when despite bloody repression the workers forced the resignation of the Christian Democratic government led by Tambroni (who was supported by the fascists in parliament). The Communist youth cadres had been in the forefront of this struggle. This brought

about a mounting, though confused, leftist wave leading to substantial changes — permitted by the party leadership in a maneuver to obtain the support of the youth — in the FGCI's organization and methods.

However, many young militants took this maneuver seriously and the CP leadership was soon confronted with the accomplished fact of a fairly well organized left opposition in the youth federation. This opposition, moreover, won the leadership of some important provincial federations, including Rome and the important industrial center of Turin, as well as the editorial board of *Nuova Generazione*, the FGCI newspaper.

Enthusiastic support for the Cuban Revolution and the principles of the Second Declaration of Havana, sharp criticism of the opportunism of the French CP and Khrushchev in regard to the Algerian Revolution, condemnation of Stalinism, and a substantial opposition to the CP's opportunism on certain economic, political and cultural problems in Italy — these were the main points on which a left opposition began to coalesce. This tendency held positions similar to those of the left wing in Nenni's Socialist Party and the trade unions.

Togliatti's fight against this tendency in the youth has gone several rounds without obtaining a final political victory or smashing the opposition by repression. The sharpest moment in the fight came after the 22nd Congress of the So-

viet Communist Party, when *Nuova Generazione*, by openly publishing articles and photographs, raised the issue of the moral and political rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky.

The Italian CP leadership condemned this position for it was frightened by the reactions from Moscow and from Maurice Thorez, the leader of the French CP. It was forced, however, to tolerate such positions and to admit publicly, through one of its leaders, Pajetta, at a press conference, that Trotsky had been a true revolutionary even though "his political ideas were wrong."

Apart from the historical-judicial matter, the influence of Trotsky's ideas on the Young Communists, especially on the Communist students, has been an important element in their ideological development. This has been facilitated by the fact that the new climate in the Italian Communist movement does not permit any bureaucratic ban on Trotsky's writings. Books by Trotsky, for example, are available to Communist members at the library of the Gramsci Institute, the CP's central national library.

The battle begun by the FGCI at its previous national congress goes on. The CP's tenth national congress has been scheduled for December and the debate in the FGCI has already had a certain influence on the debate now going on in the party. Togliatti's policies have found a powerful new left opponent.

Chicago Hits 100% on Quota For Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

This week Chicago made the top with 100 per cent! This branch is to be congratulated. There has been an influx of fine young people into that branch and it is being reflected in all ways — political, financial and organizational.

The General got another nice boost this week — again from the youth! Recently a group of young students in Baltimore pledged \$20. The other day the money came in. Thanks so very much.

Another contribution to The General came from J.K. in Vermont. He also wrote a fine letter which you will find in the Letters From Our Readers column. We thank him too.

San Diego, St. Louis, Detroit, Connecticut and San Francisco are all ahead of schedule. Unfortunately none of the others are as far up the line as they should be this week — per cent. It behooves everyone, especially those way

down at the bottom, to do something serious about this matter. The fund drive ends definitely on December 15.

It goes without saying that the successful conclusion of this campaign to raise \$15,000 for socialist education, is vitally important. Every day since Kennedy's Oct. 22 threat of nuclear war has seen an increase in interest in the Socialist Workers Party's program for a world of peace, plenty, and equality.

It would be ironical indeed if the only socialist party in the country with such a program were to be hindered in carrying that program to an ever widening field, because of a lack of the very necessary wherewithal — a capitalist commodity called money.

You can help spread the truth by contributing to this fund. Send your Truth Dollars to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per Cent
The General	\$ 300	\$ 332	110
Chicago	700	700	100
San Diego	250	233	93
St. Louis	75	67	90
Detroit	625	550	88
Connecticut	150	130	87
San Francisco	560	488	87
Oakland-			
Berkeley	525	323	62
Newark	125	74	59
Seattle	475	259	55
Cleveland	500	258	52
Milwaukee	225	124	55
Twin Cities	850	455	54
New York	4,300	2,311	54
Boston	600	302	50
Allentown	115	55	48
Philadelphia	225	100	44
Los Angeles	4,300	1,800	42
Denver	100	27	27
Totals through Nov. 27, 1962	\$15,000	\$8,588	57

BOOK REVIEW

Invaluable Book for Students of U.S. Radicalism

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM: Report of a Participant. By James P. Cannon. 343 pp. New York: Lyle Stuart, \$6.00.

This book is the result of extensive correspondence between Cannon and the historian Theodore Draper, which Draper initiated in 1954 in the course of research for his two scholarly works on the period in question: *The Roots of American Communism* and *American Communism and Soviet Russia*.

Cannon's book consists of letters written in answer to questions about the period, plus certain additions including an introduction by Draper and a critical review by Cannon of Draper's two volumes.

This book also contains essays by Cannon on the Industrial Workers of the World — in which Cannon was a participant — and on Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time. In these essays Cannon analyzes the background from which the American Communist movement sprang. Included also is an essay on the

Russian Revolution and the American Negro movement. Here Cannon traces the key influence of the early Communist International on the radical and Negro movements of the 1930's.

The essays as well as the letters were prompted by Draper's probing of Cannon's memory and the entire contents — introduction, letters, essays and criticism — fit together in a unified whole greater than the sum of its parts.

Unique on Several Levels

The book has unique value on several levels. Most obviously it is prime source material. The author, a founder of American Trotskyism and present national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, is the only surviving central leader of the formative days of the U. S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism. He doesn't rewrite the history he lived through. His memory of the period, according to Draper, is "superior to that of all the others." These facts alone make this book a must for serious students of American labor history and the communist movement.

In addition, the book is history with living interest. Cannon traces the seeds of current problems and disputes in the radical, labor, Negro and international political movements. He recalls the good



James P. Cannon

and the bad, the great traditions and the mistakes. The lessons of the past — as Cannon sees them — are drawn.

For active participants in working-class politics, the book is a manual of Leninist organizational

principles applied to American problems and explained through American experience.

It is a story too. A tale, above all, of individual human beings, what made them tick and what made them change. It contains a number of characterizations of the early U.S. radical figures including Debs, Haywood, Vincent St. John, Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others. Some of these are short sketches and some run through large sections of the work, building like the people in a novel.

