Time for 'Inventory' Of Cuban Revolution?

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THE MILITANT

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Rev. King Faces All-White Jury

Alabama Racist Authorities Begin Trial To Railroad Integration Leader to Jail

MAY 25 — The Rev. Martin Luther King, leading Southern integration figure, was put on trial for "perjury" in Montgomery, Ala., in an atmosphere that would do full justice to a South African apartheid trial. An all-white jury of 12 men will try him on the trumped-up charge.

To comply with federal law, three Negroes were included on the 33-member panel of prospective jurors but were promptly stricken by the state.

Judge Carter refused to permit King's Negro attorneys to question each of the prospective jurors individually, instructing them to submit their questions through him.

He also overruled a defense motion to abandon the traditional segregated seating arrangement in the court room.

In another ruling, he denied a motion to delay the trial on the grounds that King's attorneys did not have sufficient time to prepare their defense.

Rev. King returned voluntarily from Atlanta, Ga., to face accusations that he had filed false state income-tax returns.

King earned the hatred of racist Alabama officials for his leading role in the victorious Montgomery bus-boycott movement of 1956 which helped inspire further mass actions against Southern Jim Crow.

When charged with not paying taxes on his full income, he gave the state the balance officials claimed he owed although he showed that he had been charged with income that was not his. After accepting the disputed amount, the state went ahead with the present prosecution for perjury.

Fred Gray, the young attorney who played a prominent role in the bus-boycott movement, is heading King's defense. He is assisted by Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, William R. Ming of Chicago and former judge Hubert Delaney of New York.

In pre-trial argument, Gray contended that the court clerk lacked the authority to appoint Carter as presiding judge. He pointed out that Negroes were systematically excluded from voting in the election in which the court clerk was seated.

Ignores Advice

Los Angeles Councilman Karl Rundberg made a plea to the council for "a little dignity" after he found a sign on his desk which read: "Be sure brain is in gear before putting mouth in motion."

Union Officials Accept Bid to Visit USSR

Eleven union officials, all but one of them affliated with AFL-CIO unions, have accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union in July. The invitation was extended by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries.

The eleven are: Cecil L. Patrick, Dining Car Workers, Chicago; Sidney Lens, United Service Employees, Chicago; Jack D. Spiegel, United Shoe Workers, Chicago; Ernest Mazey, United Auto Workers, Detroit; Harold J. Gibbons, Brotherhood of Teamsters, Washington, D. C.; Charles Sobol, United Textile Workers, Wilkes-Barre; Jay A. Miller, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hazelton; Sam Pollock, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Cleveland; Tom Cosgrove, American Federation of Teachers, Chicago; Ruth Levitoff, United Textile Workers, Chicago, and Marian Calligaris, Railway Clerks Union, Chicago.

The Time Has Come For Frank Talk

By Tom Kerry
Organizational Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

The time is growing short! With just a few more weeks to go, our $16,000 Socialist Fund quota shows a balance of $7,298 due before the deadline on June 15.

This is a time for frank talk. The response to our appeal for a minimum fund has thus far proven to be disappointing. One of our fund directors writes: "In this great age of 'prosperity' it is hard to get money out of people — even the best of them." Does this apply to you? Every member and supporter should ask themselves that question.

When we decided to have Farrell Dobbs and Joseph Hansen visit Cuba in order to bring back a first-hand account of the revolutionary developments there, our initiative was applauded. I trust the fact was not overlooked that the trip involved extraordinary expense which must be met out of our special fund quota.

The same applies to the extra effort and expense involved in sending our vice-presidential candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, to talk to the leaders of the sit-in struggle in the South.

We receive enthusiastic reports of the results thus far achieved by our candidates on tour. These tours cost money. We have tried to supply speakers, our candidates if possible, to every group requesting to hear our views. We have already covered humerous campus meetings. The reports we received have been uniformly favorable with marked evidence of greater interest, larger audiences and increasingly receptive response.

We have thus far defrayed the expense of these tour meetings under the difficult circumstances of reduced income. Can we continue to take advantage of the many opportunities now opening for us to present our socialist message to new, young, interested audiences eager to hear what we have to say? That depends on you.

This much is certain. Unless we are able to fulfill our $16,000 Socialist Fund quota in full and on time we will be compelled to forego such opportunities.

Some SWP branches that have been lagging behind have written that they expect to complete their quota by June 15. Others have not yet been heard from. We hope that by the time the next fund report is published all branches will have taken steps to complete their quotas on time and inform us of the fact.

To supporters of the SWP and especially to readers of the Militant we address this urgent appeal: Send a contribution, of whatever you think you can afford to advance the struggle for socialism in this country, to the Socialist Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

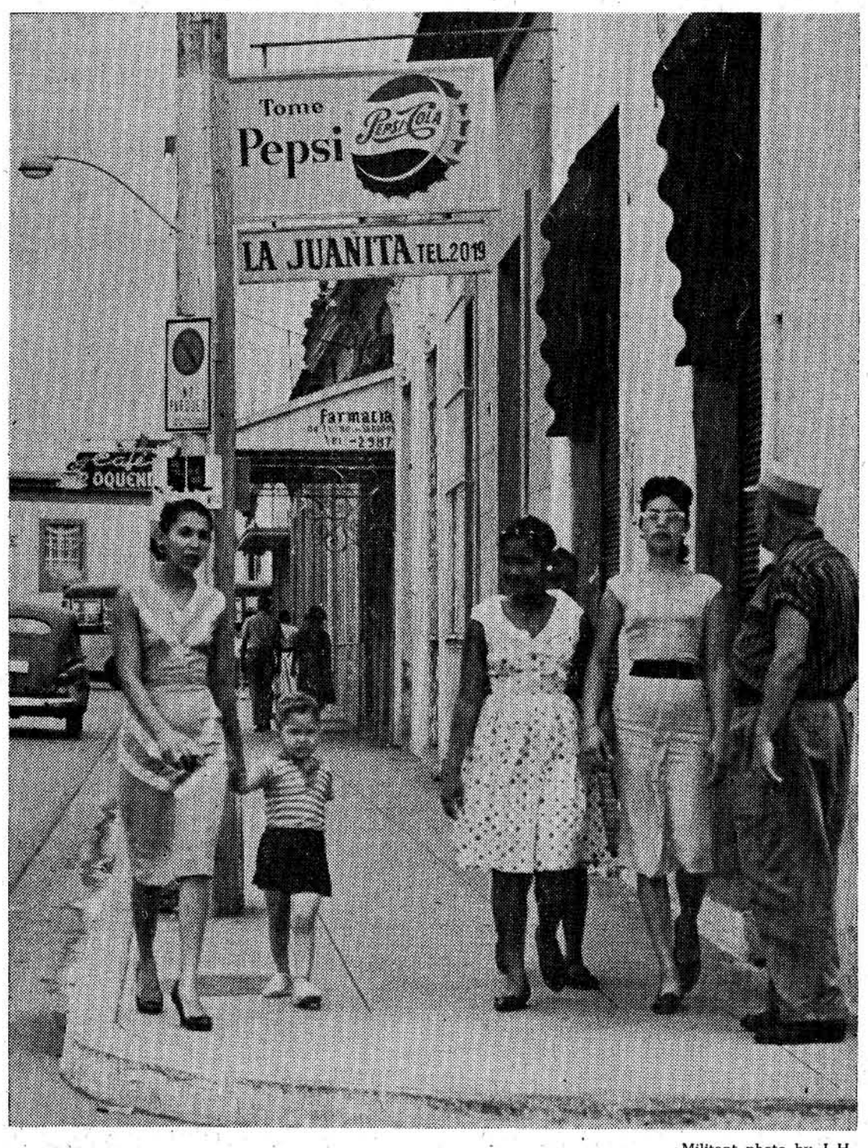
(See Scoreboard on Page 2)

Assails Probing Of Private Ideas

The right to be let alone is a basic feature of the Bill of Rights, declared Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard University Law School in a May 13 speech. The noted legal authority declared that the right to be let alone extended to flag salutes, loyalty oaths and affidavits and "all the other apparatus for putting people on record and making them state their views and beliefs in public."

He assailed state and congressional inquisitorial committees and declared the New Hampshire jailing of Dr. Willard Uphaus, a pacifist, for refusing to be an informer an act that would leave "a scar" on that state's name.

No Place for Camera Fans?



Militant photo by J. H.

This snapshot was taken in Matanzas, Cuba, April 10, 1960. A typical street scene, it could have been taken any afternoon in any Cuban town in the past year. The camera fan who took this picture reports that everywhere he went the people were extraordinarily friendly and courteous, and genuinely happy to see an American tourist walking about the way most Americans do in foreign lands — with a camera.

American tourists have been few in Cuba the past year. The Wall Street monopolists and the State Department have been scaring them away by pumping frightening stories into the press about what is going on in the tropical island, and the steamships that take vacationers to South America skip Havana, once a main port of call.

As a typical example of the lying propaganda, filled with loaded words and phrases, we offer the following from the April issue of the widely circulated magazine "Popular Photography." It is the lead item in a column on the best places for camera fans to take vacations abroad:

"When taking pictures in a totalitarian country, it is of some importance to avoid getting lynched, shot, or arrested. Any of the three might climax a hitherto perfect day of picture taking. All three are serious possibilities to be reckoned with. As for the more dire ends, probably they are only possible in some of the more heated corners of Latin America and the Middle East.

"While Americans are being shown the so-called 'friendly face of Cuba' in government-sponsored advertisements, Cubans are being fed fiery speeches and fulminating editorials that vilify the American government.

"When I was in Cuba this fall, the streets and hotels were crawling with armed youths. Sentries with pistols, rifles, and grenades were posted around government buildings and urged visitors to move on quickly. High army officers showed up unarmed in public places, but then they were followed by a bodyguard carrying a submachine gun. Some of the friendly faces, fired up by anti-American speeches, and what they have been reading in the Castro press, might react in a most unfriendly way towards a camera-pointing gringo.

"Cuba is offering some tempting savings (one-half your air fare refunded if you stay four or more days in a Havana hotel). It has good weather, gambling, and beaches. But I would ask first before shooting pictures in the tense atmosphere of Cuba today, and damn the posey quality you get. And I would be very wary of armed and uniformed types and of taking pictures of government buildings."

Noted Speakers Urge Release of Morton Sobell

"I have looked into Morton Sobell's case and I am convinced that the 30-year sentence is completely out of line," declared Congressman Randall S. Harmon (D-Ill.) at a public discussion of the Sobell case May 24 in New York's Community Church.

Harmon quoted a statement by a group of noted law professors and theologians led by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Professor Edmond Cahn that: "The case against Sobell is vague in content and slender in proof."

"It would . . . be in the public interest that Sobell be freed," Harmon concluded.

