

DEMAND RIGHTS. Black Muslims demonstrate in New York's Times Square at five o'clock this evening. They have been object of police abuse in a number of cities.

Black Muslim Demonstration Protests Police Persecution

By Robert Franklin

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — I walked out of the subway into Times Square at five o'clock this evening. It was rush hour and the only way at first I could see that something unusual was going on was because I was looking for it. I noticed right away the crowd of people moving in front of the old Times building at 42nd Street and Broadway. The only way you could tell them from the rest of the people walking the "Great White Way" was that they were all black.

They walked without signs, without chanting, but they moved in a mass — several hundred, mostly young men. They covered the sidewalk from curb to building, and the white people that moved among them were going the other way.

There were no police barricades, no horses, no police dogs, only the silent crowd. Like a black sea it moved back and forth, up and down, from 42nd to 46th Streets, covering the whole of Times Square, and then again, covering the sidewalk, crossing the streets, filtering around cars and posts and people coming the other way, but always one crowd, stopping for nothing.

Reporters, photographers and plainclothes police ran in the street alongside, dodging traffic to keep up. Then I noticed young men on every corner, selling the newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*. This was the Black Muslims protesting the arrest of their brothers.

Two of their members were arrested on Christmas Day in Times Square because they objected to a policeman's order to stop selling their newspaper.

In Rochester, N.Y., 13 were arrested Feb. 8 in addition to two arrested earlier in connection with the same episode. This was a raid by eleven cops, with dogs, on the group's regular Sunday services in the Muslim temple. The police pretext was the claim that they had received an anonymous phone call that a person attending the services was armed.

In announcing the Times Square protest, Muslim Minister Malcolm X declared: "No one was ever searched for the alleged gun. The Muslim's real crime was that they showed indignation at the police disruption of the services."

So here they were, selling their paper in Times Square and beginning a demonstration to secure their rights. Why were they able to sell without being told to move on? Why were they able to move freely on the street? Why were not the barricades set up? Why weren't they harassed by the police?

They had made it publicly known that if an attempt was made to stop their selling or to interfere with their peaceful demonstration, they would not back

down. And they passed out a leaflet which said in part: "We must let the white man know that we will all go to jail today for what we believe." In announcing the demonstration Malcolm X said: "In Times Square Negroes will expose the hypocrisy of American 'democracy.' They will show the hypocrisy of Senator Kenneth Keating (R.-N.Y.) who, by attacking Fidel Castro and Cuba, distracts the attention of the American public from the mistreatment of innocent Negroes in his home town of Rochester."

The black crowd finally crossed over to the island at the north end of the square and set up a picket line. Signs appeared and the line was joined by some spectators. The rush-hour passersby took the leaflets and stared at the signs. Most of the Negroes passing by were friendly to the demonstration. Most of the whites were curious and some were shocked. Some of the signs said: "Liberty or Death," "American Democracy is Hypocrisy," "We Demand Freedom of Religion," "Muhammad (Continued on Page 2)

Printers Warn Strike May Hit L. A. and Paris

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — Possible extension of the printers' strike to the West Coast and Paris was the International Typographical Union's warning to a publishers' threat to print an out-of-town scab sheet to be flown in daily.

The *New York Times* prints editions in Los Angeles and Paris. They would be affected if the strike spreads. The warning was given by ITU President Elmer Brown. A union spokesman said publishers in Montreal and Miami had been approached by the New York Publishers' Association to print a scab sheet.

Typographical Union No. 6 President Bertram Powers said any out-of-town publishers who printed such a sheet would be struck — no matter how many cities were affected.

New York's striking printers were angered at the brutal killing of three unarmed paper-mill workers in Ontario, Canada, on Feb. 11. These workers were striking the Spruce Falls mill in Kapuskasing, which is partially owned by the *New York Times* and supplies that paper with its newsprint.

New York Times printers sent a telegram of solidarity and sympathy to the striking paper-mill workers. [See story on Canadian loggers on page 6.]

The publishers increased their clamor this week for compulsory arbitration of the strike. Publishers' spokesman Walter N. Thayer spoke out in favor of binding arbitration on Feb. 18. The same day, a publishers' front, the so-called Citizens Newspaper Committee staged a 200-person demonstration outside City Hall. They distributed leaflets calling on Gov. Rockefeller for legislation to force a settlement.

New York Senator Javits on Feb. 17 urged a federal law to seize and operate struck facilities affecting national health and safety. He suggested that the New York legislature could then adopt similar legislation for local strikes such as the newspaper shutdown.

Labor Secretary Wirtz during a joint press conference with AFL-CIO President Meany in Miami (Continued on Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Kennedy's Get-Cuba Line Fans Rightist Hysteria

By Fred Halstead

A McCarthy-type hysteria is raging in Washington on the Cuba issue. It results from the publicly avowed commitment of the Kennedy administration to destroy the Cuban Revolution, and the resulting frustration because Washington has been unable to accomplish any such thing. It has reached the point where every demagogue in Congress is grabbing headlines through the device of demanding a more warlike policy toward Cuba.

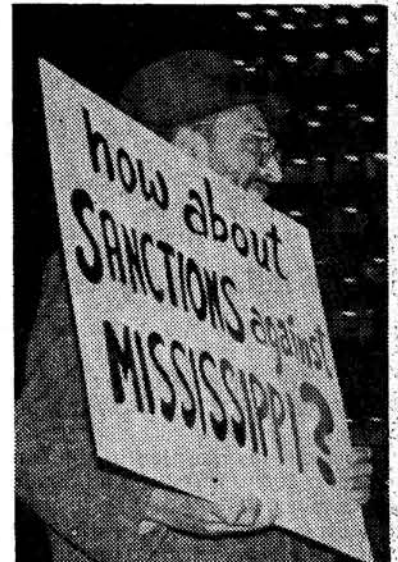
This demagoguery is by no means confined to extreme right-wingers but has become a central political tactic of the leaders of the Republican Party. Nor is it confined to the Republicans.

Those "champions of liberty," the Southern Democrats, are among the loudest "do-something" shouters.

The attempts by Kennedy and Defense Secretary McNamara to show the irrational nature of claims that Cuba is a military threat to the U.S. have failed to stop the mounting pressure from the right-wingers. One reason for this is that Kennedy's own actions against Cuba have been repeatedly justified to the American public on exactly the same irrational and demagogic grounds.

Fed Hysteria

Another reason is that the liberals have cut the ground out from under themselves on the Cuban issue. They fed the hysteria and encouraged the right-wingers by supporting every anti-Cuba move. A recent example was the out-



Question posed by picket at UN last year assumes new pertinency with demand of Mississippi's Senator Stennis for quarantine of Cuba.

cry when the UN finally approved a small agricultural-development project for Cuba. Senator Frank Church of Idaho, a liberal Democrat, led the clamor for the State Department to take every step possible to halt the project. The administration's reply to right-wing critics on this point was to loudly publicize the efforts of U.S. liberals in the UN to block the project.

Actually, Kennedy himself began the current wave of hysteria and demagoguery with his performance before the Bay-of-Pigs Brigade in Miami's Orange Bowl last month. There, to shouts of "War, War," from the crowd, he promised the destruction of the Cuban Revolution. Kennedy keeps promising the very thing the right-wingers are clamoring for, but since he can't produce, the clamor increases.

The fact that there is no counter-pressure, that all the liberals have joined in Kennedy's hate-Cuba campaign, increases the effect of the pressure from the right. There exists a real danger that in this situation, the administration may be pressured into making extremely rash military moves.

'National Morality'

The next time you hear someone spouting about our "national morality," remind them of what Senator Thurston Morton (R-Ky.), former Republican national chairman, said on Feb. 15:

"When the plans were laid to overthrow the Communist government of Guatemala, I remember Mr. Eisenhower saying, 'Are you sure this is going to succeed?' And everybody in the room said, 'Yes, it's bound to.' And he said, 'I'm prepared to take any steps that are necessary to see to it that it succeeds. For if it succeeds, it's the people of Guatemala throwing off the yoke of communism. If it fails, the flag of the United States has failed.'"

CEYLON, SI!

U.S. Aid Squeeze Protested

"Yankee No, Ceylon Yes" was the cry of demonstrators who massed in the capital city of Colombo Feb. 16 to protest the recent U.S. pressure move in cutting off aid to Ceylon. They were led by N. M. Perera, leader of the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party and a prominent union leader, and Communist Party leader Pieter Keuneman. Both are members of Ceylon's parliament.

Such was the mood of the demonstration that the Ceylonese government felt it necessary to station a police guard outside the U.S. Embassy. Signs criticizing the U.S. ambassador were among those carried in the crowd.

Over six months ago the Ceylonese government nationalized distribution facilities of several foreign oil companies, including Caltex and Stanvac which are owned by U.S. interests. Negotiations went on over compensation payment for the properties for some time.

Caltex and Stanvac put in claims for nearly \$3.5 million for their 83 service stations and other properties. The Ceylonese government demanded that the companies present facts and figures to justify in detail the amount asked for. Such itemization is required by Ceylonese law. No compensation would be paid as long as the companies refused to comply with this law. On Feb. 8 the U.S. government

stepped into the dispute on the side of the oil trust. The U.S. Ambassador to Ceylon declared that his government was terminating its 3.8 million dollar aid program to Ceylon under the provisions of a new amendment to the U.S. foreign-aid law. The law now denies U.S. aid to any country taking over property owned by U.S. interests without satisfactory payment.

The foreign-aid law amendment was added last year when a Brazilian state nationalized a utility firm owned by U.S. interests. The Brazilians offered to pay for the property according to the value declared for tax purposes.

This was particularly disturbing to U.S. financial interests and their bi-partisan spokesmen in congress because a similar dispute had transpired in Cuba. Under Batista U.S. firms had declared low tax assessments for years. Then the Revolution nationalized the properties and offered to compensate on the same low level.

But the Brazilian version turned out differently from the Cuban. The U.S. Ambassador to Brazil worked overtime to arrange negotiations and lawsuits and a higher rate of compensation was won.

U.S. attempts to high-pressure the Cuban revolutionaries, far from winning the U.S. corporations a better deal, left them with no compensation at all.

Not only are the events in Cey-

lon tied to Cuba in the way the foreign-aid law originated, but also Ceylon's attitude toward Soviet oil may have provoked the same kind of treatment as the U.S. meted out in Cuba's case. After U.S. oil companies refused to process Soviet oil, which the Cubans could buy cheaper, their refineries in Cuba were confiscated. Then the U.S. cut Cuba's quota in the U.S. sugar market.

In Ceylon the national petroleum authority has concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union to buy oil products cheaper than it can from capitalist companies. These would be distributed through Ceylon's nationalized service stations. Since both White House and Congress reek of oil influence, this explains Washington's quickness in punitive economic measures against the small Asian nation.

The Feb. 18 *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorialized on the Ceylon events: "Of course we want to help nations achieve economic stability; of course they can nationalize properties if they wish — if they PAY FOR what they take!"