This makes it an easy book to read and gives it the universal interest of a probe into human character.

Disputes Draper

The work is also a defense of the Russian Revolution and of the value of the ideas of its leaders. Cannon challenges Draper's central thesis that the U.S. Communist Party degenerated because it tied itself to the Russian Revolution.

Cannon points out in some detail how the party degenerated as it slipped away from the ideas and traditions of the Russian Revolution, following Stalin in their betrayal. "The analysis of the new and complicated problem of Stalinism," Cannon writes, as well as "fascism and the Second World

War, and the programmatic ideas for a revolutionary opposition, all came from the Russians, in this case Trotsky and his collaborators in the Soviet Union."

Just why the early Communist Party slipped away from its original purpose, what the subjective and objective factors were in that process, is the heart of Cannon's volume. In recalling the process, he reports the events with objectivity. But there is a lot of hindsight in this book too, in the form of analysis. The old problems are dissected with current problems in mind and with tools sharpened by 56 years in the socialist movement. Not the least of these tools are the ideas learned from the leaders of the Russian Revolution.

As Cannon says: "The famous bandit, Willie Sutton, was once asked by a reporter why he specialized exclusively on robbing banks. Willie, a thinking man's thief, answered right off the bat: 'Because that's where the money is.' In the entire historical period since the collapse of the international socialist movement in the First World War up to the present, revolutionary national parties in every county have had to look to the Russian Revolution and its authentic leaders. That's where the ideas are."

—F.H.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The British are going to punish whole towns in their attempt to crush the Mau Mau independence movement in Kenya, East Africa. Compulsory registration of tribesmen and their families, permanent closing of schools considered 'subversive' by the government, ruthless police measures in the Kikuyu tribal reserves, have been decided upon. 2,000 head of cattle and more than 5,000 sheep and goats seized Nov. 10 from a 'hostile and uncooperative' Kikuyu reserve and confiscated by the government will be sold and the money placed in the government's 'general revenue'..."

"[Such] 'collective retribution' against the rebellious Kikuyu tribes people by their British rulers has provoked sharp objections from the Labor Opposition in the House of Commons. Laborite members called such collective punishment 'un-Christian,' 'immoral' and 'smacking of Nazism.'" — Dec. 1, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"Responsibility for the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate lies not only on the poll taxers, but also on the Roosevelt administration, the Republican Party and the 'liberal' Senators, said A. Philip Randolph, director of the Negro-March-on-Washington Movement, in a statement released last week.

"The most disgraceful spectacle of democracy in action witnessed in America in contemporary times was the bi-partisan conspiracy of Republicans and Democrats to defeat the anti-poll tax bill," said Randolph. "... 'It served definitely to disillusion the Negro masses, North, South, East and West, with respect to the Republican Party constituting the ship for their salvation, or the Democratic Party representing any hope whatsoever.

"It also served to make Negroes completely aware of the fact that the New Deal, even under President Roosevelt's leadership, is absolutely bankrupt so far as providing any fundamental answer to the problem of the Negro masses is concerned..."

"The Senate's action causes the Negro people to feel that they must rely on themselves together with the truly liberal forces of America and the mighty masses of yellow, brown and black peoples of China, India and Africa," Randolph said." — Dec. 5, 1942.

Letters From Our Readers

Cannon Book "Indispensable"

Detroit, Mich.
James P. Cannon's new book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, confirms the belief that he is the best writer that the American radical and labor movements ever produced. It is indispensable for every student of modern working class history in this country. It should be of special interest to readers of *The Militant*, of which Cannon was the first editor.

George Breitman

Politics of Co-existence

Reading, Vt.
I am enclosing a contribution to your fund drive, having been moved to do so by your translation of Yevtushenko's poem, *Letter to America*. And I am pleased by your good work in publicizing the Cuban Revolution and printing Castro's speeches.

The article by Tom Kerry, "Politics of Co-existence," is a good, valid polemic against the *Worker's* position of support for the unscrupulous Democratic Party. Such competition is very healthy for the progressive movement here in America. Keep it on a high level, avoid name-calling.

The Communists are eager to return to the pleasanter days of collaboration with the administration. Pleasanter to them, that is. I'm afraid this is a forlorn hope. The military, industrial complex has entrenched itself into the political fabric of our land to such an extent that it will not allow any interference with its program of extermination for incipient socialism.

They are determined, in every instance "to strangle that baby in its crib," as Winston Churchill put it in his famous pronouncement when the Soviets were first formed.

That also now seems a forlorn hope unless they are eager to also exterminate themselves. The Soviet Union and China are now pretty big boys to even think about taking to the woodshed, to say nothing of strangling them to death.

We must push on to an international control over all weapons of

mass extermination, and to that civilized goal of disarmament.

You people are carrying on against opposition generated by a frantic capitalist system in its death throes. In appreciation of your efforts I enclose this small contribution.

J.K.

Lord's Dependents

Glens Falls, N.Y.
After the Supreme Court rendered its decision abolishing the prayer that had been said in some schools, I wrote to several newspapers as follows:

It seems to me that the only persons who should acknowledge their dependence on the Lord and beg his blessings are those who toil in his vineyard, namely, popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, ministers, missionaries, et al. The rest of us, if we are wise, will depend on ourselves and each other for whatever blessings we think it would be nice to have.

K.M.G.

Post-Dispatch on Yevtushenko

Columbus, Mo.
Yevtushenko's poem, *Cuban Mother*, is the lament of a mother for her son killed during the abortive invasion of Cuba last year. The highly respected liberal paper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, reported about the poem in an article entitled, "Anti-American Russian Poem on Cuban Invasion." — a fact simply not born out even by the fragments of the poem quoted in the article. For example, the poem's conclusion reads: "Happy American mother, Do you see this Cuban mother?" This is simply not anti-American or anywhere near it. Rather, the poem proclaims the universal common bond of motherhood and the sentiment of suffering, not an accusation directed at the American people. For war is, as Yevtushenko knows, a strategem of autocratic governments, not of the people; he is a communist and as such would hardly err in the direction of confusing the American people with its hysterical and decadent ruling class.

