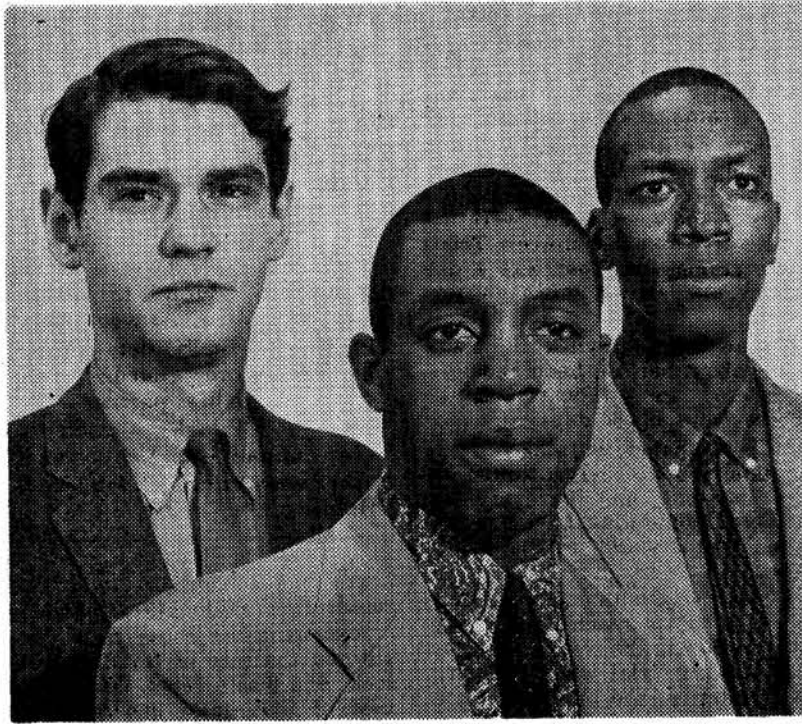


THE MILITANT

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AWAITING TRIAL IN MONROE, N.C., are John Lowry (l.) 20, Harold Reape (c.) 17, and Richard Crowder, 19. Crowder heads the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee of which Reape is an active member. Lowry is a Freedom Rider who went to Monroe to help in anti-segregation picketing. Following rioting by white supremacists the three were indicted on a framed-up kidnap charge. Their trial has been postponed until May 7. Also under indictment is Mrs. Mae Mallory, now fighting extradition from Ohio. The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is appealing for support. Its address is: Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Britain Resists U.S. Demand To Stop Trading With Cuba

Washington is making little headway in its efforts to pressure its European allies into cutting off trade with Cuba. So far the trade-conscious British government is proving the major holdout.

The demand that the European governments join the economic

Plan N. Y. Picketing Against Ultra-Right

NEW YORK — Young people are hard at work to assure a big turnout for the March 7 protest picket line at Madison Square Garden in opposition to the ultra-right rally called by Barry Goldwater's "Young Americans for Freedom." In addition to Goldwater, announced speakers at the rally include racist Senator Strom Thurmond and Herbert Hoover.

To answer the reactionary forces sponsoring the hate-fest, the Youth Organizing Committee Against the Ultra Right Rally is distributing leaflets at campuses and elsewhere throughout the area urging youth, peace, civil-liberties, civil-rights, labor and church groups to turn out for the protest picket line. An encouraging number of student organizations and other groups have already agreed to participate.

Carol Turner, co-chairman of the committee, declared: "If allowed to gain impetus, the ultra-right movement could set back political freedom in our country 50 years. This action should prove to be the biggest single blow against conservative thought in recent times."

gang-up on Cuba was made at a secret briefing session of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris Feb. 20 by Walt W. Rostow, a principal brain-truster of Kennedy's anti-Cuba drive. He insisted on a halt to sales of "strategic" materials to Cuba, including machinery, machine parts, etc. It is also believed he pressed for a general trade ban.

After the meeting, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of European ministers was apparent to newsmen. And on Feb. 27 *New York Times* London correspondent Drew Middleton reported:

"The Macmillan government is not prepared to put any further restrictions on trade with Cuba... Britain depends on international trade for her life. Trade with Cuba last year amounted to only about £10 million (\$28 million). This is not much, but in Britain's economic position every little bit helps."

Robin Hood

The old imperialist hands of Europe who have watched the U.S. profiting from the disintegration of their colonial empires also cannot help but relish Washington's rage at the loss of its Cuban colony. Joseph C. Harsch wrote in the Feb. 20 *Christian Science Monitor*: "Regrettable or otherwise, the plain fact is that United States' European allies feel themselves massively unengaged in the issue against Señor Castro."

"In Washington's eyes he may be the beachhead of communism in the Americas, but in European eyes he looks more like a rather entertaining Robin Hood stealing from the rich to give to his own poor."

Revolutionary Cuba Answers OAS

The Second Declaration of Havana

— The full text begins on page 3 —

Two Rights Fighters Jailed in Louisiana; Face 10-Year Term

ATLANTA, Ga. — Two field representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were arrested Feb. 17 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on trumped-up charges of "criminal anarchy."

SNCC Chairman Charles McDew and Robert Zellner, a white SNCC field secretary, had gone to the East Baton Rouge Parish Jail to visit Dion Diamond, a SNCC field secretary, arrested Feb. 1 for "trespassing, disorderly conduct, and vagrancy" when he stepped from a taxi onto the Southern University campus.

McDew and Zellner had asked the jailer if they could bring Diamond some fruit and books. They were told they could and when they returned to the jail they were arrested by the parish District Attorney and charged with "vagrancy." Later, Attorney Johnnie Jones of Baton Rouge told the SNCC office in Atlanta that the charge against them had been raised to "criminal anarchy." This charge is defined as "an attempt to overthrow the government of the United States or the state of Louisiana" and carries a ten-year sentence.

McDew and Zellner are being held on \$7,000 bond each, and Diamond on \$6,000 bond.

The Atlanta SNCC office protested the arrests to the FBI and the U.S. Justice Department in Washington, D.C. In a telegram to a Justice Department official, SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman said the "criminal anarchy" charge was "absurd" and

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Vietnam Build-Up Invites Major War

By Harry Ring

Washington's refusal to discuss China's Feb. 24 charge that its intervention in South Vietnam is a threat to Chinese security adds to the danger that South Vietnam may explode into a new Korean-type war. The shrugging off of the Chinese warning coincided with reports that anti-guerrilla forces are now crossing the border into North Vietnam.