Far from being interested in helping poorer nations develop, U.S. foreign policy is to fight tooth and nail against any nationalization of U.S. capital investments abroad. In a symbolic action, Cuba has solidarized herself with the Ceylonese, offering to sell them sugar at reduced prices.

Still No Raise for Minnie?



I tell you, my dear, give those silly working girls more money and it would go right down the drain.

By Joyce Cowley

SAN FRANCISCO — Will Minnie get a raise?

I asked this question in the December 1960 *Militant* and again in October 1961.

I promised to follow up in 1962 but there was nothing further to report until the State Industrial Welfare Commission held public hearings this past Jan. 25 and 26. Minnie is a working girl — fortunately not a real person but a hypothetical average based on statistics — who lives on the minimum wage of \$1 an hour.

Over two years ago it was decided that previous findings, based on prices as they were in 1950, might be out of date. Could a girl still live in "health and decency" on \$2,003.98 a year? After ten months of study, the commissioners determined that in 1961 \$2,854.98 was necessary.

They even generously provided for a few improvements in Minnie's standard of living. She could now share a *daily* newspaper instead of restricting herself as before to the Sunday edition; her luncheon allowance was raised from 57c to 75c; and \$66 was set aside for a vacation.

Her problem is that she has not yet had a raise in pay.

In October, 1961, the Commissioners concluded that they must reopen wage orders covering thousands of women, and said this would require a year of study — which puzzled me because they had just completed ten months of study.

Apparently last month's public hearings were held in order to give the employers an opportunity to present their case. On the first day, 29 witnesses appeared and 28 agreed that a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour would bankrupt them. They were also bitter about a proposed reduction in hours

from 48 to 40 a week. They warned about "inflationary pressures" (with \$1.25 an hour, Minnie may become a spendthrift) and "interference in the collective bargaining process." Above all, they feared that women would be hurt because the minimum wage does not apply to men.

Mrs. Ruth Howe, who operates a summer camp, called it, "a step backward in the American woman's long, long struggle for equality."

If you're confused, she means the women would no longer have a right to earn only \$1 an hour, or even less, as men do. No one suggested that men, too, might be entitled to \$1.25 an hour.

Many witnesses said that raising the minimum wage would result in the closing of nursing homes, drive-ins, restaurants and taverns, severely curtail hotel operations and clothing manufacture, convert farm and telephone operations entirely to automation, and force some farmers from the state.

These big growers, who at the height of the season employ hundreds of thousands of workers in the fields, are particularly insistent that they cannot make a living if minimum pay is raised, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture has given support to their protest

by declaring that 95c an hour is a "fair and reasonable" wage for workers in the sugar beet fields.

In Hawaii, where agricultural workers in the sugar fields were organized by the ILWU, the average wage is \$1.93 an hour and fringe benefits — pension plans, sick leave, dental care for the kids — add another 60c. Isn't it remarkable that the Hawaiian growers are still in business? In fact, they have had a very good year and the union is now negotiating for a further raise.

On the second day of the hearing, the State Federation of Labor asked for a minimum of \$1.50, based on current statistics indicating that \$1.47 is needed to maintain minimum living conditions. Minnie, the archetype of the workers they are investigating, is still making out (?) on the basis of a 1950 determination of \$1 an hour. But the Commissioners are working at it and after two years and two months of intensive research, they admit it is not enough. When they have studied the testimony presented at these hearings, will they raise the minimum wage?

Will Minnie be able to buy a daily paper and share a TV set? Watch *The Militant* next year for a further progress report.

...New York Printers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

yesterday asserted that the New York newspaper strike was "increasingly intolerable" and called for arbitration.

President Powers blasted Wirtz last month for setting up the Medina board. Power said Wirtz knew beforehand that the ITU was unalterably opposed to arbitration.

An employer-influenced group within the Newspaper Guild announced that at the next Guild membership meeting, Feb. 21, it would seek passage of a resolution calling on the workers to return to work by Feb. 28, pending a settlement by arbitration. A similar resolution was defeated by a five-to-three vote at the last membership meeting.

Fighting the battle of all labor against compulsory arbitration, New York's printers stand indomitable as their strike enters its 12th week.

The printers rely on their own strength and the magnificent solidarity and support of their own national membership. They rely on continued unity of the nine crafts. They rely on the support of the city's workers, exemplified by last month's magnificent city-wide "Back-The-Printers" demonstration. And they stay clear of

the various arbitration entrapments of the government and the employers.

The issues, outlined again by President Powers this week, are simple. This is not a money strike, he asserted. The three principal issues are:

1) A common expiration date for contracts of all unions in the industry. This would prevent the publishers from imposing the Newspaper Guild settlement as a pattern on all the other crafts.

2) A shorter work week. The printers are asking for a 15-minute a day reduction. They seek a 35-hour work week in conformity with the AFL-CIO goal.

3) A share in automation. The printers are not opposed to the introduction of teletype-setting tape or other new processes. They are fighting for the right to share in the benefits of the increased productivity of new processes. They seek a fund from the savings produced by automation to be used for such things as: severance pay, earlier retirements, retraining programs, and extra unemployment benefits. Their reasoning is that if they can't get the principle of "sharing" now, while they are on strike, they won't be able to establish it after they have returned to work.



The Florida East Coast Railway, which has been struck by its 1,350 non-operating workers since Jan. 23 is moving a freight train a day in each direction along the road's 572 miles of line between Miami and Jacksonville. Strike chairman J. H. Hadley has told strikers to "remain calm" in the face of this potentially explosive situation. The trains are being run entirely by management personnel. The strikers are seeking the same 10.28 cents an hour wage increase won last year on other Class I railroads.

The white-collar field is even more susceptible to automation than production work. Results are not only job loss but alienation. As an example, there is less "working late at the office" these days at the New York City headquarters of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. There, 1,000 executives dictate their letters into machines which are hooked into a central "transcription pool" where 80 women handle dictation from men they never see.

Hawaii is the only state in the U.S. where agricultural field workers are organized in significant numbers and in a stable union. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has organized both pineapple and sugar workers there on a union-shop basis and they are the highest paid agricultural workers in the world, with minimum pay of \$1.50 per hour, grievance machinery, sick pay and pensions. Last year sugar cane workers there averaged \$1.93 per hour plus fringe benefits. So it can be done.

An across-the-border organizing drive has been launched by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the adjoining border cities of Juarez, Mexico, and El Paso, Texas. The union is attempting to organize some 6,000 residents of Juarez who cross the border each day to work in El Paso men's clothing factories. The drive has the co-operation of Mexican unions.

In Pittsburg, Calif., 2,300 members of Steelworkers Local 1440 walked out Feb. 7 because the company refused to adhere to the decisions of arbitrators on a number of grievances. The plant — the Columbia-Geneva Division of U.S. Steel — went back into full production Feb. 11 after Joseph Angelo, sub-district director of the international union promised local leaders that management would meet with them on the disputed issues.

Members of Hotel and Club Employees Local 6 in New York City are being polled on their choice for the recipient of the local's civil-rights award. Candidates, nominated by the local's civil-rights committee are: James Farmer, national director of CORE; William Higgs, the Mississippi lawyer who brought suit to prevent state funds from going to White Citizen's Councils; Clyde Kennard, who was jailed on a frame-up for seeking admission to all-white Mississippi Southern College; Charles McDew, SNCC chairman; James Meredith; and Eric Weinberger, active in aiding the "Tent City" sharecroppers in Haywood County, Tenn. All nominees have faced personal danger and fought Southern Jim Crow "hand-to-hand," said the committee.

The boycott of Polish and Yugoslav ships, ordered by leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association, has been called off pending discussions with AFL-CIO President George Meany and

the U.S. State Department. The boycott was scheduled to begin the week of Feb. 18 and might mean that 139 Polish and 150 Yugoslav ships would be unable to load or unload at East Coast or Gulf ports. Top ILA officials said they planned the boycott because some Yugoslav and Polish ships stopped at Cuban ports.

John Condon, organizer of the ILA's Cuba - boycott program, which began last October, is also the union officialdom's legislative director. The two jobs are tied in since the boycott is designed to create "good will" on the part of powerful government and congressional figures toward the gangster-ridden leadership of the ILA. Condon says the ILA's Cuba boycott has already directly stopped 75 ships from being loaded or unloaded. It has also caused brokers arranging shipping to demand guarantees in all contracts that ships involved will not touch Cuban ports. This has been more effective in stopping Western shipping to Cuba than the U.S. government's direct embargo measures.

Representatives of the country's major railway corporations have flatly rejected a proposal by leaders of the five operating unions — whose members work on moving trains — that negotiations be resumed on the work-rules dispute. Union leaders estimate 100,000 jobs may be lost if rules changes — granted to the companies under a federal fact-finding recommendation — are put into effect. The unions have the issue tied up in court for the time being.

"You can get all the farm labor you want in Arkansas for 50 cents an hour," said Nelson's brother, Winthrop Rockefeller, Arkansas "farmer," at a conference of 500 agricultural and business leaders in San Francisco recently. He was making the point that he wasn't worried about proposals to halt importation of Mexican agricultural workers to the U.S.

Workers at Planters Peanut shelling plant in Virginia, members of the AFL-CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union Local 26, have had to appeal for federal surplus food to aid their unemployed. Employment at the plants has been cut in half since last November when there were 2,100 on the job. One reason is a new machine, called the "electric eye" which cleans and sorts peanuts automatically.

...Black Muslims

(Continued from Page 1)

Speaks is a Clean Newspaper, "America is a Police State for the Black Man," "Police Suppress Freedom of the Press," "Allah is the Greatest," and "Do Whites Love Their Enemies?"

The picketing continued for an hour and then everybody went home. There was no trouble.

Maybe the powers that be thought the Black Muslims were a weak link in the Negro movement because of their shocking ideas, and that therefore they could be cut down. But it didn't work that way. The Muslims put on a demonstration that was right to the point. And they got a sympathetic response. Anyone who wanted to interfere with the right of assembly could see that it would have caused more trouble than it would be worth. The Muslims established a precedent in defense of free assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. That's something everyone who is tired of being pushed around can be thankful for.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

William F. Warde, Marxist author and lecturer, speaks on: *The Thirties and the Sixties — What Can the 2 Generations Learn from Each Other?* Fri., March 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Behind the Current Anti-Cuba Hysteria. Speaker, Harry Ring, Militant Staff writer. Fri., March 1, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

The USSR — 10 Years After Stalin's Death. An analysis by G. Myland. Fri., March 8, 8 p.m. 1488 Fulton St. Contrib. 50c, students 25c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE MILITANT

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The Second Declaration of Havana

This month marks the first anniversary of one of the most important revolutionary documents in history — the *Second Declaration of Havana*. For those who struggle for social progress in Latin America it is a guide to current action with the most urgent, concrete importance, and it should be read, studied and distributed by every sincere socialist.

It was written as the official answer of the Cuban Revolution to the "Alliance for Progress" and to the attempts of the U.S. State Department to isolate Cuba at the Punta del Este conference. It was first read to the world by Fidel Castro at a rally of one million people in Havana on Feb. 4, 1962.