Other speakers who urged immediate freedom for Morton Sobell, scientist convicted in 1951 as an alleged "atom-spy," were Dwight MacDonald, Norman Thomas and Conrad Lynn. Supporting messages were read from Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Roger Baldwin, Carey McWilliams, Congressman William Meyer and Rev. Peter MacCormack.

Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the scientist, reported on new support for the case including a resolution adopted by the California Democratic Council last February. She also introduced Sobell's mother, Mrs. Rose Sobell, who received an ovation.

The audience of 600 contributed about $1,000 to help pay for a full-page ad in the New York Times.

Meany Support Goes To Summit Wreckers

By Tom Kerry

George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, who fathered the still-born labor-management summit peace conference which was quietly interred at the moment of its birth, considers that this miscarriage qualifies him as spokesman for the American workers on the subject of summitry in general.

Coming fresh from the collapse of the labor-management summit, Meany rushed into print with the announcement that: "The workers of this country stand behind Pres. Eisenhower," in his conduct of the summit fiasco in Paris. The American workers, Meany adds, have "confidence" in the "honesty" of the self-confessed liars who engineered the provocative U-2 flight over Soviet territory which triggered the summit blowup.

Who authorized Meany to speak for the American workers on questions of foreign policy?

To bolster his standing as a practitioner of "industrial peace" between capital and labor, Meany once submitted his credentials to a gathering of union-hating industrial moguls. "I never called a strike, I never led a strike, I never walked a picket line," boasted Meany. How this apostle of eternal peace ever reached the pinnacle of labor leadership is one of the unsolved mysteries of internal union politics. Nevertheless, as an advocate of peaceful coexistence with the rapacious lords of American industry and finance, Meany's reputation is unsullied.

However, in matters of foreign policy, the self-professed champion of peace with the capitalist overlords, displays all of the pugnacious belligerence of the

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Scores Flight Of Spy Plane

About 150 students at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn. heard Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, score the flight of an American spy-plane over the Soviet Union as an "act of aggression."

The flight is not to be equated with the sneaking in of a spy into a country, she said. "How were the Soviet people to know it did not carry a bomb? The Soviet government had to denounce the flight and demand an apology or give up trying to defend the country."

The meeting, May 23, was sponsored by a recently formed socialist campus club. Most of the audience was friendly, and many students stayed until 1 a.m. to discuss with Mrs. Weiss.

Fake Bid Made By Democrats On Peace Issue

Two Parties Plan Grab Of Free TV

By Gladys Barker Grauer
Socialist Workers Candidate For U.S. Senate, New Jersey

You'd think the Democrats and Republicans would be satisfied with their stranglehold on this country's politics. But they want to strengthen their monopoly even further. To that end the Senate is completing hearings on Bill S-1371, which would practically sew up all free TV political time for the two capitalist parties.

The measure, sponsored by several liberal Democrats, including Magnuson (Wash.) and Kefauver (Tenn.), and endorsed by Adlai Stevenson, 1956 Democratic presidential candidate, directs television networks to make free time available for eight weekly, nationwide broadcasts by presidential nominees.

The measure provides that no party whose presidential candidate obtained less than 4 per cent of the popular vote in the previous election shall be entitled to participate in the broadcast series. As no minor party in 1956 polled 4 per cent of the vote (2.5 million) — let alone 10 per cent of the vote (6.2 million) which Sen. Magnuson suggested as the minimum — socialists

(Continued on Page 2)

Hit Republican Foreign Policy While Offering More of Same

By Harry Ring

Are you opposed to Republican foreign policy because it might lead to war? Or are you against it because it isn't tough enough toward the Russians? Do you favor ending the arms race? Or do you want a step-up in the arms program? Are you against violating the borders of other countries? Or are you just against getting caught at it?

If the answer is "yes" to any or all of these questions, then the Democratic party wants your vote in November.

The May 22 foreign policy declaration of the Democratic Advisory Council comes out four-square against lack of "integrity."

Meanwhile, Democratic national chairman Butler reaches for the mud bucket and hurls the McCarthyite smear charge that the Republicans are "soft on Communism."

The Advisory Council declaration flays the Administration for being divided on the crucial issues of disarmament and halting nuclear tests. Where do the Democrats stand on these issues? The statement doesn't say.

It calls for "a new drive for a world of peace." And in the same breath it declares:

"We must step up our defense program."

Presidential aspirant Adlai Stevenson criticizes Eisenhower for provoking Khrushchev. At

(Continued on Page 4)

Dobbs Urges Labor to Block Anti-Cuba Drive

Stressing the need for U.S. labor to oppose the capitalist-inspired campaign against the Cuban revolution, Farrell Dobbs declared at a May 20 New York meeting that "if there was a union leadership worth its salt it would hold an emergency convention of the AFL-CIO to organize aid for Cuba. And do you know where they would hold it? In Havana!"

The Socialist Workers presidential nominee, now on a national speaking tour, was heard by 150 people at the Militant Labor Forum. The composition of the audience indicated the broad range of interest in the Cuban revolution.

There were white and Negro workers, Cubans and other Latin-Americans as well as college and high school students. In the discussion period, questions about what Dobbs saw during his recent visit to Cuba came from each of these components of the audience.

Dobbs came to New York from Seattle where he had addressed a number of meetings on the Cuban issue and on the campaign issues generally. In addition to a public lecture May 14, he met with the members of the American Forum for Socialist Education. He was interviewed by the two major dailies and over television station KTNT.

A Peaceful Country

His television interviewer demanded to know if he considered what the Castro government had done — even "to kill people" — was "morally right."

Dobbs replied that Batista had murdered 20,000 people during his six-year dictatorship to preserve his power and that the Cuban people had every moral right to take whatever steps were necessary to rid themselves of his regime. "Today," he added, "I found a peaceful and orderly country with people working to build their future. That's the norm."

The next leg of his tour will bring Dobbs to Minneapolis where he will speak at a public meeting Saturday, June 4.

18,000 Pack N.Y. Rally On Nuclear-Test Policy

By Lillian Kiezel

Eighteen thousand people overflowed New York's Madison Square Garden, May 19, at the "salute the Summit" rally sponsored by the Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy. A large section of the audience was composed of young people, many of them high school students, who later formed the militant core of the midnight march of 5,000 from the Garden through the streets of mid-Manhattan to the United Nations.

The meeting, called to help pressure the Summit principals into an agreement to ban atomic tests, ironically took place two days after the Summit folded. The rally was nevertheless a noteworthy event — no meeting this large on the question of peace has been held in this country since the days of the Wallace movement in 1948.

The audience, however, had little chance to express its distrust of U.S. foreign policy, apprehension over which undoubtedly contributed to the huge turnout. The roster of speakers, which included Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Alfred M. Landon, 1936 Republican presidential candidate, Norman Thomas and others, left little room for the audience to participate in any other manner than through applause or boos.

The crowd applauded every criticism of current U.S. foreign policy. They booed when Alf Landon said: "We must not delude ourselves. The fateful need for a universal sound nuclear policy agreement is as plain as black and white. Its solution is not. Unilateral action by the United States would be the height of folly."

The audience interrupted Reuther — who urged that the U.S. shift its emphasis in the competition with the USSR to the economic front "against poverty and disease" in the world — with shouts of "Unilateral disarmament first."

When Gov. Williams declared, "I do not believe that unilateral disarmament is the answer" and insisted on "mutual disarmament," an impressive section of the audience again seemed to disagree.

In the march to the United Nations, the young people led the singing of such songs as "We Shall Not Be Moved," and "Ain't Gonna Study War No More." Groups of them moved back and forth along the line of march shouting slogans such as "Geneva Must Reach Agreement," "Sign Nuclear Test Ban" and "Ban the Bomb."

Many of these young people acquired their experience as demonstrators by participating in the picket lines in front of Woolworth stores, where they have been registering their support for the sitdowns at segregated lunch counters in the South.

Many of them also participated in the recent protests against Civil Defense air-raid drills.

Several of those who were jailed for five days as a result of the air-raid drill protests took part in the rally and the march to the United Nations.

(See Editorial, page 3.)

Supreme Court Petitioned On Cleveland T-H Case

The U.S. Supreme Court was petitioned May 20 to review the frame-up conviction of the seven defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case. The Justice Department will answer the petition next month and the high court is expected to announce in the fall if it will accept the case for review.

The 1958 Cleveland conviction was the first successful use of the Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" provision against unionists. Fred Haug and Marie Reed Haug were charged with "conspiring" with the five other defendants to violate the Act's "non-Communist" proviso. The charge of "conspiring" to commit an illegal act permits the introduction of hearsay evidence. This is not acceptable in trials involving actual commission of an illegal act.

The other defendants are Eric Reinthaler, a machinist; Hyman Lumer, an official of the Communist party; James West and Andrew Remes, former party officials; and Sam Reed, a former CP member.

The convictions were upheld by the Court of Appeals despite the fact that the affidavit section of Taft-Hartley has been repealed and even though the principal prosecution witness was exposed as an army deserter with a record of lying in the past.

Since the conviction, use of the "conspiracy" weapon has been extended to other unions, including the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the Teamsters.

A committee to aid the Cleveland victims, headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Vincent Hallinan and others, has issued a public appeal for funds to help defray the heavy new court expenses in the case.

Contributions should be sent to: Ad Hoc Committee, P. O. Box 2461 — East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, Ohio.

The Truth About Cuba

The Almighty Dollar Brings Its 'Benefits'

By Joseph Hansen

Fourth in a series of articles

American domination of Cuba can be divided into five stages.

First came the period of direct military rule over the island under General John R. Brooke and later Major General Leonard Wood. The aim of U.S. military occupation was to make the country safe for American investments. This included such progressive things as stamping out yellow fever and introducing modern sanitation, but these measures were linked with a major political objective: to block the Cuban independence fighters from government office and to set up a structure of rule best suited to guarantee high profits.

By May 20, 1902, when the army of occupation was withdrawn, Cuba was well prepared for penetration of the dollar. Elections had been supervised by the American military forces, the candidates thoroughly screened. The constitution had been processed under General Wood's vigilant eye. As a final guarantee, an amendment to the constitution, fathered by Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, had been forced down the throat of the new Cuban government.

The Platt Amendment

This notorious appendix obliged the Cubans to ratify everything done by the military occupation, forbade any government loans that could not be paid off through an excess above current revenues, forbade any foreign treaties not approved by Washington, gave the U.S. the right to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs whenever necessary to maintain "a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty," and finally, to make everything doubly sure, gave the U.S. the right to buy or lease lands necessary for military bases.

Under the latter clause, American troops have been stationed in Cuba ever since. These have been supplemented from time to time by the landing of marines to maintain the kind of government favored by Wall Street.