Correspondents were quick to note China's declaration that it cannot tolerate a further U.S. military build-up in South Vietnam paralleled the warning issued by China in 1950 before it threw massive forces into the Korean war as U.S. troops approached the Yalu River border of Korea and Manchuria. That provocation of the Chinese was primarily responsible for more than 140,000 American casualties.

The Kennedy administration has cause for refusing to discuss the Chinese charge that its intervention in the Vietnamese civil war is a flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva agreement which limited foreign military personnel in the area to 685 men.

It is unofficially admitted that some 4,000 GI's are now at war in South Vietnam. The real figure may be even higher and more forces are being poured in. And the original pretext for the violation of the Geneva accord — that the Viet Cong guerrillas were actually North Vietnamese "aggressors" — has fallen apart.

On the basis of reports from its correspondents, *Newsweek* reported Feb. 12 that the Viet Cong forces "are not 'invaders' from North Vietnam." The same admission was made by the *New York Times*.

Despite the U.S. censorship — designed to keep the American people from knowing what's really going on there — it has become painfully apparent that the GI's have been sent to South Vietnam to save the corrupt Diem dictator-

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Meeting Hears Vivid Report On Latin America



Joseph Hansen

NEW YORK — An audience of 220 filled the Terrace Room of the Henry Hudson Hotel Feb. 23 for the opening meeting of Joseph Hansen's national speaking tour on the subject, *What Makes Latin America Explosive?* Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, has just returned from a four-month visit to all the major countries of South America.

The meeting reflected the growing interest in Latin America, particularly among partisans of the Cuban Revolution. Applause swept the hall as Hansen detailed the wide popular support for Cuba in Latin America as he had observed it at first-hand.

His eye-witness account of important strikes and demonstrations was coupled with an impressive compilation of factual data he has gathered, graphically demonstrating the basis of the deep social unrest in Latin America. Many members of the audience, who felt they had a good working knowledge of the extent of exploitation and poverty south of the border, realized they had but skimmed the surface of the subject.

Of particular interest was his analysis of Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" program and his documented material showing who the real authors of the program were.

A high point of the talk came when he described how, despite a massive battery of soldiers and police during Kennedy's visit to Venezuela, people there ingeniously succeeded in letting the American president know of their support for Cuba.

Hansen will be speaking in Denver March 8-10 and in San Diego March 13-14.

Hospital Union Will Test Antilabor Law

MINNEAPOLIS—Building Service Employees Local 113, representing nearly 3,000 non-professional employees in private Minnesota hospitals, will test the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Law.

A union spokesman said the union has refused to file reports with the federal government as a planned test of the law. In reprisal, Secretary of Labor Goldberg has filed suit in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., seeking to compel the union to file its annual financial reports and copies of its constitution.

The union spokesman said: "We have nothing to hide. . . . Our books are audited by a certified public accountant. But we think it's unfair to deny us the protection of federal law on the one hand and subject us to its requirements on the other."

He pointed out that hospitals generally have been held not to be interstate commerce and on this basis union demands for representation elections and charges of unfair labor practices have been barred from consideration by the National Labor Relations Board.

As a result, he added, a state labor law prohibiting strikes by hospital employees and requiring arbitration of their disputes has been applied to Local 113.

"We are given none of the privileges of labor organization in interstate commerce," the union spokesman said, "but are compelled to assume all the obligations."

Birchers Stick Nose Into Union's Affairs

Supporters of the ultra-right, antilabor John Birch Society have intervened in the internal affairs of Local 2058 of the United Steelworkers of America. The local's members work at U.S. Steel's Consolidated Western plant in a suburb of Los Angeles.

The problems they face, and which the Birchers are attempting to take advantage of, are indicative of those facing the Steelworkers generally. Heavy layoffs due to automation and cutbacks in the industry have brought the local's membership down from 2,500 to 750 in recent years.

The company has been claiming it doesn't make enough money off the plant, which has a tradition of militancy and above average working conditions. When the company began cutting into these conditions, the local's grievance committee resisted.

The John Birch Society supporters got into the act recently when the company introduced a "security clearance" program under which it fired a union member. The local's committee began processing the member's grievance. Soon, leaflets appeared inside the plant containing quotations from the Birch Society's "Blue Book," and a campaign against

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...U.S. Invites Major War in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)
ship from the wrath of the South Vietnamese peasantry who are the backbone and sustaining force of the Viet Cong freedom fighters.

The U.S. is so deeply committed to staving off a basic social transformation in that blighted country that it must even defend Diem from his own officer caste whose unrest was dramatically expressed in the Feb. 27 plane bombing of Diem's palace.

Washington's frustration at being unable to come to grips with

the Viet Cong guerrillas, who simply melt into the friendly peasant population when necessary, has driven it to desperate measures.

Secretary of Defense McNamara in a Feb. 20 effort at a "progress report," blurted out that Diem's forces, using U.S. equipment, are making sorties into North Vietnam. It was officially denied that they were accompanied by GI's. But even if this dubious claim were true, responsibility for the border violations would still rest with the U.S. whose "advisory" force has assumed actual command of Diem's army.

Within South Vietnam, U.S. brass hats find themselves in an insoluble bind. They can't "pacify" the guerrilla fighters without support from the peasantry, but they don't intend to side with the peasantry against dictator Diem.

After a Pentagon briefing, *Times* dopesther Tad Szulc wisely explained Feb. 26 that victory over the Viet Cong required aid from the peasants. "Such aid," he said, "would call for peasants to resist Communist indoctrination and to supply the government with information about guerrillas." He implied that this might require social reforms.

Tight Controls

But the day before, Homer Bigart reported from Saigon in the same paper that, "Last week, in another apparent concession to Diem's wisdom [!], the United States agreed that any relaxation of tight political controls would be dangerous right now."

And on Feb. 23 *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Robert S. Boyd reported from Washington: "Fundamental social reforms are important in the long run, but not right now. Guerrilla experts feel some people in Washington . . . overemphasize the value of social reform."

French Trotskyists Win Case on Algerian Issue

Four French Trotskyists have been finally acquitted of charges of violating "the security of the state" by writing articles in their newspaper, *La Verité*, denouncing the war against the Algerian people. Those acquitted are: Gerard Bloch, Stephane Just, Pierre Lambert and Daniel Renard.