The document has great value on several levels. It is an effective description — in clear language and in human terms — of the effects of imperialist exploitation on Latin America. As such, it is a look at the other side of the coin of U.S. "prosperity." It is a clear call for the socialist revolution in this hemisphere. It is an effective introduction to socialist ideas for young people just beginning to study. It has value for old revolutionary hands grappling with new and complex problems.

The declaration points to the peasants of Latin America, who, as the largest class there, will play a key role in the anti-imperialist revolution now unfolding. In this process, it says, the peasantry needs the leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals. "In the existing conditions in Latin America," the document says, "the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal or anti-imperialist struggle. Experience demonstrates, that in our countries, this class, though it has interests counter to those of imperialism, has been incapable of fighting it, paralyzed by fear of social revolution and scared by the clamor of the exploited masses."

In its anniversary issue Feb. 4, the Cuban newspaper *Revolución* says: "Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, are witnessing today the heroism of their sons, of many of their sons, imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the *Second Declaration* . . . the *Second Declaration of Havana* is the *Communist Manifesto* of our epoch for Latin America . . . The people of the colonial world will find in the *Declaration* a form of struggle leading to the taking of power and the victory of socialism."

For those who are serious about the struggle for socialism, the *Second Declaration of Havana* is not simply a historic document to be invoked on ceremonial occasions. Its central message is that the revolution is on the order of the day in most countries of Latin America. As the document says: "The duty of all revolutionaries is to make the revolution. We know that in America and in the world the revolution will win, but it is not for revolutionaries to sit in their doorways waiting for the dead body of imperialism to pass by." Each year victory is advanced, it continues, "means millions of children saved for life, millions of minds saved for culture, infinite sorrows avoided."

And it further declares: "Imperialism considered us a weak and submissive flock; and now it begins to be terrified of that flock; a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin Americans in whom Yankee Monopoly capitalism sees its gravediggers."

The *Militant* published the *Second Declaration of Havana* in full in its March 5, 1962 issue. Unfortunately no other newspaper in the United States did so. The full text in English is available in pamphlet form for 25¢ from Pioneer Publishers.

Hoffa Makes a Sound Proposal

A series of bills has been introduced into Congress designed to split the labor movement apart and make meaningful trade-union solidarity — that is, aid in strikes — unlawful and punishable as "conspiracy." AFL-CIO President George Meany said on Feb. 18 that he doesn't expect these bills to pass. He added, however, that if current railroad-labor problems result in widespread strikes, some such legislation might have a chance. This is the line of the Kennedy administration which has been appealing to labor leaders not to use the right to strike so much lest the "public" demand anti-strike legislation. Kennedy hopes to accomplish by fear of legislation what some of the Congressmen hope to accomplish by legislation.

Teamsters Union President James R. Hoffa, speaking in Lansing, Michigan, Jan. 29, hit the nail on the head when he said the labor movement has "lost its guts" in the face of threats by the federal government. He spoke the truth when he said the proposed legislation would set labor back to the position it held in 1932.

Hoffa also offered an alternative to simply giving in to the present employer offensive from fear of Congressional reprisal. He proposed a giant Labor March on Washington to wage a battle against the legislation. "Let me say," Hoffa warned "there will no labor unions if this legislation goes through. This is survival — either survival or the destruction of those who cannot fight."

A Labor March on Washington, such as Hoffa proposed be made next month, would be a good way to begin that necessary fight.

BOOK REVIEW

A Manifesto to the Negro People

NEGROES WITH GUNS. By Robert F. Williams. Edited by Marc Schleifer. New York: Marzani & Munsell, 1962, 128 pp., \$1.95.

"Why do I speak to you from exile?"

"Because a Negro community in the South took up guns in self-defense against racist violence — and used them. I am held responsible for this action, that for the first time in history American Negroes have armed themselves as a group, to defend their homes, their wives, their children . . . I accept this responsibility and am proud of it."

The voice of Robert Williams speaks to us from his exile in Cuba through this important book. *Negroes with Guns* is a manifesto to the Negro people of the United States, in the spirit of the New Mood of militancy growing in the Negro movement. It is a programmatic and prophetic book, a Negro call to arms.

The New Mood

Recent years have witnessed a new awakening and development in the struggle for equality, with new organizations appearing and old ones changing. The development of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, and the growth of the Black Muslims, are indications of the New Mood of Negro struggle. *Negroes with Guns* enters the programmatic discussion going on between and within the organizations of the civil-rights movement with a clear, straightforward and consistent statement of the New Mood of resistance.

Williams' idea is simple: the Negro should employ all tactics including passive resistance in his struggle, but must be prepared to meet the violence of the racists with armed self-defense. The Negro is suppressed by violence — the violence of the courts, jails, and police, and the violence of the mob, White Citizens' Councils, and Klan. Unless he arms himself to prevent mob violence and to make law when the law breaks down, the Negro cannot hope to cope with the violence of the ruling racists.

Introductory Article

Truman Nelson, author of novels about the antislavery movement, in an introductory article to the book, contrasts the doctrines of Martin Luther King and Robert Williams. Two short articles by King are also included, which by contrast serve to point up the main text.

Nelson places Williams in the tradition of the first American Revolution and of the Abolitionists. The men at Lexington and Concord fought oppression with arms in hand in the spirit of resistance — there was no "turn the other cheek" in 1776. John Brown and the Abolitionists did not fight slavery with prayers but with armed struggle against the evil system. Williams thus stands in the American tradition of struggle for freedom, the best of our heritage and legacy.

King's Gandhism runs counter to this spirit. On top of that, it is racist in its outlook, Nelson says, because its pacifism is not preached to the practitioners of unbridled violence — the racist whites — but to the victim of that violence.

"Talk not to the whites of peacefully submitting, of overcoming evil with good when they are spit upon and buffeted, outraged and oppressed — Oh No, for them it is, let the blood of the tyrants flow! Is there one law of submission for the black man and another law of rebellion and conflict for the white man? When it is that the whites are trodden in the dust, does Christ justify them in taking up arms to vindicate their rights? And when it is the

THE EVENING SUN, BALTIMORE,
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1961

FBI Seeks Aid In Capture

The Federal Bureau of Investigation today asked citizen's help for the apprehension of Robert Franklin Williams, 36, wanted for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution for kidnaping.

Williams, the FBI said, was charged in the kidnap of a man and wife of Marshville, N.C., during a racial disturbance in Monroe, N.C., on August 27. An outspoken advocate of Fidel Castro,

he is known to have worked as a free lance writer, janitor, freight handler and machinist.

Reported to be heavily armed and diagnosed as a schizophrenic, Williams is described as 6 feet tall, 240 pounds and of heavy build. The FBI classed him as "extremely dangerous."

Citizens knowing his whereabouts are asked to call the nearest FBI office.

LYNCH CALL. The Federal government joined with North Carolina police in Sept. 1961 to hunt down Robert Williams. The FBI's shoot-on-sight circular which supplied the "facts" for articles like the above characterized the Negro leader as a dangerous, armed, schizophrenic.

blacks that are thus treated, does Christ require them to be patient, long suffering, harmless and forgiving?"

"No, I say, an everlasting No! to this. Two hundred years of appeal by accumulative suffering to the hearts of racists is enough, enough, enough!"

Robert Williams makes his point by telling the story of the Monroe, N.C., branch of the NAACP. Marc Schleifer, the young poet and editor, interviewed Williams in Cuba shortly after he had been granted political asylum there by the Revolutionary Government. The present book is the result of Schleifer's editing of the tapes of that three-hour interview.

Williams introduces the Monroe story with an incident that took place in 1961, when the NAACP was picketing the for-whites-only swimming pool. Williams was driving to the pool with some Negro youth when they met a mob of some two or three thousand people. A white man forced a collision with Williams' car. The crowd was screaming "Kill the niggers! Pour gasoline on the niggers!" as the white man approached Williams' car with a baseball bat.

Wouldn't Disarm

When the man drew back the bat to strike, Williams raised an Army .45 and pointed it into his face. The man dropped back, and Williams stepped out of the car with a carbine. At this point, the police, who had been standing idly by rushed in to disarm the Negroes. When the latter made it quite clear that they would not let themselves be disarmed, the police reversed their tactics and broke up the crowd.

"There was a very old man, an old white man out in the crowd, and he started screaming and crying like a baby and he kept crying, and he said, 'God damn, God damn, what is the God damn country coming to that the niggers have got guns, the niggers are armed and the police can't even arrest them!'"

The Monroe story began in 1955 when Williams returned to that city, his home town, from the Marines, and joined the NAACP. At the time the handful of middle-class blacks who made up the local membership were rapidly leaving the organization under Klan pressure. Williams and Dr. Albert E. Perry constituted the entire membership after the "respectable" people left.

After unsuccessfully trying to get these people to rejoin, Wil-

liams turned to the working-class Negroes of Monroe and found a sympathetic response. The Monroe NAACP became a *working-class* chapter, a fact which gave it a unique character and stamp.

Williams describes the struggles of the militant Monroe NAACP in sit-ins, picketing, integrating the library, warding off the Klan. He tells of the legal reprisals against them — the notorious "Kissing Case," the frame-up of Dr. Albert Perry, and the acquittal of white men guilty of crimes against Negro women — which led him to make his famous statement on self-defense resulting in his suspension by the national office of the NAACP.

In August 1961 the Freedom Riders came to Monroe and engaged in non-violent demonstrations. Their activities were fully supported by Monroe's Negro community and by Robert Williams. It was these demonstrations which led to the mob violence and frame-up kidnap charges against Freedom Riders, Monroe youth, and Robert Williams. Williams was forced to flee for his life, hunted by the police and FBI with shoot-on-sight instructions, and he found asylum in the Free Territory of the Americas — Cuba.

The real merit of the book lies not only in the precise and vivid telling of the Monroe story, but in the lessons drawn by Williams, which constitute a burning message of struggle for the whole Negro movement. Through examples from the living movement in Monroe Williams demonstrates the inadequacy of narrowly conceived tactics of non-violence and the power of a flexible approach to tactics, including the willingness to use armed self-defense when necessary.

Negroes With Guns is the most consistent expression of the New Mood of Negro militancy. As such it deserves the widest possible circulation and demands careful attention from all sectors of the civil-rights movement.

—Barry Sheppard

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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

GOOD NEWS FOR CUBA

Havana Magazine Hails Peruvian Guerrillas

By George Lavan

A Washington Post dispatch of last Aug. 12 from its correspondent Dan Kurzman in Cuzco, Peru, stated: "Armed peasant guerrilla bands, led by a self-styled Fidel Castro, have taken over about 90 haciendas comprising more than 200,000 acres of feudal land, and the spirit of revolution is spreading . . . But now, for the first time, a genuine guerrilla movement complete with 'Fidelist'-style uniforms is being organized by a 28-year-old Trotskyite named Hugo Blanco. And the fame of this fanatical, thin-faced man is growing as his battle cry — 'Land or Death' — echoes through rocky valleys and across soaring purple peaks.