This is not explicitly to con-

demn the *Post-Dispatch*; it is no *Chicago Tribune*, God knows, and it is occasionally excellent in muckraking reportage and liberalistic editorializing. But the point that I'm making is the the *Post-Dispatch* is trapped by its capitalist-oriented framework and, when the chips are down, will invariably oppose any socialist-communist oriented government, even though the alternative be counter-revolution and fascism. That decent and honorable men are forced to become propagandists, because of the structural distortions of contemporary American society, for a vicious and moribund imperialism (and this in the name of Freedom!) is the most terrible indictment of the corrosiveness of capitalism imaginable.

D.C.

[A complete English translation of Yevtushenko's *Cuban Mother* appeared in the Nov. 5 *Militant*. EDITOR.]

Pro-Cuba Canadians

Toronto, Canada
Thought you might be pleased to know that Carl Feingold's excellent speech on the Cuban situation, which was carried by a Buffalo station, had its effects up here in Canada. At a convention of the New Democratic Party (the labor party) the following weekend, a prominent trade unionist asked me if I had heard "that terrific socialist speaker" on TV. "That's the sort of person we need in the NDP," he exclaimed, "and that's the sort of program and position we should be putting forward."

Other *Militant* readers at the convention and around this area tell me they heard similar support of the SWP's position voiced by

rank-and-file unionists and by New Democrats.

There is a considerable body of opinion within the NDP which supports the Cuban Revolution and the Castro government and it is particularly encouraging to hear and see the SWP defending Cuba in the heartland of North American imperialism. Keep up the good work.

D.B.

Top Dog?

Baltimore, Md.
Since the federal government turned a deaf ear to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's pleas for protection of their constitutional right to register voters at the polls without being attacked by Southern cops, perhaps SNCC should go over the president's head and protest directly to J. Edgar Hoover.

A. Robert Kaufman

Yevtushenko Fans

Bloomington, Ind.
We thoroughly enjoyed the translation of Yevtushenko's poem by George Saunders. Hope he'll do more — Yevtushenko is a poet of inimitable stature and even the Russians are afraid of him.

Hope you will carry more news of the CNVA as you did on the arrest of Jack Smith. It is important that all peace-loving people and groups remain united.

C. and J.H.

Don't Slip

Cambridge, Mass.
Keep up with your past efforts of printing all the news that isn't seen "fit to print" in our major newspapers. Don't degenerate into a *Weekly People* or a *Worker*.

S.K.

Thought for the Week

"The Cuban crisis shows us to be a sick society, capable of thinking only in terms of military force, of willingly accepting the most absurd arguments and explanations without any serious public questioning. The unanimity on the Cuban question is frightening, and more fitting for a totalitarian country with a cult of the individual than a free and open society. We cannot function with the kind of politics we have had, with the kind of mass media we have, with the pollution of the political dialogue by men who would risk civilization for personal political gain." — West Coast radio commentator Marshall Windmiller, as reported in the Nov. 14 *York, Pa., Gazette and Daily*.

Cuba Makes Kennedy an Inspection Offer

[The following is a translation of the complete text of the statement issued in Havana on Nov. 25 by the Revolutionary Government. The statement was signed jointly by Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos and Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro.]

The National Directorate of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and the Council of Ministers, meeting in joint session to deal with questions relating to the so-called Caribbean crisis, hereby resolve to make known to the people of Cuba and to the world the position of our Party and the Cuban Government.

In his latest public statement, President Kennedy announced the lifting of the blockade of Cuba in return for the withdrawal by the Soviet Union of the intermediate-range ballistic missiles and IL-28 medium bombers stationed in Cuba. Nevertheless, the statements by the President of the United States contain the seeds of a provocative and aggressive policy against our country, which must be exposed.

Kennedy's Position

In one part of his speech, President Kennedy said: "As for our part, if all offensive weapons systems are removed from Cuba and kept out of the hemisphere in the future, under adequate verification and safeguards, and if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean. And as I said in September, 'We shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere.' We will not, of course, abandon the political, economic and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from Cuba, nor our purpose and hope that the Cuban people shall some day be truly free. But these policies are very different from any attempt to launch a military invasion of the island."

The position of strength adopted by the U.S. Government is wholly contrary to the rules of international law. Over and above the outrages which it has committed against Cuba, and which brought the world to the brink of war—an outcome avoided by means of agreements predicated upon an undertaking by the U.S. to aban-

...New Sit-Ins

(Continued from Page 1)

James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. McShane was indicted by a local grand jury which issued a report blaming the racist violence on Meredith and the marshals who protected him.

Another Southern university, the University of Alabama, announced Nov. 26 that it had received applications from two more Negroes during the Thanksgiving holidays. The first Negro application was received late last month. Only one Negro, Atherine Lucy, has attended classes at the university. She was expelled after three days of attendance during which she underwent violent harassment by racists. Governor-elect George C. Wallace has pledged to defy federal authorities if they seek the admission of a Negro to the university, but a number of university officials and local businessmen, led by an avowed segregationist, are reportedly attempting to change his stand in the interest of averting violence.

Voter-registration officials in Alabama's Montgomery County have been ordered to place on the rolls the names of over 1,070 persons whose right to vote has been denied. The federal judge who made the ruling stated that from Jan. 1, 1956 to June 16, 1961 registrars had approved 96 percent of the white applicants and rejected more than 75 per cent of Negro applicants.

don its aggressive and criminal policy against Cuba — it refuses even to give an assurance that it will not again violate the Charter of the United Nations and international law by invading the Republic of Cuba, on the pretext that our country has not agreed to international inspection.

It is quite evident that Cuba has a sovereign right, based on the Charter of the United Nations, to agree or not to agree to inspection of its territory. At no time has Cuba suggested or agreed to such verification.

The Soviet Government, for its part, complied with the verification requirement of which it spoke in its letter of Oct. 28, by allowing the U.S. to verify the withdrawal of the missiles on the high seas, and the U.S. agreed to this form of verification.

President Kennedy's claim is without foundation. It is merely a pretext for not carrying out his part of the agreement and for persisting in his policy of aggression against Cuba. As if that were not enough, even if permission were given for inspection, carrying with it all the guarantees which the U.S. Government might see fit to demand, the peace of the Caribbean would still be subject to the condition that "Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes."

This is the same as saying that any effort by the peoples of Latin America to free themselves from the imperialist yoke might serve as a pretext for the U.S. Government to accuse Cuba, break the peace and attack our country. Flimsier guarantees would be difficult to imagine.