In the second stage of American domination the Wall Street locusts settled on highly profitable economic concessions and contracts.

Under the administration (1909-13) of Jose Miguel Gomez, a typical Latin-American caudillo, or military chief, the third stage of American economic domination opened. This was the period of the sugar barons, who converted Cuba to a one-crop economy. They consolidated their position under President Mario G. Menocal, an employee of the Cuban-American Sugar Company, who stole a second term and remained in office under the protection of U.S. marines until 1922.

During Menocal's second term a new stage of American domination opened. The Morgan gang, National City Bank, the Royal Bank of Canada, and Chase National Bank became the real rulers of Cuba and they rapidly brought the sugar industry under their control. They entrenched themselves under Alfredo Zayas, who stole the 1921 elections, and Gerardo Machado (elected 1925, overthrown 1933).

Finally we come to the Batista period, which lasted with interruptions from 1933 to 1959. We will consider this stage later.

Real Rulers of the Republic

Carleton Beals, in his book "The Crime of Cuba," describes the first four stages in considerable detail. He summarizes the economic side as follows:

> "1900 to 1917 marks the gradual infiltration of American capital, the pace ever quickening toward the end of the span. 1917 to 1922 marks a virtual tidal wave of American capital investment. Those years also mark the beginning of bankers' control over sugar and other resources. By the 1922 crisis J. P. Morgan and Company, Chase National Bank, National City Bank, and allied Canadian institutions moved into dominance, ever expanding their equities in the industrial and agricultural enterprises. 1922 to 1933 marks the definite consolidation of bankers' control. Through the Electric Bond and Share Company and the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, close to the house of Morgan, public utilities were gathered into the fold. Most railroads, not in English hands, are controlled by the Tarafa-Woodin-Rubens-Lakin-Rockefeller combination, closely harmonized with the American Car and Foundry Company and the National City Bank. Cubans own far less of the wealth of their country than in 1895."

Beals indicates the extent of American domination of Cuba by 1933 as follows:

> "One-third of Cuba's territory, nearly 90 percent of the cultivated lands of the island, is owned or controlled by long-time leases by Americans or American corporations. The remainder is largely mortgaged to American banks and creditors. Eighty percent of the sugar industry belongs to citizens of the United States; the rest is controlled chiefly by American creditors. Cuba's second industry — tobacco — is also mostly American. Nearly all the banks, railroads, street-car lines, electric plants, telephone systems and other public utilities are owned by capital from the United States."

Subservient to Washington to begin with, Cuba's governments came increasingly into the service of American imperialism. Shocking poverty and lack of economic opportunity helped foster the growing corruption of public office. Once behind a government desk, the average Cuban official immediately went to work to sweeten up his own bank account at the expense of the public treasury. In this he was abetted by the American ambassadors, for they were there, among other things, to facilitate plunder of the Cuban treasury, in the form of loans, by Manhattan's financial pirates.

Regime of the "Sawed-Off Shotgun"

As public dissatisfaction and unrest mounted over this state of affairs, Cuba's military forces grew in size, venality and ferocity. This tendency, deliberately fostered by Wall Street and the State Department, reached its culmination in the government of Gerardo Machado. His became known as the regime of the "Sawed-Off Shotgun." He smashed the trade unions, murdering their leaders. He butchered politically minded students, finally closing down the University of Havana and many lesser schools. He suppressed all opposition, jailing, torturing and killing any who dared to hint lack of enthusiasm about the way he ran things. Professional criminals, preferably murderers, became candidates for his gangs of killers, both official and unofficial, and he put his armed henchmen in control of the most ordinary civic institutions to prevent them from becoming centers of resistance.

Resistance mounted, nevertheless. The dictator, relying on the backing of the U.S. government, refused to give an inch. He swore that no power would dislodge him from office. On May 20, 1930, reviewing his troops, he declared that "before resigning the Presidency of the Republic, I will drown the island in blood."

Among those who joined conspicuously in the applause was Ambassador Harry F. Guggenheim of Anaconda Copper, the American Smelting and Refining Company, and the New York banks interested in Cuban sugar.

'Operation Meatgrinder' in Korea

By Art Preis

(Last in a series of articles)

Given the class character of the war and its real origins, given the fact that the Koreans, with the exception of the U.S.-financed and U.S.-protected landlord-capitalist regime, viewed the Americans as foreign invaders, how else could U.S. forces have maintained their military base in Korea and kept the Rhee dictatorship in power except by exercising the ultimate in violence and savagery against the Korean people?

Contemporary accounts of how American capitalism "liberated" the people in South Korea are sickening in their graphic depiction of mass murder of millions of helpless men, women and children by high explosives and flaming jellied gasoline (napalm) and in the obvious relish the military communiques expressed at the dreadful deeds carried out in the name of the American people.

All of Korea was being "reduced to grave mounds, tree stumps and ruined homes," reported the Voice of Korea, organ of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D.C., on March 31, 1951.

J. Donald Kingsley, agent general of the United Nations Reconstruction Agency, said: "I doubt that ever in the history of the world, since perhaps the sacking of Carthage, has there been such complete destruction as has occurred in Korea."

The May 22, 1951, New York Times reporting Kingsley's statement, added: ". . . 2,000,000 civilians have been killed in the was so far, Mr. Kingsley said . . . Destruction of the thatched villages that blanket Korea has been 'almost total'. . ."

Douglas Fairbanks, chairman of American Relief for Korea, said: ". . . refugees numbering approximately 10,000,000 . . . are wandering back and forth through the countryside with the tide of war." (New York Times, April 27, 1951.)

An Entire Nation Burned

The reason for this was described in the Voice of Korea, January 19, 1951: "Never before has an entire nation been bombarded, strafed and burned so thoroughly in such a short space of time. Practically everything is a military objective [for the U.S. bombers]. Lonely farmhouses are being destroyed lest they give the enemy comfort and concealment. Millions of Koreans — men, women and children — are refugees, harassed, cold and hungry. Many die, others are killed as they flee . . . Family life — in fact the entire social order — is being shattered."

American correspondents could not refrain from revealing their personal feelings of shame and disgust at the atrocities committed against these helpless refugees. John Osborne, Senior Far East Correspondent of Life magazine, told of "acts and attitudes of utmost savagery" forced upon "our men in the field."

This "utmost savagery" included "the blotting out of villages where the enemy may be hiding; the shooting and shelling of refugees who may be North Koreans in the anonymous white clothing of the Korean countryside, or who may be screening an enemy march upon our position, or who may be carrying broken-down rifles or ammunition clips or walkie-talkie parts in their packs and under their trousers and shirts."

The U.S. military command carried out a "scorched earth" policy. That is, they systematically put Korea to the torch and literally burned alive millions of Koreans. "South Korean civilians raised a tempest of protest today against the American scorched earth policy," reported a United Press dispatch from the Korean front on January 19, 1951.

Burn Their Homes

"The homeless civilians told civil affairs officers attached to each American division that . . . they are amazed that the Americans are burning their homes . . . field commanders . . . have given UN troops orders to destroy anything that could be used as cover by the infiltrators. . ."

A Christian Science Monitor dispatch on January 19, 1951, said: "Maj. Gen. Emmett (Rosie) O'Donnell . . . sounded not unlike a West Point B squad coach . . . 'We broke all records,' he said, adding: 'There is very little left standing in North Korea worthy of mention.' "

Little had been left standing in South Korea, too, where most of the fighting had taken place. The U.S. high command called one of its "limited offensives" by the name "Operation Meatgrinder."

When this gruesome and revolting propaganda term caused a public outcry, as a concession to good taste MacArthur renamed the campaign "Operation Killer."

Some of the American liberals who had backed the U.S. armed intervention in Korea later bewailed the colossal atrocity committed against the Korean people. Recoiling in horror at the consequences of the U.S. invasion, Editor Freda Kirchwey wrote in the March 10, 1951, Nation magazine:

"I have before me a handful of clippings of recent months. They make nasty reading, but few of them question the necessity for the vast slaughter of civilians, the burning of whole villages because a few Communist guerrillas were suspected to be hiding there, the systematic destruction of factories and water systems and transportation facilities — down almost to the last ox-cart . . . What does this undifferentiated warfare, this blasting of an entire country do . . . to the concept of 'liberation?' "

Americans to Blame

The evidence is overwhelming that the tide of death, maiming and destruction that swept over Korea was due largely to American military action. Thus, Homer Bigart, Putlitzer Prize-winning correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, told of the deliberate havoc spread by the American forces in their retreat from the Yalu border. In the January 30, 1951, Look magazine, Bigart wrote:

"The harsh and unassailable fact of the Korean campaign is that a fine American army, powerfully supported by the Air Force and Navy, was defeated by an enemy that had no navy, virtually no air force and scarcely any armor or artillery. . .

"Finally, in blind desperation, we tried to burn with napalm every town and village . . . along the mockingly empty roads coming down from Manchuria. . ."

George Barrett's dispatch from South Korea in the February 20, 1951, New York Times indicated even more explicitly the responsibility for the Korean destruction. He said that "when the Koreans saw that the Communists had left their homes and schools standing in retreat while United Nations troops fighting with much more destructive tools left only blackened spots where towns once stood, the Communists even in retreat chalked up moral victories."

Early in the war, the New York Herald Tribune's political columnist Walter Lippmann had noted the fearful reaction throughout the world at the ruthless destruction and killing by the U.S. forces in Korea. On August 17, 1950, he had written: "If . . . the Air Force demolishes the roads, bridges, public utilities and factories of all Korea, the 'victory' when it comes will indeed be Pyrrhic . . . We shall not have proved that we can contain aggression but only that we can wreck a country."

On January 8, 1951, after the Chinese forces had repelled MacArthur at the Yalu River, United Press Staff Writer Charles Moore wrote a most revealing commentary:

"How much more 'liberation' can the people of Korea stand? . . . The Korean equivalent of John Q. Public is taking a terrific beating . . . His home has been destroyed. His job has disappeared because factories were destroyed. He and his family have become ragged, cold, hungry wanderers.

"It is a hard fact but true fact that most of the destruction was done by Americans. The Communists can assert that they have not wrecked Korea. Retreating or advancing, UN forces have found it necessary to bomb and shell and burn many of North Korea's towns and practically all of her industry. The Chinese have avoided destructive assaults on cities and towns . . . If U.N. forces drive north again, they will not find it easy to convince the Koreans, especially the North Koreans, that they come as friends."

Scores of thousands of fleeing Korean civilians, who had somehow managed to escape American "strategic bombing" and the "aerial scorched earth policy," nevertheless fell victim to what Life correspondent John Osborne had called "the murderous habits and methods of our South Korean helpers" who "murder civilians simply to get them out of the way" and—terrible blunder — "murder prisoners of war and civilians before they have had a chance to give any information they may have. . ."