"Even now the aura of legend surrounds his name. While one Peruvian expressed doubt to me that Blanco really exists, some campesinos claimed that he had already taken over a large part of Peru . . ."

300 Guerrillas

On Nov. 19 the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* carried a small item which translates as follows: "A group of 300 guerrillas, led by a communist named Hugo Blanco and an unidentified Negro, attacked a police post in Cuzco, Peru. Two policemen were killed in the course of the attack."

A *United Press International* dispatch, datelined Lima, Jan. 6, stated: "The ruling military junta proclaimed a national state of siege yesterday to thwart a revolt it said was hatched in Moscow and Havana. Police flying squads arrested scores of known Communists in pre-dawn raids . . ."

"The arrests followed severe criticism of the military junta by its political opponents who contended that the junta had been soft on communism despite a rash of left-extremist labor violence and burgeoning Indian guerrilla activity led by pro-Castro Trot-

skyite Hugo Blanco in Cuzco Province."

An article in the Jan. 10 *Washington Post* said in part: "Perhaps most dangerous of all in the long run has been a full-fledged Indian peasant guerrilla operation in the Cuzco region of the south Peruvian Andes . . . The leader of the guerrillas is a 28-year-old Trotskyite named Hugo Blanco, whose name is already a legend in the area. He has so far escaped the current police dragnet, but even if he is caught his impoverished Indian followers are likely to remain the pawns of communism though most do not even know who Karl Marx is."

The above few items pretty much constitute the sum total of information (and misinformation) about Hugo Blanco and the peasant war in Peru that has appeared in the press of this country and in the leading newspapers of other Western capitalist countries.

But the justly famous Cuban magazine, *Bohemia*, in its Dec. 23 issue, carried a lengthy article by Enrique Lopez Oliva entitled "Guerrilla Bands in Peru." That article, together with those written by José Valdés for this issue of *The Militant*, now constitutes the main source of information on the subject. The U. S. government, however, by extending its economic blockade to Cuban newspapers and magazines, has effectively embargoed *Bohemia* from U.S. newsstands, where it formerly enjoyed a large sale. So it is as a service to the American reader that the remainder of this space is devoted to translations of excerpts from the *Bohemia* article, "Guerrilla Bands in Peru."

* * *

The next day [Nov. 18], another dispatch reported that the commandant of the Civil Guard and Police of Peru, Gen. Humberto

Quea, was going to Quillabamba, capital of the Province of Convención, in the Department of Cuzco, to "re-establish order."

Quea made the following statement to the press: "I will personally finish quickly with the guerrilla bands in any part of Peru."

Nine days later, Quea himself abruptly left the region of Convención, where he had arrived accompanied by more than 5,000 soldiers, helicopters and tanks, and returned to Lima, after his operations were a complete failure . . .

Ten days before the attack on the police station of Pujiyura more than 8,000 campesinos gathered in the capital of the department [Cuzco] to demand agrarian reform, under the slogan of "Land or Death."

Bombs and Tear Gas

The police attacked them with bombs and tear gas. The campesinos fought back with stones and clubs, and they held the police at bay for three hours. As a result one campesino was killed, seven were gravely injured and 43 received cuts and bruises. Fifteen policemen were injured.

The government sent 40 tanks—made in the United States, of course—to that city to reinforce its military units and to prevent by force any demonstration by the people . . .

Blanco is around 28 years old and he looks much younger . . . Like the campesinos of the region he usually wears no shoes. He wears a pair of pants firmly tied around his waist, a worn-out shirt and a broadbrimmed hat as well as his inseparable *talega* — a bag made of ordinary material for the carrying of food — in which he carries toasted *hank'a* — toasted lima beans, to keep the stomach busy during the long marches.

Contrary to what the UPI says, Blanco is no "native." Rather he is a young student of agronomy, who speaks several languages, among them Quechua. The son of a middle class family, after studying in the elementary and secondary schools of Cuzco, the city where he was born, he was sent, together with some of his brothers, to continue his studies in Argentina.

There he entered the School of Agricultural Engineering of the University of La Plata and became acquainted with professor Silvio Frondizi, brother of the former president of Argentina, Arturo Frondizi. At that time Silvio headed a theoretical leftist group called Praxis, of Trotskyist tendency. Blanco worked as a laborer while studying at the university.

Returned Home

About four years ago — he still had not finished his studies — the student from Cuzco returned to his native city. There he dedicated himself to political and labor union work. He organized the Shoeshine Boys' Guild, for which purpose he himself became a shoeshine boy in order to better carry out his organizing work. He was instrumental in having the Guild affiliate with the Cuzco Federation of Labor. One year later, he went to the Valle de la Convención, located to the northeast of Cuzco, with the aim of organizing the campesinos, in their majority Indians, into unions.

The Valle de la Convención is located in the center of the Department of Cuzco, in the Province of Convención. The jungle of the region begins here; it is very fertile. There rises in the watershed of the Urubamba — called the Wilka-Mayo in ancient days — the sacred river of the Inca empire. This is a very great river having a series of small tributaries which flow between transverse valleys.

The only road into the valley is on a broken-down railroad, which is considered to be more of a relic than a means of transportation. The railroad goes only as far as the town of Santa Teresa from Cuzco. This railroad was used by Quea's troops in their advance in search of the attackers of the police station of Pujiyura. The condition of the railroad did not permit the transportation of heavy equipment.

A very complicated entrance into la Convención is made through the Valle de Lares, on the road which goes only as far as the town of Ampares, entering through Calca. The narrowness of the valley, surrounded by high mountains, exposes any troops which enter to the risk of being killed under avalanches started by the campesinos of the region. The valleys of la Convención and of Lares meet in the settlement of Quellounu.

The University of La Plata and his companions of endless conversations in which they tried to solve the problems of the world, are now far behind him. Behind him too is the Shoeshine Boys' Guild, made up principally of boys who could neither read nor write. Blanco enters the Valle de la Convención as just another unemployed worker in search of employment and there he becomes an *allegado* [literally, "one who has just arrived"] — a farm worker who is paid by the day.

In a short while, Blanco is a man who is known and loved in the region. He begins his unionizing work in Chaupimayo, on a gigantic hacienda belonging to the gamonal [landowner], Alfredo Romainville, to whom the deaths of numerous campesinos and incredible acts of cruelty are attributed . . .

First Unions

The first unions were organized in Chaupimayo, Pachak Grande and Chancamallo, in the Valle de Lares. Shortly after the number of unions increased to 75 and they joined the *Federación Provincial de Campesinos* of whose leadership Blanco formed part as Secretary in Charge of Defense and as Delegate of the Union of Chaupimayo. Besides Blanco, the following, among others, formed part of the executive of the *Federación*: Eduardo Sumari, Saturnino Wilca and Fortunato Walpa.

The military junta which succeeded [President] Manuel Prado's regime in Peru was cast in the same mold as the government it displaced. The "Assault Troops," the "Civil Guard," the "Special Services" continue their orgy of student, worker, and campesino blood.

Every worker who asks for an increase in salary, every campesino who asks for a piece of land, every illiterate who wants to learn to read is a "communist" and he has to be eliminated, no matter what. The number of the dead rises more and more.

But, over there in the Valle de la Convención, in the province of Cuzco, the campesinos are learning that united they are stronger than the gamonal oppressor. And one day, in the presence of one of the frequent acts of cruelty and injustice, the Indian does not allow himself to be whipped and a strike begins.

The chief characteristic strikes have in this region is that there is no work stoppage, instead the strikers work for themselves. Immediately the harvests are multiplied five-fold. And that is how two years ago, without many people being aware of it, an agrarian reform was started in Peru by the campesinos themselves.

Unpaid labor, called *pongaje*, a custom by which the campesino is forced to work for nothing for the great latifundists, without

Peruvian Speaks

SANTIAGO, Chile — Sev describe Hugo Blanco, but the clear picture of him. I am in who Hugo Blanco is because I Aires. In fact, Hugo ate and studying in the school of agr five years ago he returned to

Hugo Blanco is about 28 y He is 5'10" tall, with great ph typical *mestizo* [of mixed Spa the advantage of being able to the languages spoken by Peru

He has been active in the olutionary Workers Party of Pe have tried to conceal his Trot position to state that he is not of the Fourth International bu the POR of Peru. Indeed, I pe American conference where he ary Workers Party of Peru (PC

After his return to Lima, worked as a laborer, he went b region where he was born. I peasants into unions and beca Valle de la Convención where program which Blanco dissemi International. In 1962, followin tablished the "Free Territory

In this liberated zone, the l and distribution. It distributes l lishes a newspaper. It has a goo casts from Havana are listened the Indians meet in lively asser is Quechua. Delegates attend t as 100 kilometers.

Hugo is married to a comp teacher and goes from Indian v the campesinos how to read and in the art of politics.

remuneration of any kind, not even of food, has been eliminated.

At the same time, the unions of the region demanded and won the right of the campesino to pay the landowners with money and not with work. This marks a great advance, compared with the former semi-feudal situation. The landowners in some regions no longer dare to exercise their right to kick the campesinos and avoid mistreating them.

Near Chaupimayo there is a large sign which reads: "Free Territory of Chaupimayo." There the campesinos have a large short-wave radio set with which they keep informed of the events occurring in a world which until a short time ago was unknown to them.

They listen to the Voice of America and to Radio Havana. When Fidel Castro speaks from Cuba the Indians surround the set and yell, "*Kapsachum Fidel!*" (Long live Fidel!). They call the Cuban Prime Minister, "*tattacha Fidel!*" (little father Fidel).

In the liberated areas the union controls production as well as relations among the campesinos. It distributes the land, pays teachers, administers justice, and it issues a mimeographed newspaper.

Weekly Meetings

Leadership is collective and they hold weekly meetings to discuss solutions of their problems at which heated debates are conducted in Quechua. It is worthy of note that some delegates live more than 100 kilometers from the place where the meetings are held.

The first guerrilla detachment is led by Hugo Blanco. It is very mobile and operates in the valleys of la Convención and Lares. Leadership of the brigade of the future Army of National Liberation is exercised through a united front wherein different political tendencies are represented. Also represented are non-political persons who, as the others, are determined to liberate Peru once and for all. Recently a guerrilla said, "We don't ask anyone his political affiliation, nor if he's a Catholic or an atheist. Instead we ask, 'Do you want to fight for the revolution?'"

The Peruvian army, like most of the armies of Latin America, is made up of Indians who were

Professor Samuel Shapiro Describes Peru's Poverty

"In this coastal region of severely restricted arable land, concentration of ownership has reached levels unusual even for Latin America. Eighty plantations, with a total of nearly nine million acres, comprise almost half of the farm area; 35,000 small farmers, with an average of five acres each, own less than a fifth as much. Worse off than the peasants are the farm laborers, who must often work three or four days a week for the right to cultivate a tiny plot of the hacienda's poorest land. Lima itself presents even sharper contrasts of great wealth and grinding poverty. In the old aristocratic quarters of the town, and in the gleaming new suburbs near the sea, Limeño society still lives in a way that reminds the visitor of the *douceur de la vie* of the French Ancien Regime. But the slums on the northern side of the river Rimac across from the Lima that the tourists see, are as bad as any in the continent. Ten and twelve people live in a single room; there is endemic tuberculosis and venereal disease, and a daily diet of 1,200-1,500 calories, barely above the starvation level. Per capita income on the coast is about \$120, but social conditions are far worse than this low figure would suggest.