The case stemmed from articles in *La Verité* in 1956 and 1957. The authorities at first brought the militant defenders of the Algerian independence struggle before a military court on charges of "undertaking to demoralize the army." This move, a sinister precedent making antiwar journalists liable to court martial, was defeated in October 1960 and the case remanded to a civilian court. That court finally ruled Feb. 12: "The free expression of ideological or political opinion cannot be considered as an act against the security of the state."

... Louisiana Jailing

(Continued from Page 1)
that the arrests "prove that officials are intimidating members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee by illegally arresting them on trumped-up charges and then imposing excessive bail."

"We feel," Forman said, "that at this point in history and the struggle for human dignity, the United States Justice Department must act to enjoin these officials from arbitrarily arresting those working to register voters and to improve race relations."

Civil-rights and human-relations organizations have been asked to send letters of protest to the Justice Department. The office of SNCC, which is in need of funds, is at 197 1/2 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Georgia Unions May Be Hit by Pro-Bias Law

A Georgia law originally aimed against civil-rights demonstrators may be used against labor unions. The law requires that any group wishing to "demonstrate" on any state property obtain a permit signed by the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives.

In a conference with Governor S. Ernest Vandiver Feb. 16, James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Charles A. Black of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights asked that the bill be vetoed. Questioned whether the bill would apply to labor union pickets in other Georgia cities, who might not be able to contact all three top state officials, Vandiver replied, "They would just have to wait." Vandiver signed the bill into law.

In Macon, Georgia, where an anti-segregation bus boycott is in progress, a white candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Jack Dorsey, is attempting to break the boycott by handing out free bus fare tokens. He said white persons can have them if they promise to use them on the bus, and Negroes can have them if they promise to sit in the back of the bus. The boycott is still 99 per cent effective, according to Rev. E. B. Paschal, a local NAACP leader.

White business men in Macon tried to subsidize the bus company by buying quantities of tokens, but they gave this up after a few days.

... Birchers

(Continued from Page 1)
the grievance committee and for more "harmony" with the company was opened.

At a heated local meeting, called to consider the grievance, disorder prevailed and the meeting ended without a vote. The international union, headed by David J. McDonald, used this as a pretext to place the local under receivership and appoint John Despol as administrator. Despol continued to process the grievance, but removed the local's grievance committee.

In a statement issued Feb. 1 he ominously listed as one problem to be solved: "a high-cost plant operation wherein the local plant management may be at a competitive cost disadvantage." In addition, Despol's statement attempts to make "the Communist party" the scapegoat for the problems, saying "the cold war is being waged" at the plant and that this is responsible for mistrust between the local union and the company.

To top it off, Despol extends an invitation to the head of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, to make a contribution to the local union's Defense of Freedom Fund. Despol says this "is a most practical way to fight all Communist-front organizations in the local phase of the cold war."

Despol, no doubt, thinks this is a super-clever way to cut the ground out from under the Birchers. But it is the kind of super-cleverness that destroys unions, for Despol has simply granted the Birchers their central point — the hysterical myth that "Communists" are responsible for all the troubles of the time.

His implication that the workers in the plant should sacrifice their hard won conditions to company demands — in the name of the cold war — is equally dangerous, and no doubt more seriously meant. For Despol here has crudely blurted out the meaning of the influence of the Kennedy administration over McDonald, in the national contract negotiations now under way.

Farewell to Natalia

By Joseph Hansen

The following is the text of the remarks by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, at the funeral of Natalia Trotsky in Paris on Jan. 29.

* * *

I met Natalia for the first time in September 1937 when I joined the Trotsky household as a secretary. Over the three-year period in Mexico before the assassination, I came to know Natalia well.

I saw her in a moment of great triumph when the Dewey Commission brought in its verdict that Trotsky and Leon Sedov were not guilty and that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups. That was a day of joy and elation in the household.

I saw Natalia when the news came about her son Leon Sedov — murdered in a Paris hospital. Those were black days.

I participated with her in the routine jobs — organization of the household and the every day work of facilitating LD's contributions to the world socialist movement.

And I was with her when this work at times reached high tension as during the week of the last big Moscow Trial when Bukharin fell victim to the purges.

Visitors

From my place in the household, I could catch the pleasure she felt over visitors like the Bretons, over friends like the Riveras and the Ruehles, and could glimpse some of the more complex sides of these personal relationships.

I had the opportunity of observing at close range how she bore up under the year-in and year-out strain of waiting for the killers to strike. I was with her on that most tragic day of all her life when the assassin sank his ax in Trotsky's brain. I remember how she bent over the Old Man as he lay on the floor and how she wiped the blood from his face. I came to know Natalia very well.

She had certain weaknesses. On the political side, her judgments were not always accurate — I speak of accuracy and not of departure from principles. On the personal side, she could be arbitrary and even harsh with closest comrades. This was well known to her intimate friends. Perhaps it was not so well known that she was aware of this weakness and sought to compensate for it; sometimes, I felt, too much in the opposite extreme.

But this was only the surface of Natalia's character; on a more profound level she was among the strongest. She was a rebel.

By that I mean it was in her nature to reject the worst and to seek out the best in the culture we

have received from the past — to seek to protect and foster this heritage. This quality requires capacity to resist all forces that would tear down that culture; and this in turn signifies recognition that our culture cannot stand still. It can be safeguarded only by

Cuban Tribute

The Feb. 12 issue of *Bohemia*, Cuba's leading magazine, carried a photograph of Natalia Trotsky's funeral. The caption on the photo read: "Historic figure. Leon Trotsky's widow in Paris where she died last week. The red flag of the Soviets covers her and stands guard on the wall, alongside portraits of Marx and Trotsky himself in the company of Lenin, and other souvenirs of a long and fighting life."

developing it. In our times that requires revolutionary struggle.

Acceptance of these facts constituted the core of Natalia's outlook. She was a rebel. One of the best of that great generation of rebels who carried through the first successful proletarian revolution. In this, Natalia stands as a model for the new generation, the youth of today who hold the destiny of the world in their hands.