One of numerous eyewitness accounts of the "murderous habits" of dictator Syngman Rhee's Japanese-organized and trained police and marines was given by United Press correspondent Rutherford Poats in a July 10, 1950, dispatch. He chanced to witness the executions by South Korean police of some "suspected guerrillas" that is, unarmed civilians picked up near the fighting areas. Poats wrote:

"Some 40 persons were crouched on all fours in the back of one of the trucks. A Korean policeman stood in the middle of this mass and crashed the butt of his American rifle into the back of one after another of the kneeling men.

"Their backs broke with a sickening crunch which could be heard 100 yards away."

"Since the liberation of Seoul last September," said Time magazine, December 25, 1950, "South Korean firing squads have been busy liquidating 'enemies of the state' . . . With savage indifference, the military executioners shot men, women and children . . . while U.S. and British troops voiced their loathing of the wholesale slaughter, three American clergymen . . . made a formal protest . . . they charged that many of the victims had no trials. . ."

Unpopular War

From the start of the Korean "police action," the American people, in their majority, opposed it. Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, released on January 23, 1951, the findings of a national poll which indicated that two-thirds — 66 per cent — of the American people wanted to "pull our troops out of Korea as fast as possible." Only 25 per cent wanted to "stay there." In reply to the question whether they believed the intervention in Korea had been a "mistake" in the first place, 49 per cent said "yes."

By March 1951, another Gallup poll showed, slightly more than 50 per cent answered "yes" to a similar question as to whether U.S. intervention in Korea had been a "mistake," and only 39 per cent said "no," while 11 per cent had no opinion. Dr. Gallup concluded that the war was "not a popular war" with the great majority of the people at home.

The home sentiment was echoed strongly by the American soldiers sent against their will into Korea. Their letters to Congressmen, their protests to home-town newspapers, their endless stream of critical letters to their folks led to a rigorous censorship of their mail and of press reports of their attitude.

William Burson did manage to get a United Press dispatch through from Korea on March 12, 1951, which said that the American infantryman "is fighting under one tremendous handicap. He does not know why he is fighting. And he cannot look forward confidently to a military victory . . . In previous wars, Americans were convinced they were fighting for something worthwhile . . . In Korea, the GI is fighting a 'police action' and it hardly seems important enough to die for."

Stalemate

So the war dragged out to a stalemate on the 38th parallel. After two years of stalling and haggling while American casualties piled up to an official figure of more than 150,000, the U.S.-UN command agreed to an armistice on July 26, 1953. At this writing, U.S. armed forces are still in Korea manning a potential battle-front on the artificial boundary dividing the "free and democratic" Republic of Korea from North Korea.

One force alone could have halted that monstrous atrocity of a decade ago that still lies so heavily on the American conscience. The American labor movement, had it not been crippled and paralyzed by a leadership almost completely committed to U.S. imperialism and capitalist politics, could have compelled Washington to stop the armed invasion of Korea.

Union leaders like Philip Murray and United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther had spoken often and eloquently about labor's "responsibility to the community as a whole." But they abdicated their responsibility on the most crucial issue affecting the people —war or peace. They backed an undeclared war which was waged against the will of the people, whose vast majority are wage earners — workers.

The CIO leaders were to moan and bewail the fact that the Republicans took advantage of the popular sentiment in 1952 to upset the Democrats. But the union leaders were themselves to blame. They had offered no reasonable alternative of their own, in the form of an independent labor political party and program to the Democratic party's "containment of Communism" war program.

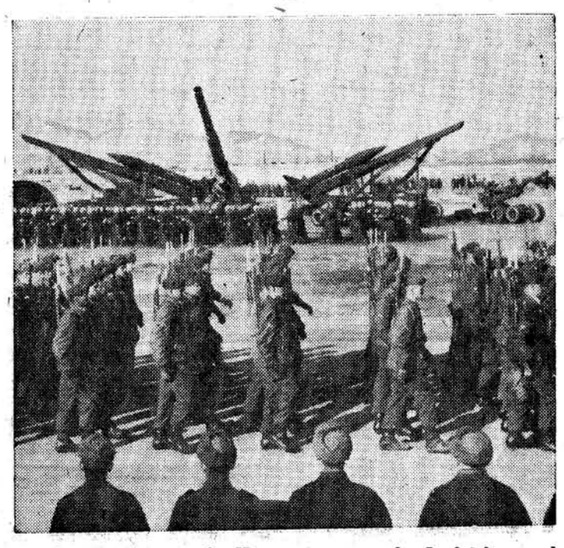
No modern war made such an impact on the American people as the Korean war. For the first time, perhaps, they began to realize that in our era there is no such thing as a "little" or a "cheap" war. Times have changed since the British empire was formed and the British ruling classes enriched themselves with a small expenditure of professional soldiers in a series of small colonial wars spread over several hundred years.

Only a few weeks of the Korean war had sufficed to show how false was the arrogant assumption of the American imperialists that a few U.S. troops and planes in Korea would "straighten things out in a hurry."

What deeply impressed most Americans was that this country is not invincible in war—indeed, the U.S. military machine had been fought to a standstill by armies built mainly of poverty stricken peasants but imbued with a revolutionary cause.

Today's colonial world is not composed of apathetic, submissive "natives." A revolutionary tide is sweeping Asia and the rest of the colonial world. Before American imperialism can conquer even economically backward peoples today, it will have to wade through oceans of blood and pour America's wealth down a bottomless drain.

After Wrecking the Country



American troops in Korea stage parade. In background are atomic cannons brought in two years ago over North Korean protests. About 55,000 GI's man truce line at Thirty-eighth parallel and act as occupation army in South Korea following three-year war in which the U.S. government sought to impose the recently overthrown Dictator Syngman Rhee on the entire country.

Socialist Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	$ 100	$ 94	94
Allentown	110	95	86
Detroit	625	509	82
Denver	60	48	80
St. Louis	80	55	69
New York	4,300	2,937	68
Chicago	800	500	63
Newark	265	162	61
Boston	350	190	54
Cleveland	650	347	53
Bay Area	925	465	50
Los Angeles	4,500	2,242	50
San Diego	245	106	43
Philadelphia	400	156	39
Seattle	500	175	35
Milwaukee	300	92	31
Twin Cities	1,700	497	29
Pittsburgh	10	2	20
General	80	30	38
Total through May 24	$16,000	$8,702	54

. . . TV Grab

(Continued from Page 1)

would in effect be barred from challenging the capitalist parties over the airwaves in 1960.

Furthermore, under the bill, a new party — no matter how large — would be denied participation in the free TV debates during the first campaign in which it contested for office. A labor party, challenging the big-business rule of the country would thus have to raise astronomical sums to compete with the Republicans and Democrats on radio and TV.

The networks have opposed S-1371 because it would compel them to yield premium time. They have volunteered instead to make some choice hours available this year to be shared equally by the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, providing Congress exempts the broadcasters from the law that requires them to make equal time available to minor party candidates. Congress seriously restricted the scope of this law last year, but it is still supposed to apply to the type of project under discussion.

Though the Magnuson bill would strengthen the political dominance of the big-business parties, the labor leaders have not called for its defeat. In fact, AFL-CIO commentator Edward P. Morgan indicated his support for the discriminatory measure in the May 21 AFL-CIO News.

Sub-Getters Expand List Of New Militant Readers

By Karolyn Kerry

Business Manager, the Militant

MAY 24 — The list of new subscribers to the Militant keeps growing from week to week. As of this date, we have received 505 new subscriptions and 124 renewals, since the beginning of the sub campaign on April 15.

We have gone through a sufficient body of experience now to permit the generalization that those Militant supporter groups who have put out maximum efforts have accounted for the bulk of the new subscribers and renewals. There are some groups, however, who are lagging way behind and some, I am sorry to say, who have not even started. I feel sure these groups will be encouraged to get into the swing of the campaign by the successes of the more energetic ones.

The New York group is still in front with a whopping total of 125 new and 16 renewals. As part of their Militant sub promotion work the New York comrades organized a mass distribution of the paper to the United Puerto Rican-Hispanic parade held in this city on May 15. The Cuban contingent was a large and colorful section of the parade.

When the Cubans discovered that the Militant carried front page news supporting the revolution in their country they eagerly accepted the paper. They flocked around our distributor, spread the word among their friends, and the entire supply of Militants was soon exhausted.

As a consequence of the distribution several Cuban workers attended the election campaign meeting in New York at which Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, spoke on his personal observations of the Cuban revolution. This is yet another demonstration of how the sale and distribution of the paper aids in advancing the SWP election campaign.

There has been no change in the standing of supporter groups since my last report. Following New York comes Los Angeles with 78 new and 20 renewals. Detroit, 69 and 13; Milwaukee, 39 and 5; Chicago, 23 and 13.

Seattle has ousted Newark from sixth place, with 21 and 9, Newark and Philadelphia are tied with 23 and 3 and 19 and 7 respectively.

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"Unilateral Disarmament"

Judging by applause and boos, the views of the audience at the May 19 Madison Square Garden rally on nuclear policy "seemed to range from full support of President Eisenhower to demands for unilateral disarmament by the United States," writes Mary Hornaday in the May 20 Christian Science Monitor. Our own reporter, Lillian Kiezel, also states that a section of the audience very definitely sought to register its views in favor of "unilateral disarmament." (See story, page one.)

Undoubtedly those who believe in unilateral disarmament were strengthened in their convictions by the collapse of the summit negotiations. The leaders of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee tied their disarmament program to summit dealings. They had nothing new to offer when the negotiations fell through. Anti-war militants, however, had an answer — let the U.S. disarm without further ado.

We believe this is a proper demand for the anti-war movement to raise. The source of the war danger is in our country. It is lodged in the imperialist drive of big business to dominate and exploit the world. The government in Washington has been carrying out this drive under both the Democrats and the Republicans.

To this end the government has created a ring of military bases around the Soviet Union and China. It has tested 132 A-bombs and H-bombs and has stockpiled enough nuclear weapons to "overkill" humanity by about a hundred times.

First steps toward lasting world peace clearly must include dismantlement of the American military bases abroad, withdrawal from foreign countries of all U.S. troops, and liquidation of the atomic stockpiles. Another imperative measure is the conversion of the $40 billion annual arms budget into a fund for schools, hospitals, medical research, social welfare and the like. To carry out such a policy requires in the first place the organization of the American working people to demand that the government enact these disarmament measures.

Strictly speaking, however, this is not a demand for "unilateral disarmament." The Soviet Union has already agreed to disarm and in fact has taken the initiative in the international disarmament proposals, notably in the field of nuclear testing. Unlike the capitalist economy of the U.S., the Soviet planned economy does not require a war drive to sustain itself. On the contrary, peace is imperative for the full realization of the Soviet industrial-growth projects. But as long as it is menaced by American imperialism, the USSR cannot convert its war budget to peaceful uses.