"Highland Peru, with a third of the nation's land area and three-fifths of its population, plays a minor role in the economy. Most of the Indian inhabitants of the region, scattered in remote Andean valleys or concentrated in the Callejon de Huaylas, have not changed their way of life since the Conquest: they scratch out a bare existence from their fields of corn, wheat, and potatoes, and from their flocks of sheep, llamas, and alpacas; they hardly enter the money economy at all. Twelve hundred landlords own seventeen million acres, a staggering eighty per cent of all the arable land in the sierra, while 20,000 peasant families own only three-quarters of one per cent — with some of their plots being measured not in acres but in furrows or square meters. The overwhelming majority of the Indians own no land at all, work half of each week for absentee owners, raise miserable crops on the poor soil, are treated like serfs, and live like animals. Except for the huge foreign-owned open-pit copper mines at Cerro de Pasco and Toquepala, there is little development and there is no connection with the rest of the world. In the sierra, the pangs of hunger are ever-present, dulled only by chicha (native beer) and the narcotic coca leaves; a survey carried out by the University of Ayacucho showed that only two percent of the people in that district had the annual income of \$250 that is considered necessary for a "minimum decent standard of life." — Samuel Shapiro in the Winter, 1963 issue of *Studies on the Left*.

INDIANS IN FOREFRONT OF BATTLE

Campesino Unions Press Fight for Land, Liberty

By José Valdés

SANTIAGO, Chile — The tempo of the class struggle in Peru makes it, along with Venezuela, one of the two Latin American countries where the greatest possibilities for revolution exist.

During the year 1961 the Trotskyist *Partido Obrero Revolucionario* (Revolutionary Workers Party) increased its penetration of the Indian *campesino* masses in the south of the country. It made effective use of its slogan that the presidential elections would be a fraud because more than six million Indians — a majority of the population — did not have the right to vote.

The POR called for the formation of a United Party of the Peruvian Revolution through an alliance with a Marxist-Leninist group which had broken away from the Communist Party and with the *APRA-Rebelde*, which had broken away from the APRA. APRA is the big, once anti-imperialist party whose leadership, headed by Haya de la Torre, has long since succumbed to the blandishments and bribes of U.S. imperialism. The *APRA-Rebelde* is a section which refused to go along with this sell-out. It is anti-imperialist and pro-Cuba. *APRA-Rebelde* has a strong following in northern Peru.

During the course of 1961 violent clashes with the police took place in the countryside. These encounters left on the average one Indian dead per day and a large number of casualties among the police. The POR won the leadership of several *campesino* unions and strove for the establishment of a National *Campesino* Congress. The *campesinos* themselves were demanding that the Trotskyist leaders begin the revolution "in the Cuban manner." Hugo Blanco, Trotskyist *campesino* leader, organized 705 *campesino* unions and won complete control of the Valle de la Convencion, in Cuzco province.

In June the presidential elections were held and President Prado was overthrown by the military who refused to recognize the election returns which favored



PERUVIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Hugo Blanco (center) leads the peasant struggle for land reform. Photo was taken in Cuzco province where the guerrillas are based.

Haya de la Torre, the APRA candidate.

In July *campesinos* took possession of more farm lands. During the second half of the year, Blanco led 5,000 Indians in Cuzco in a demonstration in support of Cuba. At the beginning of November, he came down from the mountains with a band of 300 and attacked a police post in the town of Pujyura. He carried away a store of arms. Two police were killed in the battle.

In the middle of November the military junta sent 5,000 troops, under the command of General Quea, against Hugo Blanco. Quea boasted, "I will personally finish with the guerrillas." Nine days later he returned to Lima with his tanks and helicopters without having scored any success.

While the general was on his mission a bomb exploded in his palatial residence in Lima. And in the same month, November, 8,000 *campesinos* gathered in the south demanding land under the slogan of "Land or Death."

On Dec. 1 in Cañete, strikes began on the potato farms. There were several clashes between the strikers and the police. The revolutionary process was extended to the whole country. On Dec. 7 in Lima, there was a clash between striking construction workers and police as a result of which one striker was killed and six policemen injured. The demonstrating strikers attacked a hospital during the night and removed the body of their fallen *compañero*.

On Dec. 14, 60 families in Lima took possession of lands and houses by force. While they were being expelled by the police, one of the squatters was killed and 40 were injured.

A *United Press International* dispatch, datelined from Lima on Dec. 20 said: "On December 17, 13,000 striking workers in the Oroya Mine occupied the mine and set fire to the warehouse of the metal shop, causing \$4,000,000.00 [dollars] in damages to the American firm, Cerro de Pasco Corp."

"Informed sources," continued the *UPI* dispatch, "have underlined the presence of certain people who call themselves Trotskyists, in several of these events. These people have taken part in the bank holdups and in the disorders at Oroya. The Trotskyists are members of a small group called the Revolutionary Workers Party, which apparently intends to sow disorder wherever the rest-

lessness of the masses, who are demanding higher salaries, allows it."

Immediately after these events, the military junta decreed a state of siege. This was towards the end of December. One hundred and five Americans and their families, whom the miners would not allow to enter the mine premises, were evacuated from Cuzco and Puno. Over 1,000 militant workers and *campesinos* were arrested.

On Dec. 18, two policemen were found hacked to death with *machetes* in the Valle de la Convención. "The authorities," said a dispatch, "point out that the leaders predict a revolution in the manner of Fidel Castro." On Dec. 19, strikes were begun and demonstrations took place in another province, Arequipa, which is next to Lima in importance, and where the POR has forces. The movement was extended to the north and the sugar workers set fire to the cane fields causing losses amounting to two million soles. As this article is written, the military junta continues its arrests of militants.

From the struggles described above the following conclusions may be drawn.

- The Peruvian masses, together with those of Venezuela, have become the vanguard of the Latin American revolutionary process which the Cuban Revolution began.

- Peru is a semi-colonial country providing an excellent example of unequal and combined development. Alongside the material backwardness of millions of Indians, there has developed a heavy concentration of factory workers in Lima, Callao and Arequipa. What is more, within the past five years new mining enterprises have been established in Toquepala and in other cities where thousands of workers are now concentrated. As in Bolivia, these workers are of Indian origin. Their return to their Indian communities brings about that continuous interchange between proletariat and peasantry which makes establishments of a worker-*campesino* alliance a reality.

- The Indian *campesinos* are the ones who have initiated the insurrectionary struggle. The influence of the Cuban Revolution has been the culminating factor in a history of unrelieved exploitation which goes back to the Spanish colonization of the 16th Century, an exploitation which cruelly executed the first Indian

rebel against it, Tupac Amaru, by drawing and quartering, i.e., having him torn apart alive by horses pulling in opposite directions.

- In addition to the influence of the Cuban Revolution, attention must be directed to the influence exerted by the Bolivian Revolution, in which the Indians took possession of the land by force of arms. The story is told of an incident which took place ten years ago between Peruvian Indians and the police on the frontier separating Bolivia and Peru. Police came up as Peruvian Indians were removing the frontier markers and angrily asked them what they were doing and didn't they realize that the land belonged to Peru. The Indians replied that on the other side of the frontier Indians were taking possession of the land and since they wanted to do the same as the Bolivians they were removing the frontier markers.

- The revolutionary development of the *campesinos* has served to raise the level of the proletarian struggle; the workers are beginning to circumvent the bureaucratic leadership of the *Central Trabajadora Peruana* (Peruvian Central Labor Council) and to establish direct contacts between unions.

- It is impossible to determine beforehand with any certainty the future course of the Peruvian Revolution. The prime movers so far have been the Indian *campesinos*, who make up 60 per cent of the exploited classes. But the possibility should not be overlooked of a combined struggle of guerrilla warfare by the *campesinos* merging with a general strike in the cities and suburban guerrilla warfare into a final, positional war.

- The most likely prospect is for a long revolutionary stage — a prolonged guerrilla-warfare struggle, Indian uprisings, insurrectionary strikes at the mines and among the factory proletariat.

The great problems for the revolutionary leadership are: 1) Achieving greater influence in the factory. 2) Winning over, or at least neutralizing, the urban middle classes. These two aspects must be emphasized because at present the only openly revolutionary sector is that of the Indian *campesinos*. 3) Obtaining more arms and ammunition. 4) Merging the struggle in the countryside with the strikes and struggles of the city proletariat. 5) Unifying all the revolutionary groups.

Revolution Quechua

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rs old. He is of Indian descent. cal strength and full lips — a and Indian ancestry]. He has eak both Quechua and Aymará, six million Indians.

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José Valdés

recruited at gun point. Since it is made up principally of workers and *campesinos*, the oligarchy, which is at the service of imperialism, uses this army only when it has no other recourse, for it does not trust the soldiers.

When forced to use the army the regime does so by transferring the units from their home bases, that is, those from the north are moved to the south, and vice versa. This situation forces the government to rely more frequently and from the very start of trouble on the Civil Guard, a political group, as a repressive force.



STUDENT PROTEST. High school students in Lima demonstrate against hike in bus fare. Top photo shows police arresting demonstrator; below, students overturn bus. Despite inflation and a banker's prosperity Peruvian per-capita income actually fell 2.7% between 1958 and 1961.

A War of Oppression

Facts on U. S. Role in South Vietnam

[The following is a European socialist's view of the U.S. role in South Vietnam's civil war. It is translated from the Jan. 11 issue of the Belgian socialist paper *La Gauche*. The author is M. Jean Simon.]

The destruction by Vietcong forces, in the course of a violent battle on the Plain of Jongs, of eight American helicopters carrying South Vietnamese government soldiers, throws a glaring light on the active military intervention by the United States — in favor of a corrupt and feudal government and against the oppressed population.

All of Washington's hypocritical denials can barely conceal the establishment, by the Kennedy government (Feb. 1962), of an American military command in Saigon.

Yankee Units

Starting a year ago, all major operations and offensives that were launched were done so with participation of Yankee units, under the direction of the general staff of General Harkins.

Thus the United States is directly engaged in a war of oppression which finds only a few supporting echoes among its allies of the "free" world.

Only Washington's armed intervention has kept the Diem government alive — a government which is completely isolated and whose social base keeps shrinking day by day.

During the years of Resistance to the occupation, a deep-going agrarian reform had permitted distribution of more than 600,000 hectares [1,482,600 acres] of rice fields and land to the poor peasants and agricultural workers, not to speak of large reductions in the usurious assessments paid by tenant-farmers.

The signing of the Geneva armistice (July 1954) marked the outbreak of the "white" terror in the countryside.

Armed by U.S.

Police, troops and Diem's civil guard, armed by the U.S., reinstalled the cruelest officials and engaged in wholesale massacres.