U.S. Spy Planes

To all this must be added one further fact indicative of the warmongering and domineering policy of the U.S. Government. In his latest statement, President Kennedy tacitly reasserted the right — already claimed on several other occasions — for spy planes to fly over the territory of Cuba and photograph it from one end to the other. This too is a gross violation of international law.

Respect for international law is an essential condition if the nations of the earth are to live together regardless of their social or economic systems.

The only effective way to guarantee that the rule of law will be maintained in international affairs and that the provisions of the law will be complied with is for all nations to respect the established rules. At this time of acute rivalry between two conceptions of society, the U.S. has arrogated to itself the right to break the existing international rules and to make new rules as it pleases.

Necessary to Resist

It is our view that when such a dangerous situation is reached, when one country decides, by and for itself, how the law is to be applied in its relations with other countries, there is no choice but firmly to resist its claims.

The U.S. is trying to dictate what kind of arms we should or should not have. The U.S. rulers, who oblige us to expend vast resources in order to defend ourselves against the aggression to which we have been subjected during the four years of our Revolution's progress, also claim to be the judges of what limit should be placed on the armaments with which we defend our freedom.

It was the U.S. Government which, by its repeated and overt attacks on our country, made it necessary for the Cuban people to arm themselves. It was President Kennedy himself who ordered an army of mercenaries to land at Playa Girón. It was under his administration that thousands upon thousands of United States weapons were dropped by parachute or landed on our shores with the aim of encouraging and or-

ganizing bands of counter-revolutionaries, who committed the worst possible crimes against teachers, mass literacy personnel, peasants and workers.

The Governments of the U.S. — the previous one and the present one — not only adopted criminal economic measures against Cuba, which confronted our people with

armed conflict has been averted but not that peace has been achieved. For our people there has been no peace, but incessant attacks. Many of their sons have died as a result of armed attacks, sabotage, murder, subversive acts and raids by pirate aircraft and ships instigated by the U.S. Government. President Kennedy's

that effective measures of control should be established to prevent any repetition of such acts in the future.

If the U.S. and its accomplices in aggression against Cuba do not agree to such inspection in their territories by the United Nations, Cuba will in no circumstances agree to inspection in its own territory.

Reciprocal concessions and guarantees will afford the only means of reaching a broad and fitting agreement acceptable to all.

If such an agreement is reached, Cuba will need no strategic weapons for its defense; the staff of foreign military technicians engaged to instruct our armed forces would be reduced to the minimum and the necessary conditions would be created for the normal development of our relations with the countries of this hemisphere.

Step on Road to Peace

A just and satisfactory settlement of this crisis would without doubt help towards solving the other problems awaiting action throughout the world; it would be a firm step on the true road to peace. And the world needs peace.

It is a legitimate aspiration of mankind that the enormous sums now being invested in the manufacture of costly and deadly armaments should be spent on making goods of use to man, especially for the benefit of the underdeveloped peoples whom the colonizing and imperialist countries have left immersed in the direst poverty.

War industry and the arms traffic can interest only the monopolists whose business it is to stifle the most lawful aspirations of the people and to batten, like birds of prey, on destruction and death.

As Marxist-Leninists, we defend peace by conviction and on principle. Weapons are to us a heavy burden imposed by the imperialists, which divert energy and resources from the creative tasks of the Revolution.

Possible to Avert War

Our mission is to defend peace as the supreme aspiration of mankind. We believe in the possibility of averting war and we do not believe that war is a fatal and inexorable necessity. But this does not mean that the imperialists are entitled to be pirates, to be aggressors, or to commit acts of genocide against any people.

The imperialists must not confuse a position on principle with weakness in the face of their acts of aggression. It must be made quite clear to them that they are in no position today to impose their law on the world and that they will not be permitted to do so.

Cuba stresses once again that there is no better way than that of peace and discussion between governments, but at the same time we repeat that we shall never falter before the imperialists. To their positions of strength we shall oppose our firmness; to the intent to humiliate us, our dignity; to aggression, the resolve to fight to the last man.

We do not believe in mere promises of non-aggression; we need deeds. Those deeds are set forth in our five points.

We have as little faith in President Kennedy's words as we feel fear at his veiled threats.

OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN!

Data Available

An up-to-date study called "The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States," is available from the U.S. Department of Labor for 20 cents a copy. The study contains figures on wages, employment, public accommodation, housing, education and other factors.



"BALANCING." This cartoon by Chago for the Havana paper, "Revolucion," related to an earlier phase of the struggle with Washington, but still applies. It illustrates the stubborn Cuban notion that in the scales of international rights a small country has as much weight (and should act accordingly) as a big country. Castro's tit-for-tat proposal to Kennedy on UN inspection is an example.

severe problems; in addition their acts of military aggression forced us to devote great energy and great resources to the defense of our integrity. What would have become of our country and its Revolution if our people had not offered stubborn and heroic resistance to the actions of that powerful and aggressive country? The U.S. is guilty of a policy of economic strangulation and of violence against Cuba, a policy which has led to the Caribbean crisis with all its consequences and dangers.

Furthermore, the U.S. violated the principle of freedom of the seas by establishing the blockade of Cuba; it violated the Charter of the United Nations by announcing the adoption of unilateral measures against our country; and it now takes refuge in the OAS, seeking official sanction for its acts of piracy in the air. The OAS has no jurisdiction whatsoever on our soil; its decisions have no validity for us; to cite them is arbitrary — pure sophistry on the part of the imperialist aggressor.

The U.S. Government has reiterated its interventionist intentions. It has stated that it will in no circumstances abandon its political, economic "and other" acts of aggression. What is meant by "other efforts" against Cuba? Internal subversion, sabotage, acts of terrorism, pirate raids, infiltration by CIA agents, the landing and dropping of weapons in our territory, invasions by mercenaries — in fact everything which, in Pentagon jargon, is termed "paramilitary warfare."

If that is how matters stand, Cuba will have to defend itself by every available means. It reserves the right to acquire weapons of all kinds for its defense and will take such steps as it deems appropriate to strengthen its security in the face of this open threat. After examining President Kennedy's statement, then, it is possible to affirm that

statement offers, not peace, but the continuation of such acts.

We therefore reiterate the five points which are essential to a genuine and final settlement of the crisis. First: cessation of the economic blockade and of all measures of commercial and economic pressure exercised against our country by the U.S. in every part of the world.