The next steps are thus up to the Americans. And in their insistence on this, the advocates of "unilateral disarmament" are entirely in the right.

Should Cubans Take Inventory?

American workers who have been defending the Cuban revolution against the monopolists and counter-revolutionaries based in Wall Street and Miami will be interested, we think, in the article appearing elsewhere on this page suggesting that it is nearing time for an "inventory" of what has been accomplished in Cuba and an assessment of the tasks that lie ahead.

Since we are not direct participants on the scene in Cuba, we are not inclined to attempt to judge the merits of the specific proposals advanced by the author of the article. Possibly the basis of representation which he projects for the proposed congress could be widened; beyond that, forms of greater sweep can be visualized to help solve the problem he discusses.

What is of greatest interest, aside from this example of freedom of press, is the awareness in Cuba of the need to assess accomplishments and perspectives and the realization that satisfaction of the need can best be found along the lines of "self-criticism"; that is, greater consciousness, and the development of means to bring this to clearer and more popular expression. A solution along such lines points in the direction of proletarian, as contrasted to bourgeois, democracy.

Whether or not such a stage opens in the Cuban revolution, we feel that the American workers and all who stand for democracy in principle are duty bound to defend the right of the Cuban people to decide for themselves what kind of government and what kind of economy they want. This has been formulated quite correctly by the Castro regime as the right to national sovereignty and economic independence. Whether you agree or disagree with the forms and content which the Cubans have given these or might give them in the future, we feel that every American should defend without compromise their right to give them what shape they wish, without interference from the dollar plutocrats or their State Department.

In addition to upholding a most important principle of democracy, the American working people have much to gain from defending the Cuban revolution in its nationalist aspects. This revolution is part of the world-wide colonial and semi-colonial struggle that is undermining imperialism; in this case, Wall Street's empire. To weaken American imperialism is to strengthen the American working class in its own struggle with monopoly capital.

On top of that, the Cuban revolution, like similar struggles elsewhere, helps inspire oppressed layers in the United States to greater militancy in their own battle for freedom and equality. The Cuban example, for instance, has already served to encourage the Negro people and their allies in the difficult war against segregation and discrimination in the United States.

The Cuban revolution, however, has even greater possibilities. If it turns decidedly and with conscious manifestation in the direction of socialism and proletarian democracy, it can play a tremendous role in revitalizing the American socialist movement.

The radical movement in the United States is suffering today from a crippling loss of confidence. There are, of course, profound economic, social and political reasons to be found for this in America, principally connected with the prolonged prosperity. Other than this, the two main causes for the demoralization have been, it appears to us, (1) the eclipse of proleterian democracy in the Soviet Union and its failure to develop as yet in the People's Republic of China, and (2) the prolonged default of proletarian leadership in Western Europe where any number of opportunities in the past decades to topple capitalism and bring socialism to power have been missed or aborted.

The further favorable development of the Cuban revolution could give enormous assistance in reinspiring faith in socialism in the United States. Already throughout Latin American the truly heroic example of the Cuban revolutionary leaders has caught the imagination of radical-minded workers, peasants and students. But only the barest beginnings of a similar process are visible in the United States.

One reason for this, of course, is lack of knowledge and the effect of the lying propaganda of the capitalist press. More decisive, however, is the fact that the future course of the Cuban revolution remains undecided and enigmatic. The fearful record of Stalinism has predisposed the potential American radical of today to be skeptical of revolution. He is not sure that Cuba will end up with anything but another totalitarian regime and so he withholds support and stifles his hopes. To crack this skepticism, a concrete example of the fullest possible workers' democracy is needed.

If the Cuban revolution succeeds in providing this by developing to the stage of proletarian democracy, the advance would register not only in America. Cuba of all countries would gain the most. Among other things, the revolution could then count on support from the American workers even more powerful than what they offered in 1919 in behalf of the newly born workers' state in Russia as the imperialist powers of that time sought to crush it.

Militant workers in the United States are, of course, capable of appreciating the thoroughly justified anxiety of the Cuban revolutionaries, facing as they do the greatest military colossus in history. Cuba is not thousands of miles away but a bare ninety miles from Florida. It is further weakened by a U.S. military base driven like a wedge into the country. Washington's efforts to inspire a counter-revolution, its standing threat to invade Cuba, are not conducive to free development of democratic processes. Faced with pending attack, or civil war, or a combination of the two, it can easily seem that the only possible course is to maintain the kind of extreme centralism demanded in the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. Nevertheless the political side of Cuba's defense can prove far more decisive than the military.

The possibilities inherent in the further development of the Cuban revolution give militant workers every reason to espouse the cause of Cuba. We must do everything in our power to force Washington to keep its hands off this people struggling so strenuously and so courageously to win their freedom!

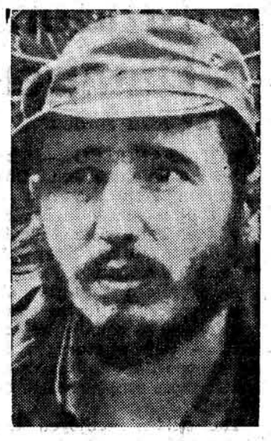
Time for "Inventory" of Cuban Revolution?

[The following article by Agustin Tamargo, originally titled "Autocritica" (self-criticism), is translated from the May 22 issue of "Bohemia," a weekly review published in Havana.

"Bohemia" is well-known throughout Latin America as a forum of opinion and of intellectual expression in various fields. It was the only widely circulated publication, for example, that opened its pages to Fidel Castro in the early days when the July 26 Movement was suffering cruel persecution from the Batista dictatorship. An editorial in the current issue states that the magazine fully supports Cuba's new government and the revolution that brought it to power. At the same time, "Bohemia" states its opposition to "totalitarianisms of the left and right."

Another article attacks "Communism," but distinguishes between Leninism and Stalinism, indicating that the latter is the expression of a bureaucratic "caste" that rose in the Soviet Union. It does not mention Trotskyism.

In the weekly round-up of news of special interest to Cuba, "Bohemia" reports a lead article from a recent issue of the Militant defending Cuba from the campaign of lies inspired by the State Department.—Editor.]



FIDEL CASTRO

1.

The revolutionary Government needs self-criticism.

They say that when Sartre was in Havana he was asked whether or not a counter-revolutionary press should be permitted.

The great French master replied no, that the Revolution should not tolerate a counter-revolutionary press. However, that the revolutionary press should not be too eulogistic, but on the contrary practice severe self-criticism.

In the case of the Government (and not of its press, which we will not touch on here), it appears to us that the thought of Sartre is also applicable.

The Revolution has been in power a year and a half. In this time the economic and social structure has undergone profound changes. The latifundio [big landed estate] has been destroyed. Investments have been regulated. The export of profits, restricted. Public instruction, trade-union life, the judiciary, the press, reconstructed. Everything, in brief, or almost everything, has undergone mutation.

Are the people for or against these changes? Evidently, for. They had been hoping for them many years. The revolutionary leaders had been calling for them. For these, more than to get rid of Batista, they went to war.

But projects and plans are to be estimated by their results, not by their intentions. And above all, as has been seen in more than one country, including our own, they fail or reach success, most of the time, through the person entrusted with them.

What does all this mean?

It means that the revolutionary Government has stupendous plans, plans that have been underway for more than a year and a half and that the hour is approaching to make a concrete and public inventory of the results.

2.

How much has the betterment of campesino life advanced? What increase has agricultural production registered in each one of the specific lines? How are the losses from tourism being made up? Are Pastorita's investments greater than the private ones made before the Rent Law? [Pastorita Nunez is in charge of the Department of Savings and Housing which is building apartments and homes.] How much has Cuba gained—its commerce, its industry, its culture — from the new treaties signed with the countries of Europe and Asia?

Since most of these questions have affirmative answers, the revolutionary Government has nothing to fear from a critical inventory. Such an inventory should be made in the form of a national congress. To such a congress responsible people from all the agrarian zones, the military heads of the provinces and the civilian leaders of the Revolution should come as delegates. There, in open session, everything should be discussed, from the successes to the failures, all the problems should be aired, from the internal discipline of the Rebel Army to the conduct of the local heads of INRA [National Institute of Agrarian Reform]. And fructifying experiences would be brought out for the entire revolutionary movement. The union now existing among the different groups who made the Revolution (26 of July, II Front, Directory) would be converted into a genuine ideological union. And from that could emerge plans even more ambitious than those already outlined and currently underway, such as the political organization of a united revolutionary party.

Someone will say: "Good, but this inventory is already being made. The military heads of the provinces and those responsible in the INRA zones meet frequently with Fidel, with Comandante Guevara or with Raul. Everything is being taken care of."

This is certainly undeniable and we are not referring to weaknesses or to specific faults. But there is no doubt that this type of Congress would impart a concrete practical and ideological orientation to the revolutionary hosts, an orientation which they receive today listening to the discourses of Fidel or reading the newspaper, "Revolucion." And aside from this, the fact of holding such a public congress would impart more vigor still to the correct affrmation of Fidel that this is a true Democracy since it is not governed by a classic army, nor by a parliament chosen in advance among delegates of the rich, but on the contrary, bearing in mind, at every moment, the welfare of the great majority.

The people are with the Revolution. They will far from vacillate on the issue that the Revolution should advance in all fields. They have a blind faith in their leaders. But they also have the right to know, in a categorical way, how this whole process is developing, within and without.

3.

Can such a congress be held, with all that would have to be borne with the displacement of leaders from their zones of activity, in the present circumstances? Isn't Cuba too menaced by the forces of reaction and imperialism to permit this luxury? On the other hand, wouldn't the enemies of the Revolution strenuously seek to take advantage of the inevitable judgments of such a congress to brand them as part of a general failure?

These appear to be reasons meriting attention, but in reality they are not. Let us see why.

In the first place, the congress could be held in a week or so. It appears to us that, working intensely, this is sufficient to make an evaluation of what has been done up to now and to outline the course for the future. It would not distract the leaders from their plans of work.

In the second place, the counter-revolutionary elements don't need any congress or any recognition of errors to shout to the four winds twenty-four hours a day that this is a disaster. When they don't have reasons, they invent them. So the opinion of these elements means little.

And, in the third place, we don't believe that the enemies abroad, Cubans as well as others, will commit the stupidity of believing that a regime that permits this type of debates is weak or will fall.