In the face of peasant resistance, Saigon created the so-called "centers of prosperity" which, under the guidance of General Taylor and the economist Staley, were baptized "strategic hamlets" and which, under the pretext of an accelerated modernization of the countryside, "regrouped" hostile peasants in huge camps surrounded with barbed wire which the inhabitants could leave only during the day to work the fields.

Faced with this plan of systematic destruction of their villages, the South Vietnamese peasant masses had to begin guerrilla warfare (1960).

It was against this popular revolt and against the strikes and demonstrations of the workers and city dwellers that the American leaders stepped up their aid to Diem's government in modern



Ngo Dinh Diem

armaments first, and then in specialized counter-guerrilla units.

All that in the name of "Democracy" — what crimes have been committed in your name! — and to the advantage of a fascist and clerical regime represented almost exclusively by the symbolical Diem clan — composed of a medieval mandarin, an archbishop, a governor of Central Vietnam, a sister and a sister-in-law (Mme. Nhu) who monopolize the lucrative rice and import-export business, of ambassadors to Washington and London, whose official ideology is a Catholic "integritism" modestly baptized "personalism."

With permanent insecurity in the countryside, police terror in the towns, economic ruin and the general mobilization of the youth, the result was a drastic thinning-out of the number of the regime's supporters.

Two Coups

Even the loyalty of Diem's army is questionable, as was shown by the two coups against him attempted by the parachute units and pilots (1961 and 1962).

Since 1960, some 15,000 soldiers have deserted annually and, at present, about two-thirds of the country, containing one-half of its population, are outside the control of the South Vietnam government.

In opposition to the Diem clique, a National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was formed (December 1961), composed of organizations representing various social, ethnic, religious and political groups, under the presidency of Nguyen Huu Tho.

The principal opposition body, its objective is the formation of a government of national union which would put an end to American control and re-establish democratic liberties, at the same time that it adopted a policy of neutrality aimed at permitting a progressive and peaceful reunification with North Vietnam and eventually the establishment of a neutral zone with neighboring Cambodia and Laos.

Despite its 10,000 technicians and specialists in counter-guerrilla warfare, Washington is becoming uneasy at the growing activity of the anti-Diem forces and at the disrepute (acknowledged even in Congress) into which the government clique has fallen, and it fears that it has bet on the wrong horse.

One can already see the sprouting of Quisling-type candidates, such as Phan-Quang-Dan and his phantom-like "Democratic Party," under the financial watering-can of the Yankee ambassador.

But informed U.S. observers see no solution to the problem of replacing Diem, who is holding on desperately, other than by the army's seizure of power or at least by a group of young officers.

In effect, that is the only "force" cohesive enough to prevent the inevitable victory of the popular forces.

Thus the intensification of the

struggle against the popular guerrillas, with the active presence of American air forces and shock-troop units, seeks to obtain a series of spectacular successes, permitting the re-establishment of a balance of forces favorable to Saigon.

The way would then be open for reaching a political *modus vivendi* [temporary arrangement] with Hanoi, based on a kind of pro-Western neutralism for South Vietnam.

The U.S., however, has to take into consideration the "neutralists" — Tran-Van-Huu, Nguyen-Van-Tan — representatives of that section of the bourgeoisie linked to French colonialist interests and owners of enormous plantations in the Mekong Delta, west of the capital.

Plundered by a government subservient to American imperialism, they hope to play the role of "honest brokers" in national reconciliation between the southern officials and an eventual provisional government established by the experts of the "National Front" on the high central plateaus inhabited by ethnic minorities who have a traditional scorn for the feudal and clerical clique of the mandarin Diem.

The *ratissages* [ruthless military search operations of all houses and the killing, beating or arrest of suspects] of the countryside and the destruction of the crops of the "rebels" with poisons sprayed by American machines have had the net result of arousing an almost unanimous hostility against this fascist dictatorship that is in the service of a foreign imperialism.

ACLU Supports Appeal In Archie Brown Case

The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a "friend-of-the-court" brief in the appeal of the conviction of Archie Brown under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. Brown was found guilty under a provision of the act which makes it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party and at the same time be elected to a union's executive board. Brown is admittedly a member of the Communist Party, and was elected to the 35-man executive board of ILWU Local 10.

The ACLU said the provision is in violation of the First Amendment and violates other constitutional guarantees.

10 Ark. Students Expelled; SNCC Urges Wide Protest

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 12 — Charles McDew, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, appealed today to "all friends of justice" to protest reprisals against young people active in civil rights in Arkansas and Alabama.

"We point," said McDew, "to the ten Negro students who were expelled yesterday from Arkansas AM&N College, a state-supported institution, because they participated in sit-in demonstrations at Woolworth's lunch counters in Pine Bluff." The students are members of the Pine Bluff Student Movement who began their sit-ins Feb. 1, the third anniversary of the famous Greensboro, N.C., sit-in.

"We urge you," said McDew, "to call, write or wire: Gov. Orville Faubus; Arkansas AM&N President Dr. Lawrence Davis; Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urging them to reinstate these students and cease reprisals against them and others who want to act in their convictions that all men are created equal."

Felony Charge

McDew also urged protests to Alabama officials against the "false pretenses" charges leveled against Robert Zellner, a field secretary for SNCC. This is a felony charge, carrying a sentence of one to ten years in prison. It is based on the allegation that Zellner wrote a check before the money to cover it was deposited in the bank. Actually, the check was never presented for payment and the money to cover it was deposited before the check would have reached the bank. The check was written the same day Zellner was arrested for "vagrancy" on the campus of his alma mater, Huntington College.

The charges, said McDew, "are obvious attempts to harass Zellner and to obstruct our direct-action and voter-registration campaigns in Alabama. Furthermore, state investigators followed Zellner from Montgomery to Mobile, where his grandmother was on her deathbed, and intimidated him and members of his family at the very grave-side." Zellner, a white Southerner, has been repeatedly arrested for his activities on behalf of integration.

The vagrancy charge has been dropped and there is a chance the other charge may also be dropped if sufficient protest is mounted. McDew urged friends of justice to write, call or wire the following Alabama state officials to protest the harassment of Zellner

and his family: Governor George C. Wallace, Attorney General Richmond Flowers, State Director of Public Safety Al Lingo, and Maury Smith, Assistant Circuit Solicitor. All are in Montgomery, Alabama.

Scabs Kill 3 Strikers At N. Y. Times Pulp Mill

The shooting and killing by strikebreakers of loggers on strike against the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co., near Kapuskasing, Ontario, Canada, was condemned Feb. 12 by striking *New York Times* printers. The company, which produces newsprint, is 40 per cent owned by the *New York Times*. The *Times* Chapel of International Typographical Union Local 6 also sent a telegram of support to the striking loggers' local in Kapuskasing.

The loggers' strike began Jan. 14 over a new contract for 1,500 woodcutters who are members of Local 2995 of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union, an affiliate of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, AFL-CIO. The old contract expired four and a half months before the loggers finally lost patience with stalled negotiations and walked out. About 1,000 loggers work for Spruce Falls and the rest for a division of Kimberly-Clark Canada Limited, manufacturers of Kleenex, which also owns the balance of the Spruce Falls company.

The strikers demanded a reduction in the work week from 44 to 40 hours a week without loss of pay. The companies tried to break the strike by stepping up orders for logs from about 1,000 small farmers in the area who supplement their incomes by selling logs to the Spruce Falls mill. The loggers asked the settlers to stop supplying logs for the duration of the strike.

The shootings occurred when several hundred unarmed loggers arrived to picket a railway siding 37 miles West of Kapuskasing where farmers had stockpiled logs. The loggers heard they were being shipped and came to the struck mill to prevent it. Gunfire from the siding hit 12 strikers, three of whom died. Nineteen strikebreakers have been charged with murder and over 200 union members with rioting.

The provincial government then moved in ordering the company and the union to meet. A temporary agreement, the terms of which were not immediately announced, has been agreed to, ending the strike for the time being.

World Events

Indonesia Against British

The fight against the British government's forcing of Malaya, Singapore and British possessions in Borneo into an artificial federation to be called Malaysia is coming to a head. On Feb. 15 President Sukarno of Indonesia said that his government views the attempted federation as "an attempt to save the rubber, tin and oil of the area for imperialists" and that Indonesia supports the rebels in Brunei, a colony on Borneo, because they are fighting the "forces of neo-colonialism." Sukarno said, "We are being besieged . . . because we are standing on a principle of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. We are supporting all nations struggling for their independence."

Telephones in Brazil

The telephone situation in Brazil as a whole throws light on the nationalization of the IT&T subsidiary in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul last year. To-

day phones in Brazil's major cities sell on the black market for as much as \$500. Individuals and businesses point to applications for phones filed by them as long ago as 15 years and still unfilled. Under the present foreign-owned public utility system there is little hope of their getting the requested phones for another 15 years because the IT&T stubbornly refuses to invest additional capital to expand services. When the governor of Rio Grande do Sul tried to cut the Gordian knot by nationalizing the phone system, IT&T, the State Department and Congress cried bloody murder. Congress passed a special law to halt all foreign aid to countries where nationalizations took place without quick and satisfactory compensation of U.S. capitalists. This law is now being used against Ceylon. When Rio Grande do Sul refused to compensate IT&T the amount claimed, the national government of Brazil paid up lest all foreign aid be cut off by the U.S.

Japanese Free Enterprise

The Japanese Economic Deliberation Advisory Council is complaining that there is no initiative in Japanese business life which is "a round of drinking parties and automatic promotions" for executives. "In most Japanese companies getting to the top is only a matter of time. Age counts more than ability. Since nobody gets fired, the bright and the dull move up the ladder at the same slow pace."

Courts Paralyzed

Court clerks in Italy went on strike Feb. 12 in a demand for higher living allowances, disrupting legal activity since court actions by law are invalid unless clerks are on hand to keep records.

Franco-Soviet Trade Pact

On Feb. 2 France and the USSR signed a two-year trade pact under which France will send a variety of machinery and tools for coal, oil, manganese, etc.

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Letters From Our Readers

Food, Profits and Cancer

New York, N.Y.

While looking through a file of clippings I ran across the following news item which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune for Oct. 23, 1962:

"Cancer: A California health official told the annual meeting of the American Cancer Society his studies show that poor persons are more frequently victims of certain types of cancer than wealthier people. Dr. Lester Breslow, of the California State Department of Public Health, also reported that the disease is deadlier when it strikes someone who is poor and cannot get treatment in the early stages. The two types of cancer he cited: Cervical and stomach."

This could well be due to lack of an adequate and well-rounded diet and to stresses induced by living in our insane, privately-run economy.

Some of the sources of danger are indicated by Longgood in his book, *The Poisons in Your Food*, published by Simon and Schuster, and by Rachel Carson in *Silent Spring*, published by Houghton Mifflin. Production practices are widely prevalent by which known carcinogens — cancer-inducing agents, such as preservative and coloring chemicals — are included in foods and known anti-carcinogenic protective substances are removed from foods.

Production methods and composition are based entirely on advertising, sales, and profit considerations rather than on known scientific dietary knowledge. The latter is possible only by nationalizing production and instituting a planned economy.