Second: the cessation of all subversive activities, of the dropping of weapons and explosives from the air and their landing from the sea, of the mounting of invasions by mercenaries, of infiltration by spies and saboteurs, all of which are being carried out from the territory of the U.S. and a few countries which are its accomplices.

Third: cessation of the pirate raids which are carried out from bases in the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

Fourth: the cessation of all violations of our airspace and territorial waters by U.S. aircraft and warships.

Fifth: withdrawal from Guantanamo naval base and the restoration of the Cuban territory occupied by the U.S.

These are no irrational demands; they do not conflict with the rights of anyone; they are claims so legitimate, and so clearly limited to the rights of the Cuban people, that no one can object to them.

The U.S. Government demands that the United Nations should verify in our territory the withdrawal of strategic weapons. Cuba demands that the United Nations should verify in the territory of the U.S., in Puerto Rico and in other places where attacks on Cuba are in preparation, the dismantling of the training camps for mercenaries, spies, saboteurs and terrorists; of the centers where subversion is prepared; and of the bases from which pirate vessels set out for our coasts.

In addition Cuba demands, as one of the required guarantees,

Is the Negro Struggle Being Radicalized?

By George Breitman

NOV. 17 — Many striking changes in the Negro community have taken place in the last few years. Useful reports and/or analyses of some or many of these changes have been provided by several writers, including James Baldwin, William Worthy, Robert F. Williams, Julian Mayfield, Nat Hentoff, Louis E. Lomax, Reginald Wilson, Tom Kahn and Loren Miller. Most of them agree on the different changes taking place, but there is no widely-shared agreement on what it all adds up to.

I would like to suggest that it adds up to this — the radicalization of the Negro struggle has begun, and is already well advanced.

Supporting this view are the recent changes themselves. Instead of making up my own list of the most notable ones, I will for the sake of convenience quote here from those described in the Oct. 20 *Nation* by Loren Miller, NAACP vice president and publisher, in his article, "Farewell to Liberals: a Negro View."

New Militants

(1) "Discontent with the liberal position in the area of race relations has been building up for the past several years," Miller says. He defines the liberal position as one that "contemplates the ultimate elimination of all racial distinctions in every phase of American life through an orderly, step-by-step process" and in the meantime "requires and rationalizes Negro accommodation to, and acquiescence in, disabilities imposed because of race" Negro liberals (or moderates) who "once won applause by claiming that their activities made for progress in race relations are being elbowed aside by others whose catchword is Freedom Now... The new militants don't want progress; they demand Freedom."

(2) There is a "strong trend away from dependence on legalistic methods." Persistence of discrimination despite court victories "has shaken the faith of the Negro in the efficacy of the law."

(3) There is "a cleavage between the burgeoning Freedom Now thinking of the Negro and the old progress concept to which liberals still cling. That conflict flares into the open when liberals exercise the prerogative, long held by them, of speaking for the Negro, and of espousing views which the Negro is abandoning... As the Negro becomes more articulate and discerning, he insists on voicing his own aspirations, particularly in the light of what he regards as the shortcomings of liberal leadership."

(4) Mere "absolute fairness" in employment and political appointments, "beginning as of today," is no longer considered enough by the Negro. He wants "preferential treatment" as the only way of closing the wide gap that a century of discrimination has pro-

duced between him and white Americans.

(5) What the liberals call progress is only tokenism to the Negro. "The liberal sees progress in the admission of a few select Negro children to a hitherto white school; the Negro wants all Negro children admitted and spurns the concession as mere tokenism."

(6) The young Negro militants "are determined to plot the strategy and dictate the tactics of the campaign... (which in outline) calls for direct action by way of sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, freedom rides, civil disobedience and as-yet-unheard-of techniques as the occasion demands, with resort to legal action when expedient — all under Negro leadership, all calculated to produce immediate results. Heavy stress is being laid on voter registration in the Deep South and it is significant that student leaders make no bones about the fact that *Negro* voting is seen as a device to elect Negroes to public office. The very choice of weapons, incidentally, requires action by Negroes. Only Negroes can desegregate a cafe or a hotel or an airport by a sit-in... or withdraw Negro patronage through a boycott."

(7) Miller's concluding paragraph says: "It would not be accurate to say that the direct actionists speak for all Negroes under all circumstances. It is fair to say that their philosophy is ascendant, that their influence is becoming pervasive and that their voices are heard with increasing respect and diminishing dissent in Negro communities. Those voices are harsh and strident, and jarring to the liberal ear. Their message is plain: To liberals a fond farewell, with thanks for services rendered until you are ready to re-enlist as foot-soldiers and subordinates in a Negro-led, Negro-officered army under the banner of Freedom Now."

Not Complete List

Miller's list of recent changes in Negro consciousness and action is far from complete. He barely mentions the profound influence exercised on Negroes by "the overthrow of white colonialism in Asia and Africa," he has only a sentence about the Muslims, and other significant developments he doesn't refer to at all. But the ones I have quoted are enough, I think, to indicate that a qualitative transformation in the Negro struggle has taken place in the past few years: *The Negro people are being radicalized.*

Yet Miller himself doesn't think so. And there are some white radicals who, for different reasons, may hesitate to accept this conclusion. Let us consider their respective objections or possible objections.

Miller contends, "The Negro's quarrel with liberal leadership does not portend his subscription to conservative or radical philosophies of race relations." The only

reason he gives is that Negroes still regard liberals as an ally rather than an enemy, and that "Rejection of liberal leadership does not mean that they do not want, and expect, continued liberal aid. But they want it on their own terms" — that is, under Negro leadership and with the Negroes determining the strategy and tactics of the struggle.

But everything else in Miller's article testifies to the fact that Negroes are rejecting liberal leadership because of its program, not just because it is white. They are rejecting the perspective of gradual reform. There is no basic contradiction between rejecting this perspective and saying they also want and expect the aid of liberals. They want liberal aid, if they can get it, but they want it for a struggle that will not be based on the program of liberalism. The reason Miller gives simply does not support his conclusion.

Becoming Radicalized

It also seems to me that he is making a common mistake (shared by some radicals). What does he mean by "radical philosophies of race relations"? He doesn't elaborate, but because of his conclusion I suspect that he is referring, somewhat narrowly, to Marxism, communism, socialism.