On the contrary, such a congress would profoundly strengthen the Revolution, as much among its commanding cadres as in the rest of the country in general. Nobody is unaware of the fact that a certain discontent exists. It is a discontent that has grown. It existed on the first of January when Batista fled. The discontented then were the Batistiano military men and the whole camarilla of dirty politicians that lived in that regime. They did not resign themselves, it is clear, to the Revolution dispossessing them from a country which they exploited like a private estate.

Then came the so-called "siquitrillados." That is, people to whom the economic measures of the Revolution caused damage: the big landholders, the landlords, the big import merchants, some wholesale merchants. Such discontent is inevitable.

But today another group of discontented exists, and this is the most important because in reality it has nothing on which to base itself. We refer to certain sectors of the population, permeated with counter-revolutionary propaganda, who sympathize with the Revolution and yet don't sympathize; to certain groups of workers, who have not understoood completely that some revolutionary laws were created to give all of us benefits tomorrow, not today; to certain persons of good will, who through lack of information really believe that our foreign trade is headed for disaster; to many sincere people who think (because of what they have heard or read) that production in the fields is chaotic among the co-operatives, or that the vigor in defense of our sovereignty is unnecessary.

All these people, whom one encounters every day, are with the Revolution, but still not with the ardor of the first months. What effect would a congress of this type have on them? Without any doubt, the most salutary. They would see there, clearly explained, where our Republic is going, how far it has already advanced in a year and a half, how much more it will be able to advance in the next years. They would see proof that the Revolution itself knows how to correct its own errors, without the necessity of having a parliament to censure it. And they would see punishment, by removal, or something worse, of the military chief or the administrator of a co-operative responsible for errors through negligence or bad will.

4.

Our people, in their great majority, have a blind faith in the revolutionary leaders, going where they take them. But in the technique of struggle, it is best that every one know from day to day where he is going. Just as on general lines all of us know what the social, economic and international policy of the Government is, so in concrete details we should likewise be informed. Free from Washington? Agreed! But how is the rice co-operative making out in Manzanillo? Independent so that we can trade wherever it is most profitable? Magnificent! But by how many tons has our production of coffee gone up?

The Revolution need not preoccupy itself with what they are saying or doing in Washington or in Miami. It embodies the aspirations of our people, interpreting them in its protests and desires. It is to this people, and to no one else, to whom the Revolution has to render account. All the wealth which the Revolution has in its hands today, all the power at its disposition, we, the people, have given it. The use which its leaders are making of it does not leave the least doubt. But it appears to us that at times it is forgotten a little how many counter-revolutionary elements move in the national scene and in what manner such elements can bring about damage to the revolutionary work. Fidel speaks frequently on television. Each time he speaks, he clarifies questions, leaves the people well oriented. But he cannot speak every day, and the falsehoods, rumors and campaigns, on the contrary, are in currency daily. So that at times we are not as clear as we ought to be. Whoever is in the street, whoever because he is not in the Government can listen to everybody, whoever has the job of hearing, and of hearing without reservations and without partiality, knows that there is much more confusion than there ought to be.

A congress such as the one we suggest, with an inventory to the point on everything accomplished, with a frank criticism of what has not been done, a Congress in which the three or four hundred men would participate who today hold in their hands the reins of our country, would be the best way of dissipating all the possible doubts and of rectifying all the possible errors.

In a direct and popular democracy like ours, there is no better method.

The American Way of Life

Our Open Society

Shortly after the U-2 incident, President Eisenhower explained we have to sneak spy planes over the Soviet borders because the Russians have a "secrecy fetish." This point was driven home even further by Vice-President Nixon during a recent television interview in New York. He repeated a number of times that while the Russians have a "closed society," we have an "open society."

Reading the papers the past few days helped me understand what Mr. Nixon meant. There was the glowing account in the May 22 New York Times about the RAND Corporation. That's the "think factory" of civilian experts who do research for the Air Force. The 900 RAND employees "pursue their studies in a thought-provoking atmosphere overlooking the Pacific." A far cry from those mad Russian scientists in their bomb cellars.

Of course, our open society assures the scientists a cloistered atmosphere. "There is no such thing as a casual visitor at RAND," reports the Times. "Visits are by specific appointment and all visitors are tagged by plant security officers . . . Wastebaskets are carefully checked and the contents burned nightly as at the Pentagon. Classified documents must be locked up in safes overnight and security officers continually remind absorbed scientists of the fact. . .

"One absent-minded mathematician who had trouble remembering to lock up his safe file is now working elsewhere."

In the May 23 Times, I read how the post office helps assure that our open society doesn't get clogged up by excess mail. During the past ten years it had been holding back more than 15 million pieces of mail annually. All of it, of course, from "closed societies" abroad.

"From 1950 through 1955," the Times reports, "the program of mail screening operated largely in secret. Subscribers to Soviet publications and the like were never told why their copies did not arrive. Material was simply seized. Unless someone complained, it was burned.

"Moreover, the screening was arbitrary. In one instance, copies of the Economist, the distinguished British publication, were seized."

Individuals and civil-liberties groups kicked up an ungrateful fuss about these efforts to safeguard our open society, so a concession was made. Now the addressee simply signs an oath that he "ordered, subscribed to or desires" the withheld "subversive propaganda" and it is forwarded to him as soon as the oath form is filed away.

Another splendid example of the benefits of our open society was provided when Cyrus Eaton, a capitalist who favors coexistence with the Soviet Union, had a conversation with Soviet Premier Khrushchev shortly after the summit blowup.

Senator Thomas Dodd (D-Conn.) promptly suggested that Eaton be jailed under the Logan Act. Adopted 160 years ago, and never yet invoked, this act forbids private citizens to deal with officials of other governments to influence U.S. policy.

In this most open of all open societies, we make sure that our jail entrances are kept open to anyone who opens his mouth out of turn.

In Other Lands

So. Koreans Tell of Atrocities

Many Slaughtered By Rhee's Troops

The Seoul newspaper Hankook Ilbo charged May 16 that in 1951 South Korean troops had massacred 800 people in two villages near Seoul for allegedly co-operating with North Korea in the war.

The story remained buried for nine years, said the paper, because witnesses were afraid to talk while Syngman Rhee was president.

According to witnesses cited by Hankook Ilbo, South Korean army units marched into the two villages and called the villagers to public meetings. There the troops machine-gunned and burned indiscriminately. Many women and children were among the victims.

Hankook Ilbo also cited a similar massacre at a third village near Seoul. There what had happened came to light early this month when bereaved relatives lynched a former village chief accused of having a hand in the 1951 killings. Several hundred were reported killed in that massacre.

Hankook Ilbo's revelations were reported in this country by the Associated Press.

Japanese Premier Pressed to Resign

The government of Japanese Premier Kishi is under powerful pressure to resign. Popular opposition to his regime reached a new peak when he jammed through the lower house of the Diet a military treaty that he signed in Washington Jan. 19. The vote approving the treaty was taken in Syngman-Rhee style after the opposition had been expelled from the chamber by police May 20.

Following this high-handed action, thousands of demonstrators led by various unions and the Socialist and Communist parties demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy, singing and shouting, "Yankee, Go Home!"

On May 23, huge batteries of cops attacked 1,500 student demonstrators at the Diet and another 1,000 at Kishi's residence. The students were led by Zengakuren, the militant student association.

Socialist members of both houses have demanded Kishi's resignation and the demand is said to be supported by most newspapers.

It is also reported from Tokyo that President Eisenhower may be asked to "suspend" his scheduled June 19 visit to Japan for fear that it may touch off new mass demonstrations.

Student Rebellion Continues in Turkey

Cadets at the Army War College, Turkey's West Point, have joined the demonstrations against the dictatorial regime of Premier Menderes. Defying rigid martial-law curbs, 1,000 of the cadets marched through the streets of Ankara May 21. Civilians, numbering an estimated 9,000 at one point, joined the cadets in the anti-government demonstration.

Police and army officials unsuccessfully urged the cadets to disband but refrained from breaking up the march. After the cadets returned to the campus, police attacked the civilian demonstrators with tear gas.

Immediately following the cadet demonstration, the government ordered all colleges and universities to remain closed until fall. They had been shut down April 28 when the first student demonstrations brought martial law. The present decree extends martial law until July 28.

The shutdown apparently does not apply to the War College itself. The U.S.-operated Robert College in Istanbul was exempted from the shutdown but students promptly staged a demonstration and the school was ordered closed.

On May 24, Menderes cancelled a scheduled visit to Greece because of the continuing threat to his rule.

India to Receive $1 Billion Worth Of American Grain

The U.S. government will send $1,276 billion worth of grain to India during the next four years under an agreement signed this month. Of this amount, $538 million worth will go as a grant.

By building up food reserves against emergency, says the May 16 New Republic, the pact "gives the Nehru government what may be its last chance to increase food production at a rate equal to the population rise."

But says the magazine, "as Sir Oliver Franks has noted in his report to the World Bank, one cannot assume on the basis of present performance in agriculture that the Indians are up to the challenge."

1,392 Co-operatives Organized in Cuba

Nuñez Jimenez, Executive Director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, announced May 18 that a total of 1,392 co-operatives have now been organized in Cuba and 2,000 people's stores set up. Some 1,200 ownership certificates have been given to peasants.

He said that INRA is operating 15 shipyards for small fishing boats and six refrigerating warehouses.

INRA loans for agricultural and industrial development amount to $38,000,000. The co-operatives have received agricultural machinery and implements costing $20,000,000.

Purchases from small farmers amount to $28,000,000.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIV — MONDAY, MAY 30, 1960 — NUMBER 22

Letters from Our Readers

Chessman's Fate Should Spur Fight On Death Penalty

Editor:

Three times American judicial barbarism has left in its wake imperishable epistolary legacies to sear the heart and disturb the conscience of every citizen who abhors capital punishment. The letters of Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs and now two letters written in Caryl Chessman's final hours to Stevens of the Call Bulletin and Mary Crawford of the News Call Bulletin of San Francisco.

In every line their elevated, thoughtful tone smites the heart with the conviction that we snuffed out the life of a completely regenerated soul. Chessman wrote:

"I believe passionately that I could make a meaningful contribution to both literature and my society with my writings." Out of his own early experience he passionately pleads for understanding of the problems of errant youth. Both letters conclude with the dying wish that "those who have spoken out for me will continue to speak out against gas chambers and executioners and retributive justice."

If we have the will to do so we can make Chessman's death a meaningful landmark of American judicial history by tirelessly working in our respective states for abolition of capital punishment everywhere in our country.

Muriel I. Symington
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A Noted Authority On Hideous Crimes

Editor:

Executions have always been unfair, as the greatest destroyers of human life have never been punished for their crimes. This is especially true at the present time. In the Chessman case, however, there are certain facts which deserve special attention.