In her final year Natalia came to Paris. This center of world culture was a city that she loved. Here, too, she had old friends whom she wanted to see, possibly for the last time. Moreover, in Paris it was easier to carry on her final political battle — the struggle to win recognition in the Soviet Union of Trotsky's true historic role.

Loved Mexico

She came to Paris perhaps in way of final parting; but she wished that her ashes be returned to Mexico. It was not just that she wanted them placed beside those of LD. She loved Mexico — its colorful land and warm-hearted people. She was deeply appreciative of the political asylum granted by Mexico. She was especially grateful to Cárdenas for his support of this democratic right when no other government would recognize it; for many governments nowadays practice democracy in inverse proportion to their talk about it. In upholding this right for Trotsky and for his widow, Cárdenas and the governments that succeeded him wrote a page in history in which every Mexican can take pride. It is fitting that Mexico should remain the eternal resting place of this great revolutionary couple.

We have met to say farewell to Natalia. On behalf of *The Militant*, the *International Socialist Review* and the Socialist Workers Party, I want to say simply, "I hope we can do as well."

Yale Station Broadcasts Hansen on Latin America

NEW HAVEN — Nearly 200 students and townspeople heard Joseph Hansen's report on Latin America at a Feb. 25 meeting at Yale's Political Union Center.

The meeting was sponsored and broadcast by Yale radio station WYBC, AM-FM, which reaches about 10,000 people in the state.

The station originally organized the meeting as a debate on the issue: "Which Way for Latin America—Castro's or Kennedy's?" But at the last minute Hansen's opponent, a representative of the Connecticut Anti-Communist League, withdrew with an admission that he was not qualified to debate the subject.

The station had originally canvassed Yale's faculty to find someone to debate Hansen but couldn't produce a single professor ready to defend Kennedy's position.

Taber Resigns As FPCC Head

NEW YORK — The Fair Play for Cuba Committee announced Feb. 21 the resignation of its executive secretary, Robert Taber.

Taber, a former CBS newsman who covered the Cuban Revolution, was one of those who founded FPCC in April 1960. After being forced to resign from CBS News because of his support of the Cuban Revolution, Taber went to Cuba in December 1960 where he worked as a journalist and photographer for the Cuban papers, *El Mundo* and *Revolución*. While in Cuba, he completed his book: *M-26 Biography of a Revolution*.

Richard Gibson, another former CBS newsman who has been acting executive secretary of the FPCC since Taber's departure from the U.S., made public Taber's resignation. He said Taber mailed his letter of resignation from London, where he is completing a European tour before returning to the United States.

Personal Reasons

Gibson said that Taber had previously sent a letter of resignation from Havana in January 1961 but had been persuaded to delay the resignation. He said he regretted Taber's decision but felt obliged now to accept the resignation, which Taber said was prompted by "compelling personal problems and professional commitments" that would not allow him "in the foreseeable future to play a more than nominal role" in FPCC activities.

Taber added, "... my decision in no way reflects any change of attitude or sympathy on my part with regard to the constructiveness and noble purpose of FPCC. The committee was founded with the stated purpose of working for a more enlightened American policy with respect to Cuba . . . The interest and support of thousands of Americans testify to the courage and integrity with which you and your co-workers have pursued these policies . . . in the face of the bitterest persecution."

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

DISARMAMENT — HOW? — A symposium presenting conflicting views on unilateral vs. bilateral disarmament. Speakers, Prof. Martin Orans, social science department, Monteith College, and Frank Lovell, state chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 9, 8:00 pm. Dabs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

What Makes Latin America Explosive? A first-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*. Fri., March 16, 8:15 p.m. Park Manor, 607 So. Western. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c). Ausp. *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

NEW YORK

FRANK WILKINSON, just released from prison after serving term for defying House Un-Americans, speaks on *Civil Liberties, the McCarran Act and the Campaign to Abolish HUAC*. Fri., March 9, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum*.

Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name
Street
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State

Second Declaration of Havana

On May 18, 1895, on the eve of his death from a Spanish bullet through the heart, José Martí, apostle of our independence, said in an unfinished letter to his friend, Manuel Mercado:

"Now I am able to write . . . I am in danger each day now of giving my life for my country and for my obligation . . . of preventing in time — through Cuba's independence — the United States from extending its control over the Antilles and consequently falling with that much more force upon our countries of America. Whatever I have done till now, and whatever I shall do, has been with that aim"

"The people most vitally concerned in preventing the imperialist annexation of Cuba, which would make Cuba the starting point of that course — which must be blocked and which we are blocking with our blood — of annexation of our American nations to the violent and brutal North which despises them, are being hindered by lesser and public commitments from the open and avowed espousal of this sacrifice, which is being made for our and their benefit."

"I have lived inside the monster and know its guts; and my sling is the sling of David."

In 1895, Martí already pointed out the danger hovering over America and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He pointed out to the people of Latin America that more than anyone, they had a stake in seeing to it that Cuba did not succumb to the greed of the Yankee, scornful of the peoples of Latin America. And with his own blood, shed for Cuba and America, he wrote the words which posthumously, in homage to his memory, the people of Cuba place at the head of this declaration.

Humiliation

Sixty-seven years have passed. Puerto Rico was converted into a colony and is still a colony saturated with military bases. Cuba also fell into the clutches of imperialism. Their troops occupied our territory. The Platt Amendment was imposed on our first constitution, as a humiliating clause which sanctioned the odious right of foreign intervention. Our riches passed into their hands, our history was falsified, our government and our politics were entirely molded in the interests of the overseers; the nation subjected to 60 years of political, economic and cultural suffocation.

But Cuba arose. Cuba was able to redeem itself from the bastard guardianship. Cuba broke the chains which tied its fortunes to those of the imperial oppressor, redeemed its riches, reclaimed its culture, and unfurled its banner of Free Territory and People of America.

Now the United States will never again be able to use Cuba's strength against America, but conversely, dominating the majority of the other Latin-American states, the United States is attempting to use the strength of America against Cuba.

What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world?

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century a handful of economically developed nations had finished partitioning the world among themselves, subjecting to its economic and political domination two-thirds of humanity, which was thus forced to work for the ruling classes of the economically advanced capitalist countries.

The historic circumstances which permitted certain European countries and the United States

of America a high level of industrial development placed them in a position to subject the rest of the world to their domination and exploitation.

What motives compelled the expansion of the industrial powers? Were they reasons of morality and civilizing as they claim? No: They were economic reasons.