If so, I would concede that the militant Negroes described in Miller's article have not "subscribed" to Marxism, socialism or communism, and are not yet on the verge of so identifying themselves. The reasons are many. But that doesn't mean they are not becoming radicalized in the profoundest sense of that word.

To reject the program of gradual reform and fight for Freedom Now — what is the significance of that in the world of 1962? It means much more than rejecting the leadership of a relatively small number of white liberals; it means rejecting the program, practice and premises of the powerful ruling class, and engaging it in struggle through direct action.

Forget for a minute about party or ideological labels and consider the logic and direction of such a tendency, and I challenge anybody to find a better word for it than radical.

What relationship this radical Negro tendency will finally reach with Marxism and the socialist movement is another question. It will depend on a great many

factors, international as well as national, and partly on the attitude that the socialist movement takes toward Negro radicalism in its present, incipient and unfinished phases.

I am confident myself that eventually, sooner rather than later, Negro radicalism and socialism, moving in the same direction and faced with common enemies, will come together in the firmest and most fruitful collaboration.

This won't take place because the Negro radicals started out with Marxist terminology or socialist conceptions (they didn't). It will take place because their radicalism originates in their own bitter experience as an oppressed minority with the capitalist system for over a hundred years and because their further experience will inevitably teach them that this system must go if they are to gain equality.

White radicals and socialists have a big responsibility here. They can't help the Negro people to advance their struggle to higher levels unless they recognize the nature of the changes that have already taken place. And they can't recognize it if their vision is impaired by preconceptions or rigid formulas.

One of the things that has sustained us during the long period of the cold war, which has been so unfavorable to revolutionary and progressive movements in this country, has been the knowledge that the contradictions of capitalism at home and abroad were bound to give rise to a radicalization of the people in this country that would rapidly go beyond the levels reached in the 1930's.

False Assumption

But we have not thought much concretely about what the next wave of radicalization will look like, or, if we have, some of our thinking has suffered from a certain lack of imagination. Too many of us, I am afraid, have tended to assume that there would be a more or less simultaneous radicalization of the workers, the Negroes and other exploited sections of the population.

Reflection should convince us that this need not necessarily be so, and an objective appraisal of what is happening today should disclose that it is decidedly not so.

The labor movement hasn't even reached the point of organizing its own party. At the same time the Negroes, the most oppressed group in our society, are moving

into action along radical lines with growing determination, boldness and self-confidence. Nor can anybody call their radicalism premature — it is more closely in accord with trends on a world scale than the American working class, whose development is retarded (temporarily).

The rate of radicalization among workers and among Negroes is not more or less even or equal, as some of us may have expected. Their rates of development are decidedly uneven. The Negro movement has taken a great leap forward, while the labor movement has stood still or been forced back. Negroes are going ahead on their own, independently. They see no reason why they should postpone their struggle until the white workers are ready to move. And they are right. There is no reason why they should.

The consequences will be numerous and far-reaching, not only for the Negro struggle but for the white workers as well. The Socialist Workers Party pointed out long ago, at its 1948 convention, that the independent Negro movement "acts as a spur in precipitating struggles for elementary democratic rights; it unmasks the class nature of the capitalist state; it helps educate the working class to the reactionary role of bourgeois democracy and the need to wage merciless struggle against it; and propels into action the major political forces of the nation, and the organized labor movement." We are now about to witness the verification on a grand scale of this analysis, which at the time seemed to some people to be only a prediction.

No one has yet explored all the consequences of independent Negro radicalization and the various ways in which they will shake up, unfreeze and set into motion other anti-capitalist forces, especially the labor movement. All of us should turn our attention to this immediately.

It would be a tragedy if white radicals should fail to recognize, hail and fraternally collaborate with Negro radicalism merely because it appears unexpectedly, minus a socialist badge and lacking the complete program that can come only with further experience.

Cost of Living

The Consumer Price Index rose six tenths of one per cent from August to September — its biggest jump in more than four years.

It Was Reported in the Press

Analyst — In a Nov. 24 Hong Kong dispatch to the *New York Times*, correspondent Robert Trumbull says the Chinese leaders have "an almost paranoid preoccupation with supposed threats to Communist China's integrity from external sources. Peking's ruling circles imagine themselves facing encirclement by hostile forces led by the United States." They have this "paranoid" belief, he says, just because the U.S. has bases and/or troops in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, South Vietnam, etc.

Costly — Dr. Leon Eisenberg, professor of child psychiatry at John Hopkins University, says shelter drills are psychologically harmful to children. And, he adds, "It's a matter of paying a high price for what I consider to be a futile effort." He says adults too are suffering from fears and stresses brought on by the threat of nuclear war. At the height of the Cuban crisis, he said, "A lot of people were behaving like patients."

Reality — "Nuclear attack in its harshest reality was discussed here Sunday by more than 250

physicians... It was generally agreed that physicians could not try to treat all victims or they would be hopelessly bogged down. Eugene L. Saenger, professor of radiology at the University of Cincinnati, said: "There is little place for heroic treatment — it is preferable to utilize the available treatment potentials for those who require the least treatment and can perform the most work." — Nov. 5 Chicago *Sun-Times*.

Tiffany's offers: Christmas present... Tiffany's spray pin of diamonds set in platinum, \$18,975, including federal tax." A practically exact copy, of glass and aluminum will be available for \$1.89 at the annual Xmas Bazaar at 116 University Place, Dec. 7 and 8.

Which Way Salvation? — Dr. Gothard Booth, a psychiatrist, told a New York conference Nov. 19 that mental breakdowns occur twice as often among clergymen as among lawyers and doctors. Meanwhile, on Nov. 16 it was reported that the Rev. Jonathan Sandberg, of Irvington, N.J., resigned his ministerial post to take a public relations job with the

First National City Bank." There is a vital need for a more sincere, more fruitful understanding between the world of business and the more nebulous world which the clergy represents," the minister said.

Revisionists at Play? — *Hsinhua*, the official Chinese press agency, reported Oct. 26: "The Chinese men's volleyball team lost to the Yugoslav team under biased refereeing at the world championships in Moscow yesterday."