He was never proved guilty. He was the victim of a law which provides the death penalty when no murder has been committed. He was treated with unusual cruelty, facing the ordeal of approaching execution nine times. He was executed by a barbarous method and such methods are forbidden by the Constitution.

But excuse me, I forget! Harry Truman says that sympathy for Chessman is a lot of hooey because he was convicted of hideous crimes against women and children. Perhaps I shouldn't have written this letter. Truman is certainly the greatest authority on hideous crimes against women and children.

Belle Montague
Cambridge, Mass.

Cuban Marchers Welcome Militant At N.Y. Parade

Editor:

I wish our readers could have seen how the Militant was received by the Cuban-American contingent in the United Puerto Rican-Hispanic parade here May 15.

I came upon the Cuban contingent while distributing sample copies of the Militant to the marchers on the side streets as they formed to swing up Fifth Avenue.

At the head of the column were women in bright red sweaters holding a giant Cuban flag in the manner of a fireman's net. Street-wide banners proclaimed, "Fortresses into Schools," and similar slogans. Floats included women in fiesta costumes and men, women and children in the uniform of the 26 of July Movement.

As soon as the participants were assured that the Militant was for the Cuban revolution, I couldn't give out the papers fast enough. Women holding the giant flag reached out to the curb for their copies. Others reached from the floats. People asked for extra batches.

We didn't have time enough to reach everyone at the start of the parade, so we distributed to the contingent again at 70th Street where they disbanded. People came out of the line to get copies and extras for friends. Further down the block I saw a huge crowd forming and mounted police rushing down. I went to see what was happening. There in the middle of the crowd was another Militant distributor being swamped with demands for copies.

P. R.
New York

Suggests Series On Population As Pamphlet

Editor:

I have just completed the last of Joseph Hansen's articles on the "Population Explosion." This is a topic on which there prevails the greatest confusion in all sections of the population, largely produced by the efforts of well-meaning but ignorant geographers, food-resource "experts" and other middle-class intelligentsia.

Pioneer Publishers would do an excellent service to the socialist movement if it published the Hansen series in pamphlet form so that socialists would have handy ammunition for use against those who try to derail the discussion of the crucial issue of social revolution onto the side issue of "over-population" and natural resource famine in the future. Hansen has provided an excellent compendium of refutations of the non-sequiturs being trotted out in every serious discussion of politics and economy by the narrow-minded pundits of the "free world," sincere and well-intentioned as many of them are.

A Reader
Vancouver, Canada

"Come Back, Africa"

By Leon Cyens

A semi-documentary film, "Come Back, Africa," is a powerful portrayal of the plight of South African Negroes under the "apartheid" system.

The film was made by Lionel Rogosin, creator of the prize-winning documentary, "On the Bowery." Rogosin eluded the vigilance of the South African authorities by pretending to film a travelogue-type study of native folklore. "Come Back, Africa," is currently being shown in two small New York theaters. I hope it will be distributed around the country.

The social conflict between the South African racists and the politically awakening Negro workers provides the central theme of the film.

The principal character is Zachariah. Like thousands of others, he is forced by economic need to leave his plot of land and work in a gold mine. He escapes from the brutal exploitation there and seeks work in Johannesburg. He finds the city strange and frightening. He is in a strange world of passes, alien customs and white cruelty. With "Yes, boss," ever on his lips, he encounters nothing but humiliation.

He tells a prospective employer his name and she says, "That will never do. You'll be Jack." He is hired as a "houseboy."

He must reside in a Jim-Crow town, miles away from Johannesburg. There his family joins him. In the Negro town he is introduced to intellectual companionship when he is befriended by a group of more experienced Africans. They provide discussion, friendship and human warmth. Though he is chided as a "peasant," he is made to feel welcome.

He loses his "houseboy" job for "talking back" to his arrogant employer. He holds several other jobs for a few days each and then, as happens to thousands, he is arrested for carrying an expired pass.

He is released from the police station and returns home to find that his wife has been murdered.

The film comes to a climax as Zachariah gives way to rage and grief. All his pent-up hatred against the injustices he has been made to suffer comes pouring out. He weeps and pounds the table and smashes everything in the house. Images flash through his mind — the workers going into the mines, the poverty of the tenement hovels, the suffering of his people, the gleaming prosperous metropolis of the white man, and here the dead, the victims.

Notes in the News

NO PEACE PANIC — "Summit Failure a Market Tonic," reported the main headline in the May 22 New York Times business section. "Gain for the Week Almost Wipes Out April Losses in Prices of Stocks," continued the subheadline. The article reported that "the grim turn for the worse in the international situation" brought a "remarkable performance" at the Stock Exchange. "Traders decided that the 'cold war' was due to heat up considerably in the coming months." Aircraft, electronics and missiles "immediately moved into the Wall Street spotlight."

* * *

THE KINDLY EXECUTIONER — James Eugene Hooton was suspended between life and death for five minutes before he was put in the San Quentin gas chamber May 13. Warden Dickson said he ordered the delay of Hooton's execution because a last-minute court order for a brief stay for Chessman was lost when someone dialed the wrong number. No stay order arrived for Hooton.

* * *

SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE — The House of Representatives voted May 12 to increase the retirement pay for army personnel. For chiefs of staff — the boost was $4,586 a year. For privates — $6 a year.

* * *

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT — It has now been revealed that less than 1 per cent of the drugs on the market are actually inspected by the federal government and that more than 5 per cent of those that are checked don't meet government specifications. The revelation was presented as an argument against pending legislation to require physicians to prescribe drugs by their medical name rather than by brand name. No one explained why lesser known brands are not as likely to meet federal specifications than costly major brands.

* * *

CENSOR LOSES ROUND — Two nudist publications, Sunshine and Health, and Sun Magazine, have won a court ruling entitling them to low-cost second-class mail rights. Federal District Judge Youngdahl said that the precepts of nudism presented by the magazines, "do not have the public acceptance given the ideas and way of life presented by Ladies Home Journal and House and Garden, but they are not, for that reason, undeserving of equal treatment by the postal service."

* * *

QUICK-CHANGE ARTIST? — Senator Frank Church of Idaho is being considered as the keynote speaker at the Democratic national convention. The New York Times explains: "Although Mr. Church campaigned as a conservative, he is now considered a liberal."

* * *

FILTERED MAN'S THINKING — Imperial Tobacco Co. has come up with a cigarette filter made of tobacco. According to the trade publication Tobacco, Imperial's president has explained that the new filter "allows the smoker the advantage of better flavor while retaining the real or imagined advantage of a filter-tipped cigarette."

* * *

NEVER TOO OLD. RIGHT, JUDGE? — Charles G. McKaughan, of West Covina, Calif., was sentenced to 30 days in jail for refusing to clean up his home. McKaughan is 102 years old. He told the judge that at his age he really doesn't find being a good housekeeper "too important."

* * *

DEMOCRATIC TAXATION — Some Congressmen are reported urging legislation to reverse a recent tax-department ruling which now denies workers the right to deduct from their income tax fees paid to employment agencies. It was pointed out that where an employer pays the agency fee he can still deduct it as a business expense. Elimination of the deduction also means that the worker is paying taxes on income he doesn't receive since the week's pay which usually goes to an agency is included in the worker's taxable income.

* * *

INCIDENTAL INTELLIGENCE — Here's a riddle reported as currently making the rounds in Washington. Question — What's the CIA? Answer — Caught in the Act.

* * *

WELFARE STATE — R. E. Waggoner, a federal civil defense official, urges all Americans to prepare to sustain themselves for two weeks following a nuclear attack. "After that," he says, "the government is prepared to help you."

Students in San Francisco Dampened Probers' Ardor

By Joan Jordan

SAN FRANCISCO — The House Committee on Un-American Activities had a rough time during its three-day stand here. The student-led demonstrations May 12, 13 and 14 against the hearings expressed the growing public opposition to the committee, and — equally important — they encouraged in their opposition to the committee those subpoenaed to be grilled.

The students enjoyed the backing of 550 professors who had signed various petitions circulated in the area against the witch-hunting "hearings." Resolutions adopted by the San Francisco, Alameda and San Jose Central Labor Councils calling for abolition of the inquisitorial committee also created a favorable atmosphere for the student protests.

Of the 41 witnesses called at the "hearing," 36 defied the witch-hunters. Two of the five "friendly" witnesses were paid government agents, including Karl Prussian, an FBI agent.

The non-cooperative witnesses not only invoked their constitutional rights not to testify but took the offensive against the committee, denouncing its undemocratic aims and tactics.

"Pass" System

Throughout the hearings, hostility to the committee was expressed not only by witnesses but by those students and other opponents of the committee who managed to get into the hearing room despite the "pass" system designed to assure a friendly audience. Passes had been distributed by the committee through such outfits as the American Legion and Daughters of the American Revolution, but apparently they were unable to fill the chamber.

But the passes did keep many students from getting in, and this intensified their anger at the committee's high-handed tactics.

The first unfriendly witness was Douglas Wachter, 18, a University of California sophomore who refused to answer most questions on constitutional grounds, including whether he was the author of a signed article in the Daily Californian accusing the committee of trying to intimidate radicals and non-conformists.

During the noon recess the crowd in the corridor grew and so did the anger at being barred from the hearing.

Inside, the session resumed with "expert" testimony by Barbara Hartle, a frequent performer before the committee. She told staff counsel Arens she had once been a "hard core" Communist. "... and you found your way back to God and patriotism?" he inquired. The audience guffawed.

The witness who discomfited the committee most that afternoon was Merle Brodsky. He raised searching questions about its access to and use of federal income tax information.

Racist "Madman"

On Friday, the day of the police attack, there were 16 witnesses. One was an FBI agent. The other 15 defied the committee. Vernon Bown, a warehouseman who had figured prominently in the Louisville "sedition" case, declined to answer questions on advice of counsel, Vincent Hallinan.

After a long grilling, he finally told Arens that he must be "some kind of a nut" and advised subcommittee chairman Willis, a Louisiana racist, that he was "a madman."

It was during the lunch recess that the police violence erupted, first with the turning of the fire hoses on the angry students in the corridors waiting to be admitted and with the clubbing of one of the students.

An officer, Ralph Schlumleffel, claimed one of the students had grabbed his club and beaten him with it and that when other cops came to his assistance Vincent Hallinan had interfered with them.

Hallinan who was in the corridor when this version was offered, replied: "That man is a liar. He and six other cops had this kid down on the floor and were beating him on the legs with their clubs. When I tried to pull them off . . . they roughed me up."

When the hearing resumed, witness William Mandel told news cameramen to "turn on the lights, I want the full glare of publicity on this committee." He denounced the committee as "sadists and beaters of children."