W. Wallis

Castro on Refugees

Cleveland, Ohio

In the U.S. Congress on Feb. 9 Rep. Walter Norblad (R-Ore.) took the floor and shouted that the Cuban refugees should have stayed in Cuba. "They are not doing a bit of good loafing around in downtown Miami and living on the U.S. taxpayers' money," Rep. Norblad screamed.

He said the refugees could have carried out sabotage and intelligence activities against the Castro government if they had stayed in Cuba.

When Fidel Castro was told of this in Havana by his aide, he said: "I declare before the eyes and ears of the whole world that Cuba is today a workers' state and all parasites are welcome to leave Cuba anytime they wish."

Before mounting a jeep with his aide to drive into the country to help with the sugar cane cutting, Fidel added this final remark: "Exploiters are thieves and they are welcome in the Yankee domain but they will never flourish in Cuba again, for we are busy building a socialist order."

G.C.

Fate of Sulphur Queen

New York, N.Y.

I was wondering how long it was going to take before our "free press" began blaming Fidel Castro for the disappearance of the American freighter *Sulphur Queen*, which disappeared without a trace several days ago with its crew of 39 on a run from Texas to Virginia.

They didn't disappoint me for now we are told that it's quite probable that the ship was either hijacked or even blown up by the Cubans!

I don't know any more than they do what happened to the ship, but as long as people are proposing theories I would suggest that they are right in saying that the ship was blown up by Cubans, but not by Fidel Castro's Cubans but by those CIA Cubans of the "Alpha 66" counter-revolutionary group which months ago carried out attacks against ships engaged in the Cuban trade and whose spokesmen boasted on radio, TV and press interviews that they were determined to sink ships engaged in the Cuban trade.

How about it, Mr. Attorney General Kennedy? Is it possible that your CIA Cubans in a display of overzealousness sank the *Sulphur Queen* by mistake — or on purpose?

S.R.

Backfire for Kremlin?

Entiwistle, Alberta, Canada

Enclosed is my renewal for *The Militant and International Socialist Review*. The remainder is a contribution.

The present conflict between Moscow and Peking should clear up the question of peaceful co-existence. I think it may backfire on the Kremlin.

Well, your State Department fellows sure stirred up a hornet's nest up here in Ottawa.

J.E.B.

Rigid Dogmatists?

New York, N.Y.

Of utmost interest would be your objective reporting about the economic, cultural and political developments in the Soviet Union.

It seems to me that the best contribution on your part to revive the socialist movement in this country would be to drop the rigid dogma and invite the participation of the various opinions of the socialist Left. It would also be very helpful to have more information on the processes in the international workers movement against reformism and the survivals of Stalinism.

A.R.

TV View of Bolivia

Baltimore, Md.

Contrary to what many may believe, TV is not entirely a wasteland. For instance, the David Brinkley Journal, which often has enlightening programs, had a very interesting show on Feb. 11 depicting the conditions existing in Bo-

livia after ten years of so-called revolutionary government.

The narrative centered around the tin miners, since tin mining is the most important industry in Bolivia. The living conditions of the tin miners glaringly demonstrate the superficiality of the changes occurring as a result of the revolution. In actuality the miners live no better today than they did before their revolution.

The fact that Bolivia receives more aid from the U.S. than any other Latin American country and that the Bolivian revolution is considered a model which the U.S. would like other Latin American countries to follow should have led the viewers to wonder about the efficacy of the Alliance for Progress.

Everyone in Bolivia is supposedly covered by social security but it is seldom that they ever receive it, for the government does not have the money to pay it with. And when they do receive their allotment it only amounts to about \$9 a month.

The narrative was somewhat contradictory about the attitude of the miners toward the revolutionary government. Although claiming that the miners wholeheartedly support the government, it was also stated that there is strong "Communist and pro-Castro" sentiment among the miners. It was said that many of these Communists were a strange breed who were offshoots of the Khrushchev type of Communists known as "Trotskyites." Bolivia, Brinkley said, has the largest "nest" of this strange breed in the world, except Ceylon.

The concluding segment of the program was an interview with a man Brinkley said was Bolivia's leading Communist. He blamed Bolivia's economic difficulties on U.S. policies and said the Alliance for Progress was not the solution for his country's problems. He wanted to know why the U.S. would not allow Bolivia to trade with the Soviet-bloc countries since the U.S. itself does. He cited Cuba as an example of what progress could be made in Latin America toward developing native industry. He emphasized the fact that the life expectancy of a Bolivian miner was 35 years, which Brinkley was forced to admit was a true statistic.

G.C.

Opposes China Stand

Cambridge, Mass.

Congratulations for your publication of the recent Communist Chinese texts in *The Militant*. However, let me say that I hope China never becomes the leader of the Communist bloc. Her diatribes against the "imperialists" have a remarkably similar tone to those of the West which hurl abuse at the great "Communist conspiracy" as if it were some sort of peculiar sea of molasses which was slowly engulfing the world. The nuclear age is no time for purple oratory.

On the other hand, I commend your position of reporting news and cold facts (except for a few reports from Africa). If the facts do not speak for themselves, they are not worth reporting.

S.K.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Senator McCarthy is leading an attack on the liberal *Washington Post*. He called it 'The Washington Daily Worker,' in a recent interview. His witch-hunting pal Representative Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Committee, declared that a speech on academic freedom delivered by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the *Washington Post's* editor, was 'typical of those being made by intellectual pinks and others following the Communist Party line.'" — Feb. 23, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"The 21-day hunger strike, which Gandhi began Feb. 10 when his demand for unconditional release was refused, is in its own way a sign that despite six months of bestial repressions the Indian masses are still valiantly pressing forward for their independence. . . .

"While the mass movement is so intense that the Viceroy dare not release Gandhi, the development of that same mass movement has clearly impelled Gandhi to act. Recent press reports noted that 'younger' and 'more irreconcilable' elements have taken the lead among the masses and that the Congress party heads fear that the leadership is slipping from their hands . . . toward the left. . . .

"With the aid of most American correspondents, the British Raj has attempted to picture the mass civil disobedience movement as having spent itself shortly after it began. The censorship keeps from us most of the facts. However, one grisly index of the real course of events are the casualty figures released from time to time:

"Sept. 15 (by Home Minister Maxwell of India): 658 Indians killed and 850 wounded in the five weeks since Aug. 9. There had been one machine-gunning from an airplane, said Maxwell.

"Oct. 8 (by Amery, Secretary of State for India . . .): 786 Indians killed, 1,376 wounded — i.e., an additional 128 Indians killed and 526 wounded in the three weeks since Maxwell's figures. Pressed by a dissident Laborite in Commons, Amery admitted that there had been five airplane machine-gunnings of crowds. . . .

"Jan. 1 (Figure reported by Maxwell . . .): Up to the end of the year, 940 Indians killed and 1,630 wounded. . . .

" . . . these figures indicate the fact that, although the main outburst of struggle took place in the first five weeks, it has continued without letup ever since." — Feb. 20, 1943

It Was Reported in the Press

Tie-In-Deal? — The Feb. 18 *Wall Street Journal* carried a feature article on corporation executives who run other businesses as a sideline. The article opened with this example: "An airline president, for example, operates a mortuary and two cemeteries."

Alliance for Progress? — Drew Pearson disclosed Feb. 13 that the Somoza brothers, long-time dictators over Nicaragua, contributed \$10,000 to President Kennedy's 1960 election fund. The contribution was made, Pearson said, by Frank Berry, a registered Nicaraguan agent.

And Rightly So — Allen Dulles, who headed the CIA during the 1961 invasion of Cuba, denies that the CIA counted on a popular Cuban uprising in the wake of the invasion, reports the Feb. 18 *Wall Street Journal*.

Unfair — We didn't understand why some Europeans are worried about the competition of cheap American goods until we read this report in the shopping section of the Feb. 16 *New Yorker*: "Happy is the bride who wears one of Bendel's long, trainless and unadorned costume wedding dresses from the *haute couture* of France, England and Ireland. . . . The dresses begin at \$800 and soar to \$2,500, but adaptations made in this country run from \$295 to \$795."

Thermonuclear Theology — Arguing that the stockpiling of nuclear weapons can be justified

in terms of Christian doctrine, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Alain C. Enthoven declared: "An unlimited nuclear war is an extreme on a broad spectrum of possible armed conflicts. Of course, it is a very important extreme because of its disastrous consequences, but it is not the whole spectrum. In fact, it is only one among many possible kinds of thermonuclear warfare."

It's a Law — A member of the Texas legislature has introduced a bill that would put the state lawmakers on record as recognizing that capitalism "has created the highest standard of living for the greatest number of people ever known to man."

Who Woke the Chairman? — The chairman of the Joint Congressional Economic Committee interrupted a hearing last week to rouse a snoozing newsman.

The Bedsheet Boys — Rev. Billy Hargis, operator of the Christian Crusade, announced that he and former Maj. Gen. Walker will take off on a national speaking tour.

Between them they will expose the "communist menace" nationally and internationally. Hate-mongering Hargis said the tour will be called "Operation Midnight Ride."

Profit-Prone? — South Dakota's Gov. Archie Bibrud vetoed a bill requiring safety belts in all cars sold in the state because it would be "in direct opposition to our free enterprise system."

And What About Jackie? — According to a Feb. 13 report over Radio Havana, youth in Camaguey province are offering a special booby prize to losers in a work competition. The prize is a portrait of John F. Kennedy.

Southern Gentlemen All — The speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, a former member of the Maryland House, and four others are under federal indictment for using the mail to defraud. The indictment charges they misrepresented the protection offered by an insurer of savings and loan funds.

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Thought for the Week

"As for the feeling that the Alliance has failed to generate an adequate political ideology to compete with Fidelismo . . . When our representatives vaguely espouse revolutionary doctrine — although we understand they mean peaceful evolutionary change — we scare private interests, who have a role to play in the Alliance, half to death." — From an article in the Feb. 14 *Reporter*.

Dulles Admits Japan Tried To Yield Before Hiroshima

By M. L. Stafford

Declaring that fallout shelters are "absolutely essential," the administration is asking Congress to approve a \$300,000,000 civil-defense appropriation for 1964. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara explained why the shelters are "essential."

"We are approaching an era," he said, "when it will become increasingly improbable that either side could destroy a sufficiently large portion of the others' strategic nuclear force, either by surprise or otherwise, to preclude a devastating retaliatory blow . . . Even if we were able to double or triple our forces we would not be able to destroy quickly all or almost all of the hardened ICBM sites."

McNamara's point should be quite clear. Fallout shelters — virtually worthless in a surprise attack — might have some meaning if a nuclear blow is expected. And one can be expected if you deliver one first.

But, it might be argued, the United States would never launch a sneak nuclear attack. The record, though, is to the contrary.

Ever since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Harry Truman and his ilk, have tried to justify that horrible crime with the claim that it was necessary in order to shorten the war with Japan and thus save the lives of countless GIs.

From a number of sources, however, it has been known for a long time that Japan was actually on the verge of surrender when the atomic bombings were ordered.