Bonanza — There are "sound dollars and cents" reasons for investing in higher education, according to *The Writ*, bulletin of the University of California school of law in Berkeley. Noting that \$50 billion in arms expenditures has poured into California since 1950, the bulletin says the state must have a good supply of trained personnel to ensure "this latter-day bonanza in California."

Praying Pays — There are 78,000 institutions of the Catholic Church in this country, says the *Los Angeles Times*. And they spend \$5 billion a year. The *Times* didn't say how much they take in.

The First Ten Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

344 pp — \$6.00

Order through

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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

Peace Group Asks Unionists To Rescind Cuba Embargo

Leaflets appealing for an end to the boycott on cargoes to Cuba are being distributed to maritime workers in New York by a recently formed peace group — Labor Action for Peace. The group calls for "all working people to use the power of organized labor for peace." Appearance of the distributors outside a membership meeting of the National Maritime Union Nov. 26 created a lively discussion among seamen as some union officials tried to prevent members from accepting the leaflets. Protests against this attempted violation of civil liberties are being sent to union officials and civil-liberties organizations.

Top officials of both the NMU and the International Longshoremen's Association have been organizing a boycott of foreign ships carrying commercial cargoes to Cuba.

In a letter sent to ILA president William Bradley shortly after the boycott began, Labor Action for Peace said: "Since the announcement of the ILA decision to boycott, there has been much public discussion of the right of a trade union to 'interfere' in matters of war and peace . . . We believe, as you do, that labor has every right . . . We would commend, for example, a decision of dock workers to refuse to load war materials bound for Spain,



NMU President Curran

Portugal and Vietnam . . . and we deeply regret that American dock workers are preparing to use their powers in the reverse direction, on the side of war."

LAP has scheduled an open meeting and discussion appealing to ILA members to end the boycott. The meeting will be held Dec. 16 at 8:30 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., Manhattan. Speakers will be Gus Sedares, an official of the Federation of Union Organizers; James Peck, of the War Resister's League; and Paul Alexander.

7 Meetings Hear Phillips In Michigan

DETROIT, Nov. 18 — Wendell Phillips, California welding teacher who was fired because he refused to become a political informer, wound up a successful week of speaking engagements in Michigan today with an appearance before the Tool and Die Unit of Ford UAW Local 600.

Highlights of Phillips' visit included a press conference, which resulted in stories in the two Detroit dailies, a radio interview on local station WDTM, talks before the executive board of the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and a membership meeting of the Wayne State University Local of the American Federation of Teachers as well as public meetings at Wayne State University, Michigan State University and the Friday Socialist Forum.

His appearance at Michigan State University in East Lansing coincided with the final stages of a militant student battle against administration speaker policy. Because of the students' refusal to "clear" Phillips, the meeting was held in a house near the campus.

More than 80 students crowded into the house. Another 30 or more had to be turned away due to lack of space. Phillips' forthright approach to all political questions so impressed the audience that the discussion period lasted for two and a half hours.

In addition to the MSU meeting Phillips spoke to over 60 students at Wayne State University under the auspices of the Student Civil Liberties Club. At the University of Michigan he met informally with leaders and activists in VOICE, a campus party.

Local sponsors and others active on his behalf had an opportunity to familiarize themselves more thoroughly with Phillips and his case at a reception held by WSU Professor Henry Herrmann. In addition to Dr. Herrmann, local sponsors include Pulitzer Prize-winning poet W. D. Snodgrass, City Councilman Mel Ravitz and Michigan ACLU Executive Secretary Ernest Mazey.

Pickets Protest Atomic Weapons In Puerto Rico

Puerto Rican pro-independence pickets demonstrated Nov. 12 at Fort Brooke in San Juan, under heavy intimidation by police and U.S. military personnel. The demonstrators, carrying Puerto Rican flags, a banner of the Federation of University Students for Independence, and placards, marched from the Fort Brooke Post Exchange to the Antilles Command Headquarters Building. Among the slogans carried during the two-hour demonstration were, "We Are Peaceful People; Go Home Warlords," "Latin American Goodwill is Not Possible Without Independence of Puerto Rico," and "We protest Atomic Weapons in Puerto Rico."

The civilian cops were joined by over 100 combat-ready military police in an effort to intimidate the pickets. A military fire truck stood just inside the gate of the base, its hoses hooked up to a fire hydrant and ready to spray the demonstrators, and an army helicopter hovered over their heads, reportedly taking motion pictures.

At one point, the line was attacked by a Cuban exile, identified as Enrique Pizzi-Galindo, editor of the counter-revolutionary magazine *Bohemia Puertorriqueña*.

dence of Puerto Rico on the U.S. It pointed out that more than 90 per cent of consumer goods are imported from the U.S., at prices fixed by the American market, and that, as a result of Puerto Rico's colonial status, more than half of Puerto Rico's citizens are unemployed or underpaid according to U.S. standards.

Covered With Bases

"Do you know," it went on, "that our national territory is covered with military installations and naval and air bases, established here without the consent of our people? Such installations include arsenals of nuclear weapons and guided missiles, and are spread all over the densely populated island." The group expressed its opposition to the forthcoming plebiscite on Puerto Rico's status, stating its position that the plebiscite's purpose was to give legal basis to the island's present colonial status and that "the right to self-determination cannot be exercised without the enjoyment of sovereignty."

Statement on Crisis Issued by 11 Editors

In response to the recent crisis over Cuba, a group of 11 magazine editors has issued a statement entitled, "Kennedy's Cuban Policy — A Disaster." The eight-page pamphlet attempts to draw certain general lessons from the "week of fear" and to set forward a sane American foreign policy.

The statement begins by pointing to the grave danger of nuclear destruction which Kennedy's brink-of-war policy presented to the world and characterizes Kennedy's readiness to take this risk as "dangerous and irresponsible." "In a world divided into two camps both able to destroy each other several times over," it continues, "a policy of force and threat of force is bankrupt in fortune and reputation."

Respect for Sovereignty

The editors state that, although Cuba has many times offered to negotiate differences, and channels for such negotiations exist in the United Nations, Kennedy ignored these alternatives. Before any inspection, the statement says, Cuba is entitled to firm guarantees against an invasion or further harassment. "Promises are not enough: This nation must accept the fact that Cuba's sovereignty is not a negotiable issue."

The statement describes foreign reaction against Kennedy's policy and states that his refusal to let the American people know the truth about Cuba has brought about a "collapse of democracy at home."