The next day, Archie Brown, a prominent longshoreman, who had been ejected from the chambers twice for demanding admission of the students and for denouncing the committee was finally sworn in to testify. He asked to read a statement branding the existence of the committee as illegal. When he was denied the right to read the statement he assailed the committee's procedure and was ejected for the third time. The ejection was roundly booed by the audience.

John A. Johnson, a high-school teacher, testified he had been prepared to co-operate with the committee but changed his mind after the attack on the students. He tried to read a statement but was cut off.

Witness Saul Wachter said he saw a hose turned on his son, Douglas, while the latter was trying to talk to a radio interviewer. A cop then twisted Douglas' arm and threw him to the floor. Saul Wachter too denounced the committee's tactics.

At one point when the committee was challenged on its high-handed procedure, chairman Willis declared: "This is not a judicial proceeding . . . We make our own rules."

Can't Take It

The noted legal authority, Laurent B. Frantz, and a number of other witnesses denounced the committee's attacks on Constitutional rights. When attorney Bertram Edises scored the committee for abusing attorneys for the witnesses, Arens said, "I'm not going to let you attack me."

Edises replied: "You've been browbeating people all day. You can dish it out. Can't you take it?"

The "hearings" ended with one committee member asserting that the students were "toying with treason and disloyalty."

The student demonstrators, the workers who came to back them up, the defiant "witnesses" — all demonstrated a fresh determination to help end the unjust and illegal activities of the Un-American Activities committee.

They served notice they do not intend to be deprived of their democratic rights.

. . . Meany Gives Support

(Continued from Page 1)

most rabid bomb-rattling jingoes. His mentor in this field is the German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, whom Meany numbers among his dearest friends.

When Adenauer visits Washington he drops in for a chat with Meany at AFL-CIO headquarters. Not long ago, during a visit to Germany. Meany was decorated for his services to the Adenauer government which is honeycombed with Nazi scum. The December 8 New York Times reports that Meany was "invested with the Grand Cross, Second Class, of the Order of Merit by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer."

In addition to Meany, the Times adds: "Jay Lovestone, who heads the united labor movement's European and Eastern Department, also was honored with the order but minus the sash and star that went with Mr. Meany's decoration." To the overwhelming majority of American workers the name of Jay Lovestone means little or nothing. Yet, this sinister figure, who operates from behind the scenes, wields tremendous power over the activity and policy of American labor agents operating in conjunction with the State Department throughout the world.

Jay Lovestone was general secretary of the American Communist party until he was ousted in 1929 when he "guessed wrong" on the internal faction struggle between Stalin and Bukharin in the Soviet Union. Upon his expulsion from the CP, Lovestone and a number of his cronies set themselves up in business as a right-wing opposition to the official Stalinist line in this country while continuing to support Stalin as the "infallible" leader of the USSR.

Lovestone dissolved his group in 1941. He then went on the payroll of David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, as "anti-communist" expert and advisor. Lovestone was an associate of Charles Zimmerman, president of ILGWU Local 22 and now international vice-president. The Lovestoneites had previously been in opposition to the Dubinsky machine but made their peace and joined in tightening the bureaucratic stranglehold on the union membership.

Dubinsky bought himself a whole stable of ex-radicals and renegades, put them on the union payroll and turned them loose on whatever rank-and-file opposition that arose. The Lovestoneite scoundrels were ready for anything. Having received a thorough schooling as pliable instruments of the Stalinist bureaucracy they had no difficulty in making the switch to time-servers of the American labor bureaucrats.

When Meany became head of the AFL, Dubinsky placed his stable of renegades at the disposal of the craft union bureaucracy. After the fusion with the CIO, Lovestone and his cronies were retained as "foreign policy" advisors. With the advent of the "cold war" the American State Department desperately needed the services of reliable "labor agents", who would do the dirty work for Wall Street and Washington in the labor movement abroad.

Lovestone's boys were among the most dependable. They had to prove over and over again, every day of their lives that their conversion from "communism" was genuine. To convince their masters they became the most ferocious exponents of uncompromising war against all opponents of the American State Department. A network of labor lackeys, dubbed "labor attaches," was thrown around the world. Unions were split, reactionary groups financed, the counter-revolutionary policy of American imperialism was diligently promoted in every corner of the globe. Nor was close collaboration with the cloak-and-dagger boys of the CIA neglected.

When Meany speaks on foreign policy he does not represent the view of the American workers and still less their interest. Together with Lovestone he represents only the worst type of labor lackey and labor lickspittle, either with or without "sash and star."

Force Retreat On Penalties at N.Y. Colleges

NEW YORK — Vigorous campus protests have forced authorities at City College and Brooklyn College to back down on their plans to hand out stiff penalties to students who participated in protests over "civil-defense" drills. Some 500 students refused to take "shelter" during the May 3 mock air raid.

At City College, the administration lifted school indentification cards from about 100 of the participants in the demonstration and threatened penalties up to expulsion for those who refused to sign statements that they had merely been bystanders during the protest. The students refused to give in and were finally informed that their action would be noted in their record books but that no other measures would be taken against them.

At Brooklyn College, fifty-three of the protesters were given four-day suspensions with the proviso that the enforced absence would be counted as "cuts" —that is, non-attendance at classes. This meant that some students might flunk courses or fail to graduate for being "overcut."

The disciplinary measure created a furor on the campus. Finally, Dr. Harry Gideonse, president of the college, announced May 20 that the suspension period would not be counted as "cuts."

A fight is still going on at Brooklyn College over the issue of censorship of the student newspaper, the Kingsman. Editor Lucille Feldman resigned in protest after the paper was forbidden to publish a photo of the air-raid protest.

Raiders Expelled

The Seafarers' International Union has been expelled by the Canadian Labor Congress for raiding other unions. The ouster was voted by the CLC convention held April 25-29. Expulsion came after three years of efforts to end SIU raids on the National Association of Marine Engineers and other unions.

Justice Department Sues Biloxi Over Jim Crow Beaches

By Arthur Jordan

The U.S. Justice Department sued Biloxi, Miss., May 17 in a move to open the Gulf Coast beach there to Negroes. The suit, entered in federal district court at Vicksburg, Miss., on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, was the first brought by the Justice Department in behalf of civil rights outside the voting area.

Ten days earlier the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced a "wade-in" campaign by Negroes against segregation on beaches "from Cape May, N.J., to Brownsville, Texas."

The government suit and the NAACP announcement were both sparked by the courageous mass attempt April 23 of Biloxi Negroes to use their city's beach. The Negro bathers were driven from the beach by club-wielding whites, and an armed attack on Biloxi's Negro section ensued in which eight Negroes were wounded by gunfire. Biloxi's Negro community countered with a boycott of white-operated stores which is still being continued.

The Justice Department suit was based on the fact, first disclosed by Biloxi Negro leader Dr. Gilbert Mason, that $1,133,000 in federal funds were spent to reconstruct the Biloxi beach.

In return for the federal aid, Mississippi and local authorities signed a contract promising to maintain the beach for public use. The suit accused them of violating the contract and also the U.S. Constitution "by discriminating among members of the public on the basis of race or color."

"Wade-In" Drive

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins announced the "wade-in" campaign May 7 at an Atlanta, Ga. meeting with NAACP officials from ten Southern states. Referring to the Biloxi events, Wilkins said "Negroes pay taxes and get hot just like white people." They intend to swim this summer, he added, at "thousands of miles" of tax-maintained beaches and public parks from which they have been excluded in the past.

. . . Democrats

(Continued from Page 1)

the same time he brands as fabrication a Paris report that he favors modest concessions to the Soviet Union to ease world tensions.

Aspirant John Kennedy tells a New Jersey audience that if he's elected he will not resume the spy flights. Evidently he has forgotten that the day before he endorsed the Advisory Council's criticism of Eisenhower for announcing the flights suspended after declaring them vital to the nation's security.

Aspirant Lyndon Johnson declares forthrightly that he stands for "peace with honor" — but now is not the time to discuss the problem.

When the vote-catching double talk of the Democrats is put aside, one fact emerges clearly. The entire high command of the Democratic party remains united with the Republicans on the need to keep the cold war going.

The Advisory Council statement was drafted by the "liberal" wing of the party, which controls the council. It was endorsed by what the New York Times describes as a "broad . . . spectrum of the Democratic leadership."

The spectrum embraces Stevenson, the "peace" talker; Kennedy, who heatedly denies he ever suggested Eisenhower should have apologized for the U-2 incident; "More Missiles" Symington; and Harry Truman, who has become the most bellicose reactionary in the country since he stopped running for office.

Who Wrecked Summit?

The Council's statement joins with the Republicans in advancing the lie that Khrushchev "wrecked" the summit because like any other head of state in his right mind he demanded a retraction of the U.S. declaration that it has a "right" to violate the Soviet borders. The Council statement merely complains that Eisenhower "handed him the opportunity to do so" because of "blunders."

Nowhere does the statement even hint that if this country is to avoid precipitating war it should not violate other countries' borders. It merely confines itself to the criticism that such violations should not be committed at summit time when everyone's looking.

And, the council declares, Eisenhower shouldn't have gone to the summit in the first place, because he "knew that no progress had been made towards the settlement" of any of the major issues.

Which party wears the "peace mantle"? You'll do better guessing which twin has the Toni.

Calendar Of Events

CHICAGO

Hear **Farrell Dobbs** on "THE COLD WAR, THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND THE 1960 ELECTIONS." Other speakers: **William T. Baird, Joseph P. King, Howard Mayhew.** Sunday, June 12, 7:30 p.m., 302 S. Canal St., Hall 210. Donations 90 cents. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

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DETROIT

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president, reports on "THE SOUTH'S MESSAGE TO THE NORTH." Friday, June 3, 8 p.m., at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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LOS ANGELES

William F. Warde discusses C. Wright Mills' Work, "THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION." He will deal with the following topics raised by Mills: Are Liberalism and Marxism outmoded? What should be the basis for present-day social science? **Friday, June 3, 8:15 p.m.** Forum Hall, **1702 E. Fourth St.** Donation, 75 cents, unemployed 25 cents. Ausp., Militant Labor Forum.

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MINNEAPOLIS

Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, reports on "THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AS I SAW IT" at a dinner meeting Sat. June 4 at 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Dinner 6:30 p.m.; meeting, 8:30 p.m. Donation for both, $1.50; for meeting, 50 cents. Auspices: SWP.

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NEW YORK

"The Post-Summit World and the Prospects for Peace," An analysis by **Robert Chester,** contributor to the Militant and International Socialist Review. **Friday, June 3, 8:30 p.m.** Militant Labor Forum, **116 University Place** (off Union Square). Contrib. 50 cents.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203. Open Thurs. nights 8 to 10 P.M.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum. Box 361, Newark, N. J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND - BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Room 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

SEATTLE
1412—18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194.