From the discovery of America, which hurled the European conquerors across the seas to occupy and exploit the lands and inhabitants of other continents, the fundamental motive for their conduct was the desire for riches. The discovery of America itself was carried out in search of shorter routes to the Orient whose goods were highly paid for in Europe.

Thirst for Gold

A new social class, the merchants and the producers of manufactured articles for commerce, arose from the womb of the feudal society of lords and serfs in the decline of the middle ages.

The thirst for gold was the cause which spurred the efforts of that new class. The desire for gain was the incentive of its conduct through history. With the growth of manufacturing and commerce its social influence also grew. The new productive forces which were developing in the womb of feudal society clashed more and more with their subjection, its laws, its institutions, its philosophy, its morality, its art and its political ideology.

New philosophical and political ideas, new concepts of right and of the state were proclaimed by the intellectual representatives of the bourgeois class, which — because they responded to the new necessities of social life — gradually entered into the consciousness of the exploited masses. They were then revolutionary ideas opposed to those outworn ideas of feudal society. The peasants, the artisans, the workers in manufacture, led by the bourgeoisie, overthrew the feudal order, its philosophy, its ideas, its institutions, its laws and the privileges of the ruling class, that is, the hereditary nobility.

At that time the bourgeoisie considered revolution necessary and just. It did not think that the feudal order could and should be eternal — as it now thinks of its capitalist social order.

It encouraged the peasants to free themselves from feudal servitude, it encouraged the artisans against the medieval guilds and demanded the right to political power. The absolute monarchs, the nobility and the high clergy stubbornly defended their class privileges, proclaiming the divine right of kings and the immutability of the social order. To be liberal, to proclaim the ideas of Voltaire, Diderot, or Jean Jacques Rousseau, spokesmen for bourgeois philosophy, then constituted in the eyes of the ruling classes as serious a crime as it is today in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to be a socialist and to proclaim the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

When the bourgeoisie took political power and established upon the ruins of feudal society its capitalist mode of production, on this mode of production it erected its state, its laws, its ideas and institutions. Those institutions sanctified in the first instance the essence of its class rule: private property.

The new society based on the private ownership of the means of production and free competition was thus divided into two basic classes: One the owner of the means of production, ever more modern and efficient; the other, deprived of all wealth, possessing only its labor power, of necessity sold in the market as another piece of merchandise simply in order to live.

With the feudal bonds broken, the productive forces developed extraordinarily. Great factories

arose in which greater and greater numbers of workers were assembled.

The most modern and technically efficient factories continually displace from the market the less efficient competitors. The cost of industrial equipment continually rose. It became necessary to accumulate more and more capital. A greater portion of production passed into a smaller number of hands. Thus arose the great capitalist enterprises and later, according to the degree and character of the association, the great industrial combines through cartels, syndicates, trusts and corporations, controlled by the owners of the major portion of the stock, that is to say, by the most powerful heads of industry. Free play, characteristic of capitalism in its first phase, gave way to monopolies which entered into agreements among themselves and controlled the markets.

Where did the colossal quantity of resources come from which permitted a handful of monopolists to accumulate billions of dollars? Simply from the exploitation of human labor. Millions of men, forced to work for a wage of bare subsistence, produced with their strength the gigantic capital of the monopolies. The workers amassed the fortunes of the privileged classes, ever richer, ever more powerful. Through the banking institutions these classes were able to make use not only of their own money but that of all society. Thus was brought about the fusion of the banks with great industry and finance capital was born. What should they do with the great surplus of capital which was accumulating in ever greater quantities? Invade the world with it. Always in pursuit of profit, they began to seize the natural resources of all the economically weak countries and to exploit the human labor of their inhabitants with much more wretched wages than what they were forced to pay to the workers of their own developed countries. Thus began the territorial and economic division of the world. By 1914, eight or ten imperialist countries had subjugated territories beyond their own borders covering more than 83,700,000 square kilometers, with a population of 970,000,000 inhabitants. They had simply divided up the world.

Imperialist Wars

But as the world, limited in size, was divided to the last corner of the earth, a clash ensued among the different monopolist nations and struggles arose for new divisions, originating in the disproportionate distribution of industrial and economic power which the various monopolistic nations had attained in their uneven development. Imperialist wars broke out which would cost humanity 50 million dead, tens of millions wounded and the destruction of incalculable material and cultural wealth. Even before this had happened Karl Marx wrote that "capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot from every pore with blood and mire."

The capitalist system of production, once it had given all of which it was capable, became an abysmal obstacle to the progress of humanity. But the bourgeoisie from its origins carried within itself its contradiction. In its womb gigantic productive instruments were developed, but with time a new and vigorous social force developed: the proletariat, destined to change the old and worn-out social system of capitalism to a superior socio-economic form in accordance with the historic possibilities of human society, converting into social property those gigantic means of production which the people, and no one else but the people, by their work had created and amassed. At such a stage of development, the productive forces made completely



anachronistic and outmoded a regime which stood for private ownership and with it the economic subordination of millions and millions of human beings to the dictates of a small social minority.

The interests of humanity cried out for a halt to the anarchy of production, the waste, economic crises and the rapacious wars which are part of the capitalist system. The growing necessities of the human race and the possibility of satisfying them, demanded the planned development of the economy and the rational utilization of its means of production and natural resources.

It was inevitable that imperialism and colonialism would fall into a profound and insoluble crisis. The general crisis began with the outbreak of World War I, with the revolution of the workers and peasants which overthrew the Czarist empire of Russia and founded, amidst the most difficult conditions of capitalist encirclement and aggression, the world's first socialist state, opening a new era in the history of humanity. Since that time until today, the crisis and decomposition of the imperialist system has incessantly worsened.

World War II, unleashed by the imperialist powers — and into which were dragged the Soviet Union and other criminally-invaded peoples of Asia and Europe, who engaged in a bloody struggle of liberation — culminated in the defeat of fascism, formation of the world camp of socialism, and the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for their sovereignty. Between 1945 and 1957 more than 1.2 billion human beings conquered their independence in Asia and Africa. The blood shed by the people was not in vain.

The movement of the dependent and colonial peoples is a phenomenon of universal character which agitates the world and marks the final crisis of imperialism.