This fact has now been confirmed by a man in a good position to know — former CIA chief Allen Dulles.

On the panel-interview program, "Ladies of the Press," broadcast Jan. 19 over WOR-TV in New York, Dulles replied as follows to questions put to him by Clifford Evans, the program's moderator and producer:

Evans: "During World War II you came to the Potsdam conference with information from the Japanese indicating the possibility of a Japanese surrender. Do you think the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was necessary?"

Dulles: "I had been in touch with certain Japanese in Switzerland who in turn were in touch with high quarters in Japan — I



Allen Dulles

imagine the Emperor. They came to me and said the Japanese were ready to surrender provided the Emperor could be saved so as to have unity in Japan. I took that word to Secretary [of State] Stimson at Potsdam on July 20, 1945... wiser men than I — people who know the military situation — reached the decision."

Evans: "From a moral point of view — do you have any feeling on the use of the bomb at that time?"

Dulles: "No, I don't think I have any feeling of that kind. The history of the world is that you use the best weapon you have in case you go to war. I think we have got to assume that is the situation today and that was the situation in 1945."

The atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki took place the next month — on Aug. 6 and Aug. 9 respectively.

Today's "situation" is similar to that of 1945 in that the Kennedy administration, like the Truman administration, is perfectly capable of such a cold-blooded crime against humanity. That's why the administration sees its shelter program as "absolutely essential."

3 Win Dismissal in Suit Filed By Racist Alabama Officials

TALLADEGA, Ala. — The state of Alabama has dropped three of the defendants from its lawsuit to cripple integration work in Alabama.

The Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Joanne Grant and Carl Braden were removed from the case by Judge William C. Sullivan in State Circuit Court here.

Judge Sullivan is hearing a petition by the state to permanently enjoin sit-ins, picketing and demonstrations. White and Negro students and faculty members at Talladega College are the most numerous groups named in the action.

Jimerson is secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Braden is assistant editor of *The Southern Patriot*, an integrationist journal, and a field worker for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), New Orleans. Joanne Grant is an associate editor of the *National Guardian*, New York. She and Braden were in Talladega last April 16 to report the trial of 18 students and a Talladega dean arrested for sitting-in at lunch

counters. Braden also helped to organize integration activity in Alabama and throughout the South. Braden and Grant were dropped as defendants Feb. 7.

"Our dismissal is a tribute to people all over the country who have protested about these proceedings," Braden told reporters after the dismissals. Braden urged friends throughout the nation to write to Attorney General Richmond Flowers, Montgomery, Ala., and ask him to drop the case against the others.

In explaining the request for dismissal to reporters, Assistant Attorney General Bookout said: "We think it will strengthen our case to deal with the local situation only."

Attorneys for Talladega College and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) objected to dropping some of the defendants without dismissing all of them, but the judge overruled their objection. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Atlanta, and one of its field workers, Bob Zellner, also remain as defendants in the case.

Guild Gets Offer In 12th Week of Cleveland Strike

CLEVELAND, Feb. 18 — Cleveland Newspaper Guild negotiators today concluded talks with publishers on a contract to be submitted for ratification to the membership and international union officials. But the strike at Cleveland's two daily newspapers, now in its twelfth week, will not be settled until acceptable contracts are approved by six other unions.

The \$10 package for two years has been approved by pressmen, paper handlers and teamsters. It was rejected by the photoengravers, and undoubtedly would be rejected by the printers, whose chief emphasis this year has been on the need for a better scale of wages to protect their standard of living.

The Guild, which took the brunt of the employers' attack up to now, has reportedly settled for a maintenance-of-membership clause rather than the union-security or agency-shop demands originally submitted.

On numerous occasions Cleveland Press publisher Louis B. Seltzer has slandered the motives of Guild negotiators and officials, accusing them of deceit, trickery, etc.

Publisher Exposed

Now, however, as Guild negotiations have drawn to a close and it becomes clear to all that the publishers have something more than the Guild to contend with, Seltzer has broadened his attack. His true anti-labor colors were exposed last week in a blast charging the unions with conspiracy to break the law and calling for new federal controls limiting the right to strike.

He said, "The unions, in their unity groups, in their frequent meetings of interchange of strategy and planning, in their triggering-off of illegal strikes by which newspapers are shut down not only for the purpose of one union's demands but others, are, in my judgment, just as guilty of fracturing the laws as the businesses which are subject to anti-trust and price-fixing laws."

In a typical Seltzer tirade, as self-appointed spokesman for the public and the "rank-and-file" union member, the publisher of Cleveland's only evening newspaper said:

"No strike should be called by any union unless it clearly — and decisively — by at least a substantial majority of its total membership and preferably two-thirds affirmative vote — has the support of its members, and then by secret rather than standing or voice vote."

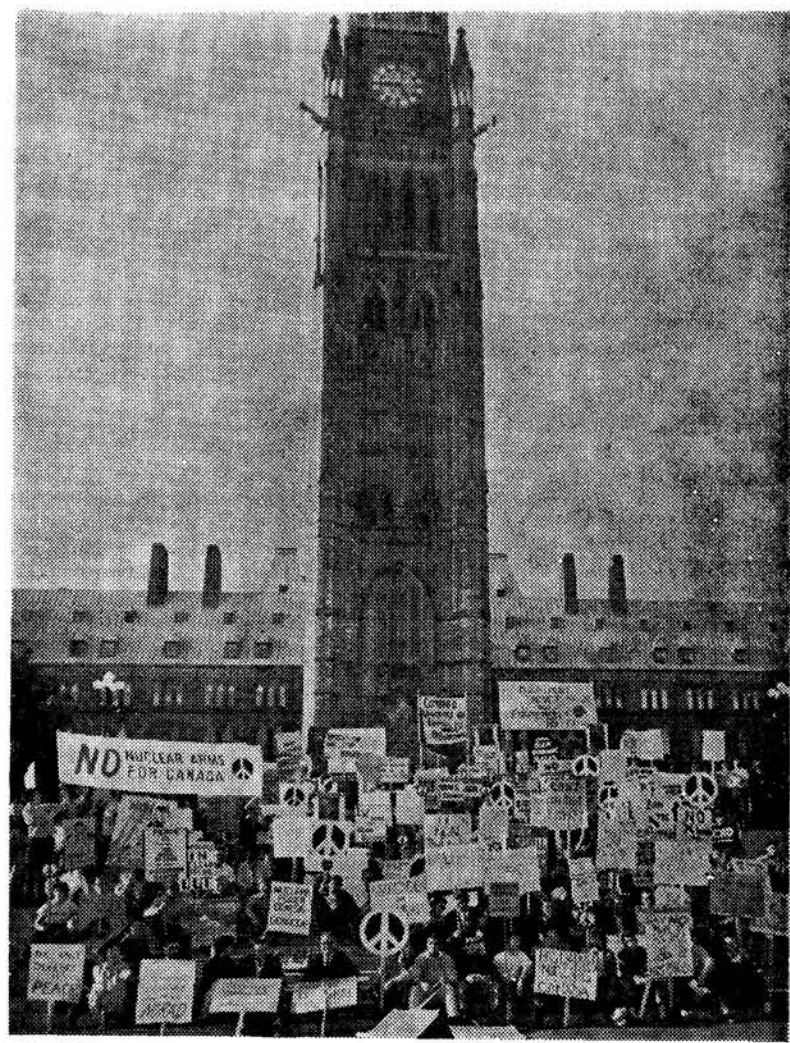
Response of some of the officers of the striking unions, made through the printcraft unity council, was to invite Seltzer to sit in on their meetings. Verbal response of many of the strikers, however, is unprintable.

Worthy, Dellinger Slated In Pittsburgh on Cuba

PITTSBURGH — Journalist William Worthy and pacifist leader David Dellinger will speak here Saturday night, March 2, on "Civil Liberties, Cuba and Peace."

Sponsored by the Pittsburgh Committee for Public Information, the meeting will be held at 8:15 p.m. at Carnegie Lecture Hall.

Worthy currently faces a jail term for having returned to the U.S. from Cuba "without a valid passport." Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine, has been an outspoken opponent of the hate-Cuba drive and participated in a hunger strike at CIA headquarters to protest intervention in Cuban affairs.



OPPOSE NUCLEAR ARMS. Anti-bomb pickets demonstrate in front of House of Commons in Ottawa. Strong opposition to nuclear arms has deepened rift between U.S. and Canada.

Vote Against Bomb, Declares Canadian Labor Party Leader

By Robert Shann

Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, "stands alone in unqualified and unambiguous opposition to nuclear arms," NDP national leader T.C. Douglas told a cheering crowd at his opening election-campaign rally Feb. 15. Douglas launched the NDP's campaign in the York-Scarboro election district, the largest in Canada since it includes Toronto, by declaring that the coming election will revolve around the issue whether or not Canadians will accept the nuclear arms the U.S. is trying to force down Canada's throat.

"This election is, first of all, and most important of all, a referendum of the Canadian people on the question of nuclear warheads," he said. "April 8 will be the most fateful decision of the day and the generation for Canada."

The election is being called as a result of the recent collapse of the Conservative Diefenbaker government. The government crisis was precipitated when the U.S. State Department issued a press release which was denounced by all Canadian parties as interfering in Canada's internal politics. A debate over accepting nuclear warheads was going on in the Parliament at the time of the press release. The State Department release contradicted statements made by Prime Minister Diefenbaker and backed up Liberal Party spokesmen who were attacking Diefenbaker's delay of final acceptance of U.S. nuclear warheads.

Of Canada's other political parties — the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the right-wing Social Credit Party, Douglas told the NDP rally: "It is equally clear that the three pro-nuclear parties are determined to hide their positions, to obscure the issue, to fuff and to fade, in order to prevent intelligent debate and to try to garner votes on both sides of the street."

"The difference between the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party on the issue is the difference between warheads in

April and warheads in May," he said. The Liberals are for acquiring the weapons immediately after the elections if they win, and the Conservatives wish to wait until the May NATO council meeting.

Douglas said that the NDP opposes nuclear weapons for Canada because "the first step to prevent nuclear war is to stop the spread of nuclear weapons."

The leader of the newly formed labor party, which has the backing of the organized working class, said: "This question is so important that no political party can say they don't want to discuss it." He challenged the leaders of the other parties to debate the issue over television. "The time has come," he said, for Canada's parties to say where they stand so Canadians can know whether they "are voting to make Canada a nuclear power" or "an influence for peace."

"Man can destroy civilization, pollute the earth and kill every living thing," he warned. "The world rests under the threat of the mushroom cloud. The number one objective of the world is to prevent nuclear war."

New Yorkers Urged To Aid Wage Fight

NEW YORK — The State Citizen's Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage is appealing to all residents to write Governor Rockefeller now urging that the legislature enact a state-wide \$1.50 minimum-wage law covering workers in both interstate and intrastate commerce, including such groups as domestics; and that this law allow cities to fix higher minimum wages.

The committee sparked a successful drive to pass a \$1.50 minimum-wage law in New York City last year, but the courts declared it contrary to state law when employers challenged it.