Their Proposals

As an alternative to present U.S. policy, the editors propose 1) effective guarantees as to the integrity of Cuban territory and a reversal of the present U.S. policy toward Cuba, 2) resumption of diplomatic relations, and 3) withdrawal by all countries of foreign military installations.

Signers of the statement include the editors of *Contact*, *Film Culture*, *The Minority of One*, *Pa'lante*, *The Realist*, *Root and Branch*, *Freedomways*, *Northwest Review*, *Reflections from Chapel Hill*, *Sanity and Vision*. The pamphlet, which sells for 25¢, is available from Editors Statement, P.O. Box 251, Planetarium Station, N.Y. 24, N.Y.

Xmas Book Bargains

THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. Cloth, \$3.00.
THE REVOLT OF THE MIND by Tamas Aczel and Tibor Meray. Gripping account of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the events that brought it about. Cloth, regularly \$5.00, special price \$1.49.
THE INTERNATIONAL by Alfred Maund. Noteworthy novel about contemporary union officialdom. Cloth, \$5.95.
THE COOL WORLD by Warren Miller. Remarkable novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *90 Miles From Home*. Cloth, special price \$1.49.
THADDEUS STEVENS by Ralph K. Gold. Magnificent biography of the great figure of Radical Reconstruction. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$6.00, special price \$2.00.
HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR by Henry David. Another classic, long out of print, now available. The celebrated frame-up and the origin of May Day. Cloth, regularly \$6.75, special price \$5.50.
ISLAND IN THE CITY by Dan Wakefield. The Puerto Rican community in New York. Paperback, \$1.75.
SAM ADAMS — Pioneer in Propaganda by John C. Miller. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$7.50, special price \$6.00.

BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paperback, \$1.95.
BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Cloth, \$4.00; paperback, 95c.
100 YEARS OF LYNCHING by Ralph Ginzburg. Paperback, 75c.
BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA by C. Eric Lincoln. Cloth, \$4.95; paperback, \$1.75.
THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Vann Woodward. Cloth, Xmas price, \$1.19.
THE UN-AMERICANS by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil-liberties attorney provides devastating documentation of the House witch hunters' activities. Paperback, 60c.
GRAND INQUEST by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to the Un-Americans by a constitutional lawyer. Paperback, 75c.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY
 Combination Offer: **THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN**. Paperback, both for \$5.00.
TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE: 1935. Cloth, Xmas price, \$3.50.
TERRORISM & COMMUNISM. A classic work of Marxist theory, out of print for three decades. Paperback, \$1.95.
WHITHER FRANCE. The French social crisis in the mid-1930's analyzed. Paperback, Xmas price \$1.45.
WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING? An analysis of the British general strike of 1926 and the perspectives of British imperialism. Paperback, \$1.50.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON
FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Cloth, \$6.00.
THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75; paperback special price \$1.50.
THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. Cloth, \$2.75.
SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. Paperback, 50c.
SOCIALISM & DEMOCRACY. Paperback, 15c.

MARXIST CLASSICS
FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, regularly \$3.00, Xmas price \$2.00.
LETTERS TO AMERICANS by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.85.
ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844 by Marx. Cloth, \$1.50.
KARL MARX by Franz Mehring. The definitive biography. Paperback, \$2.95.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY by George Plekhanov. Cloth, Xmas price \$1.95.
THE CIVIL WAR IN THE U.S. by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.95.
THOMAS MORE & HIS UTOPIA by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$3.95.
COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$4.95.
THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND by Engels. Now back in print. Cloth, reduced to \$1.95.
 (Include 15c postage for hard-cover books, 10c for paperbacks.)

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA
M-26: BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION by Robert Taber. Cloth, regularly \$4.95, special price \$3.00.
THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
THE THEORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.
HOW CUBA UPROOTED RACE DISCRIMINATION by Harry Ring. Pamphlet, 25c.
COMBINATION OFFER OF FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECHES—All for \$3.00
History Will Absolve Me! Oct. 16, 1953 \$1.00
To The Children Sept. 14, 1960 .25
On Unemployment Feb. 11, 1961 .25
Cuba's Socialist Destiny July 26, 1961 .25
United Nations Speech Sept. 26, 1961 .25
On Marxism-Leninism Dec. 2, 1961 1.00
The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought Mar. 13, 1962 .15
Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism Mar. 26, 1962 .35

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES
NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A Frenchman's report of the American Negro struggle, based on an extensive tour of the South. Cloth, \$1.00; paperback, 50c.
REVOLT IN THE SOUTH by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising struggle of Southern Negroes. Paperback, 95c.



Connecticut is a branch off the old tree. As soon as it heard about *The Militant* sub drive extension through December, it raised its quota from 30 to 50. We hope other groups around the country will also take advantage of this extra time to get new readers.

Bloomington, Ind., with its original quota of ten, has already got 34 new subs and claims it will go over the 500 per cent mark. How can you lose with a Militant Army like that?

We want to congratulate the following areas for having finished their subscription campaign on time: Bloomington, Detroit, Baltimore, Connecticut, Boston, and New York. We are sure other cities will do their share during the coming month.

We are deeply impressed with the modesty of those cities who have been reluctant in sending in the names of their top sub-getters. Or perhaps our incentive plan of prizes smacks too much of "free enterprise" and those top scorers scorn such "capitalist devices"? Whatever the problem please try to overcome it and send in those names by next week.

Just a reminder to all other cities which are behind on their sub quotas. You now have another month to get out and sell the best socialist newspaper in this country. We need new readers and they need *The Militant*.

Area	Quota	Subs	Pct.
Bloomington	10	34	340
Detroit	100	135	135
Baltimore	10	13	130
Connecticut	30	36	120
Boston	25	25	100
New York	150	150	100
Oakland-Berkeley	75	70	93
Chicago	90	83	92
Milwaukee	25	21	84
Twin Cities	100	79	79
Newark	15	10	67
San Diego	30	20	67
St. Louis	10	5	50
San Francisco	75	37	49
Philadelphia	75	31	41
Akron-Cleveland	75	25	33
Los Angeles	150	37	25
Seattle	75	15	20
Denver	50	2	4
General	30	53	177
Total through Nov. 28	1,200	876	73%