Cuba and Latin America are part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems engendered by the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjugated peoples; the clash between the world that is being born and the world that is dying. The odious and brutal campaign unleashed against our nation expresses the desperate as well as

futile effort which the imperialists are making to prevent the liberation of the peoples. Cuba hurts the imperialists in a special way. What is it that is hidden behind the Yankees' hate of the Cuban revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy, uniting for the same aggressive purpose the most powerful and rich imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, economically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country? What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin-American revolution. Not fear of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive layers of the middle strata which by revolutionary means have taken power in Cuba; but fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle strata will by revolutionary means take power in the oppressed and hungry countries exploited by the Yankee monopolies and reactionary oligarchies of America, fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba, declare themselves free people of America.

Specter of Cuba

By crushing the Cuban revolution they hope to dispel the fear that torments them, the specter of the revolution that threatens them. By liquidating the Cuban revolution, they hope to liquidate the revolutionary spirit of the people. They imagine in their delirium that Cuba is an exporter of revolutions. In their sleepless, merchants' and usurers' minds there is the idea that revolutions can be bought, sold, rented, loaned, exported and imported like some piece of merchandise. Ignorant of the objective laws that govern the development of human societies, they believe that their monopolistic, capitalistic and semi-feudal regimes are eternal. Educated in their own reactionary ideology, a mixture of superstition, ignorance, subjectivism, pragmatism and other mental aberrations

The OAS — A Yankee Ministry of Colonies

tions, they have an image of the world and of the march of history conforming to their interests as exploiting classes.

They imagine that revolutions are born or die in the brains of individuals or are caused by divine laws and moreover that the gods are on their side. They have always thought that way — from the devout patrician pagans of Roman slave society who hurled the early Christians to the lions at the circus and the inquisitors of the middle ages who, as guardians of feudalism and absolute monarchy, burned at the stake the first representatives of liberal thought of the nascent bourgeoisie, up to today's bishops who anathematize proletarian revolutions in defense of the bourgeois and monopolist regime.

All reactionary classes in all historic epochs, when the antagonism between exploiters and exploited reaches its highest peak, presaging the arrival of a new social regime, have turned to the worst weapons of repression and calumny against their adversaries. The primitive Christians were taken to their martyrdom accused of burning Rome and of sacrificing children on their altars. Philosophers like Giordano Bruno, reformers like Hus, and thousands of other nonconformists with the feudal order, were accused of heresy and taken by the inquisitors to be burned at the stake.

Today persecution rages over the proletarian fighters and this crime brings out the worst calumnies in the monopolist and bourgeois press. Always, in each historic epoch, the ruling classes have committed murder — invoking the defense of society, the country, order — to defend the privileged minorities against the exploited majorities: "Their class rule," maintained by blood and fire against the dispossessed; "the country," whose fruits only they enjoy, depriving the rest of the people of those fruits, in order to repress the revolutionaries who aspire to a new society, a just order, a country truly for all.

March of Humanity

But the development of history, the ascending march of humanity does not hold back, nor can it be held back. The forces which impel the people, who are the real makers of history, determined by the material conditions of their existence and the aspirations for higher goals of well-being and liberty, which emerge when the progress of man in the fields of science, technology and culture make it possible, are superior to the will and the terror unleashed by the ruling oligarchies.

The subjective conditions of each country, that is to say, the conscious factor, organization, leadership, can accelerate or retard the revolution, according to its greater or lesser degree of development, but sooner or later, in each historic epoch, when the objective conditions mature, consciousness is acquired, the organization is formed, the leadership emerges and the revolution takes place.

Whether this takes place peacefully or in painful birth does not depend on the revolutionists, it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society, who resist the birth of the new society engendered by the contradictions carried in the womb of the old society. The revolution is in history like the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life. It does not needlessly use the tools of force, but will use them without hesitation whenever necessary to help the birth. A birth which brings to the enslaved and exploited masses the hope of a new and better life.

In many countries of Latin America the revolution is today inevitable. That fact is not determined by anyone's will. It is



Fidel Castro

determined by the horrifying conditions of exploitation in which American man lives, the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, the world crisis of imperialism and the universal movement of struggle of the subjugated peoples.

The anxiety felt today is an unmistakable symptom of rebellion. The very depths of a continent are profoundly moved, a continent which has witnessed four centuries of slave, semi-slave, and feudal exploitation beginning with its aboriginal inhabitants and slaves brought from Africa, up to the nuclei of nationalities which emerged later: white, black, mulatto, mestizo and Indian, who today are made brothers by the scorn, humiliation and the Yankee yoke, and are brothers in their hope for a better tomorrow.

The peoples of America liberated themselves from Spanish colonialism at the beginning of the last century, but they did not free themselves from exploitation. The feudal landowners assumed the authority of the Spanish rulers, the Indians continued in painful servitude, the Latin-American man in one form or another continued to be a slave and the tiniest hopes of the people gave way under the power of the oligarchies and the yoke of foreign capital. This has been the truth of America — in one hue or another, in one variation or another. Today Latin America lies beneath an imperialism fiercer, much more powerful and crueler than the Spanish colonial empire.

And before the objective reality and the historically inexorable Latin-American revolution, what is the attitude of Yankee imperialism? To prepare to wage a colonial war against the peoples of Latin America; to create an apparatus of force, the political pretexts and the pseudo-legal instruments subscribed to by the reactionary oligarchies to repress with blood and fire the struggle of the Latin-American peoples.

The intervention of the government of the United States in the internal politics of the countries of Latin America has become more open and unbridled each time.

The Inter-American Defense Council, for example, has been and is the nest where the most reactionary and pro-Yankee officers of the Latin-American armies are trained, for use later as shock troops in the service of the monopolies.

The North American military missions in Latin America constitute a permanent apparatus of espionage in each nation directly tied to the Central Intelligence Agency, inculcating in those of-

ficers the most reactionary sentiments and trying to convert the armies into instruments of its own political and economic interests.

Presently, in the Panama Canal zone, the North-American high command has organized special courses to train Latin-American officers in fighting against revolutionary guerrillas, with the aim of repressing the armed action of the peasant masses against the feudal exploitation to which they are subjected.

In the United States itself the Central Intelligence Agency has organized special schools to train Latin-American agents in the most subtle forms of assassination; and in the Yankee military services the physical liquidation of the anti-imperialist leaders is an accepted policy.

It is notorious that the Yankee embassies in the different Latin-American countries are organizing, instructing and equipping fascist bands to spread terror and to attack labor, student and intellectual organizations. These bands, into which they recruit the sons of the oligarchies, lumpen, and people of the lowest moral character, have already perpetrated a series of aggressive acts against the mass movements.

Santo Domingo

Nothing is more evident and unequivocal about the intentions of imperialism than its recent conduct in the events in Santo Domingo. Without any kind of justification, without even making use of diplomatic relations with that republic, the United States, after stationing its warships before the Dominican capital, declared with its usual arrogance, that if Balaguer's government sought military aid, it would land troops in Santo Domingo against the insurgence of the Dominican people. That Balaguer's power was absolutely spurious, that each sovereign country of Latin America should have the right to resolve its internal problems without foreign intervention, that there exist international norms and world opinions, that there even exists an OAS, did not count at all in the considerations of the United States.

What did count were its designs for holding back the Dominican revolution, the reinstatement of its odious policy of landing marines, with no more basis or prerequisite for establishing this new buccaneer concept of law, than a tyrannical, illegitimate, crisis-ridden ruler's simple request. The significance of this should not escape the peoples of Latin America. In Latin America there are more than enough of the kind of rulers who are ready to use Yankee troops against their own people when they find themselves in crisis.

North-American imperialism's declared policy of sending soldiers to fight the revolutionary movement of any country in Latin America, that is to say, to kill workers, students, peasants, Latin-American men and women, has no other objective than the continued maintenance of its monopolistic interests and the privileges of the traitorous oligarchies which support it.

It can now be seen clearly that the military pacts signed by the government of the United States with Latin-American governments — often secret pacts and always behind the back of the people — invoking hypothetical foreign dangers which no one saw anywhere, had the sole and exclusive object of preventing the struggle of the people; they were pacts against the people; against the sole danger — the native danger of the liberation movement that would imperil the Yankee interests. It was not without reason that the people asked themselves: Why so many military agreements? Why

the shipment of arms which, even though technically outmoded for modern war, are yet efficient for smashing strikes, repressing popular demonstrations, staining the land with blood? Why the military missions, the pact of Rio de Janeiro and the thousand and one international conferences?

Since the end of World War II, the nations of Latin America have been impoverished more and more, their exports have less and less value, their imports cost more, the per capita income falls, the awful rate of infant mortality does not decrease, the number of illiterates is higher, the people lack jobs, land, adequate housing, schools, hospitals, means of communication and means of life. On the other hand, North-American investments exceed ten billion dollars. Latin America, moreover, is the provider of cheap raw materials, and the buyer of expensive finished articles. Like the first Spanish conquerors, who bartered mirrors and trinkets for gold and silver — that is how the United States trades with Latin America. To guard that torrent of riches, to gain ever more control of Latin America's resources and exploit its suffering peoples — that is what is hidden behind the military pacts, the military missions and Washington's diplomatic lobbying.

This policy of gradual strangulation of the sovereignty of the Latin-American nations and of a free hand to intervene in their internal affairs culminated in the recent meeting of foreign Ministers at Punta del Este. Yankee imperialism gathered the ministers together to wrest from them — through political pressure and unprecedented economic blackmail in collusion with a group of the most discredited rulers of this continent — the renunciation of the national sovereignty of our peoples and the consecration of the Yankees' odious right of intervention in the internal affairs of Latin America; the submission of the peoples entirely to the will of the United States of North America, against which all our great men, from Bolivar to Sandino, fought. Neither the government of the United States, nor the representatives of the exploiting oligarchies, nor the big reactionary press, in the pay of the monopolies and feudal lords — they did not conceal themselves but openly demanded agreements which constituted formal suppression of the right of self-determination of our peoples; abolishing it with a stroke of the pen at the most infamous conspiracy in the memory of this continent.

Buying Votes

Behind closed doors, in reluctant meetings, where the Yankee minister of colonies dedicated entire days to beating down the resistance and scruples of some ministers, bringing into play the millions of the Yankee Treasury in an undisguised buying and selling of votes, a handful of representatives of the oligarchies of countries which together barely add up to a third of the continent's population, imposed agreements that served on a silver platter to the Yankee master the head of a principle which cost the blood of all our countries since the wars of independence. The Pyrrhic character of such sad and fraudulent accomplishments of imperialism, its moral failure, the broken unanimity and the universal scandal do not diminish the grave danger which agreements imposed at such a price have brought so close to the peoples of Latin America. At that evil conclave Cuba's thundering voice was raised without weakness or fear to indict, before all the peoples of America and the world, the monstrous attempt, to defend with a virility and dignity, which will be clear in the annals of

history, not only Cuba's rights but the deserted rights of all our sister nations of the American Continent. The word of Cuba could find no echo in that housebroken majority, but neither could it find a refutation; only impotent silence befell its demolishing arguments, the clearness and courage of its words. But Cuba did not speak for the ministers, Cuba spoke for the people and for history, where its words will be echoed and answered.

At Punta del Este a great ideological battle unfolded between the Cuban revolution and Yankee imperialism. Who did they represent there, for whom did each speak? Cuba represented the people; the United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for America's exploited masses; the United States for the exploiting, oligarchical and imperialist interests; Cuba for sovereignty; the United States for intervention; Cuba for the nationalization of foreign enterprises; the United States for new investments by foreign capital. Cuba for culture; the United States for ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; the United States for great landed estates. Cuba for the industrialization of America; the United States for underdevelopment. Cuba for creative work; the United States for the sabotage and counter-revolutionary terror practiced by its agents — the destruction of sugar-cane fields and factories, the bombing by their pirate planes of the labor of a peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered alphabetizers; the United States for the assassins. Cuba for bread; the United States for hunger. Cuba for equality; the United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for the truth; the United States for lies. Cuba for liberation; the United States for oppression. Cuba for the bright future of humanity; the United States for the past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who fell at Giron to save the country from foreign domination; the United States for the mercenaries and traitors who serve the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among peoples; the United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; the United States for capitalism.

Shameful Methods

The agreements obtained by the United States through methods so shameful that the entire world criticizes them, do not diminish but increase the morality and force of reason of Cuba's stand, which exposes the sell-out and treason of the oligarchies to the national interests and shows the people the road to liberation. It reveals the corruption of the exploiting classes for whom their representatives spoke at Punta del Este. The OAS was revealed for what it really is — a Yankee Ministry of Colonies, a military alliance, an apparatus of repression against the liberation movement of the Latin-American peoples.

Cuba has lived three years of the revolution under incessant harassment of Yankee intervention in our internal affairs. Pirate airplanes coming from the United States, dropping incendiary substances, have burned millions of arrobas of sugar cane; acts of international sabotage perpetrated by Yankee agents, like the explosion of the ship "La Coubre," have cost dozens of Cuban lives; thousands of North-American weapons have been dropped in parachutes by the U.S. military services onto our territory to promote subversion; hundreds of tons of explosive materials and bombs have been secretly landed on our coast from North-American launches to promote sabotage and terrorism; a Cuban worker was tortured on the naval base of Guantanamo and deprived of his life with no due process before

Cuba's Policy: Land, Bread, Work, Liberty

or any explanation later; our sugar quota was abruptly cut and an embargo proclaimed on parts and raw materials for factories and North-American construction machinery, in order to ruin our economy. Cuban ports and installations have been surprise attacked by armed ships and bombers from bases prepared by the United States. Mercenary troops, organized and trained in countries of Central America by the same government, have in a warlike manner invaded our territories, escorted by ships of the Yankee fleet and with aerial support from foreign bases, causing much loss of life as well as material wealth; counter-revolutionary Cubans are being trained in the U.S. army and new plans of aggression against Cuba are being made. All this has been going on incessantly for three years, before the eyes of the whole continent — and the OAS was not aware of it.

The ministers meet in Punta del Este and do not even admonish the U.S. government nor the governments who are material accomplices to these aggressions. They expel Cuba, the Latin-American victim, the aggrieved nation.

The United States has military pacts with nations of all the continents; military blocs with whatever fascist, militarist and reactionary government there is in the world: NATO, SEATO and CENTO, to which we now have to add the OAS; it intervenes in Laos, in Vietnam, in Korea, in Formosa, in Berlin. It openly sends ships to Santo Domingo in order to impose its law, its will, and announces its proposal to use its NATO allies to block commerce with Cuba. And the OAS is not aware! The ministers meet and expel Cuba, which has no military pacts with any country. Thus the government that organizes subversion throughout the world and forges military alliances on four continents, forces the expulsion of Cuba, accusing her no less of subversion and ties beyond the continent.

Cuba's Record

Cuba, the Latin-American nation which has made landowners of more than 100,000 small farmers, insured employment all the year on state farms and co-operatives to all agricultural workers, transformed forts into schools, given 70,000 scholarships to university, secondary and technological students, created lecture halls for the entire child population, totally liquidating illiteracy, quadrupling medical services, nationalizing foreign interests, suppressing the abusive system which turned housing into a means of exploiting people, virtually eliminating unemployment, suppressing discrimination due to race or sex, ridding itself of gambling, vice and administrative corruption, armed the people, making the enjoyment of human rights a living reality by freeing man and woman from exploitation, lack of culture and social inequality, which has liberated itself from all foreign tutelage, acquired full sovereignty, and established the bases for the development of its economy in order no longer to be a country producing only one crop and exporting only raw materials, is expelled from the Organization of American States by governments which have not achieved for their people one of these objectives. How will they be able to justify their conduct before the peoples of America and the world? How will they be able to deny that in their concept the policy of land, of bread, of work, of health, of liberty, of equality and of culture, of accelerated development of the economy, of national dignity, of full self-determination and sovereignty, is incompatible with the hemisphere?

The people think very differently, the people think that the only thing incompatible with the des-

tiny of Latin America is misery, feudal exploitation, illiteracy, starvation wages, unemployment, the policy of repression against the masses of workers, peasants and students, discrimination against women, Negroes, Indians, mestizos, oppression by the oligarchies, the plundering of their wealth by the Yankee monopolists, the moral stagnation of their intellectuals and artists, the ruin of the small producers by foreign competition, economic underdevelopment, peoples without roads, without hospitals, without hous-



José Martí

ing, without schools, without industries, the submission to imperialism, the renunciation of national sovereignty and the betrayal of the country.

How can the imperialists make understood their conduct and condemnatory attitude toward Cuba? With what words and what argument are they going to speak to those whom, all the while exploiting, they ignored for so long?

Those who study the problems of America are accustomed to ask: what country, who, has concentrated upon — for the purpose of remedying — the situation of the idle, the poor, the Indians, the Negroes and the helpless infants, this immense number of infants — 30 million in 1950 (which will be 50 million in eight more years). Yes, who? What country?

Thirty-two million Indians — like the Andes Mountains — form the backbone of the entire American continent. It is clear that for those who considered the Indian more as a thing than a person, this mass of humanity does not count, did not count and, they thought, never would count. Of course, since they were considered a brute labor force, they had to be used like a yoke of oxen or a tractor.

How — under what oath — could anyone believe in any benefit, in any Alliance for Progress with imperialism, when under its saintly protection, its killings, its persecutions, the natives of the south of the continent, like those of Patagonia, still live under strips of canvas as did their ancestors at the time the discoverers came almost 500 years ago? Where are those great races which populated northern Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia, such as the Guarani who were savagely decimated, hunted like animals and buried in the depths of the jungle? Where is that reservoir of indigenous stock — whose extinction is continually hastened — which could have served as a base for a great American civilization? Across the Paraguayan swamps and mournful Bolivian highlands, deeper into itself, America has driven these primitive, melancholy races, brutalized by alcohol and narcotics to which they became addicted in order at least to survive in the subhuman conditions (not only of nutrition) in which they live. Where does a chain of hands stretch out almost in vain, yet stretching out vainly across centuries? Over the Andean peaks and slopes, along great rivers and

in the shadowy forests, it stretches uniting their miseries with those of others who are slowly perishing, Brazilian tribes and those of the North of the continent and the coasts, until in the most incredible and wild confines of the Amazonian jungle or mountain ranges of Perija, Venezuela's hundred thousand indigent are reached, then to the isolated Vapicharnas, who await their end, now almost definitely lost to the human race, in the hot regions of the Guianas. Yes, all these 32 million Indians, who extend from the United States border to the limits of the Southern hemisphere, and the 45 million mestizos, who for the most part differ little from the Indians; all these natives, this formidable reservoir of labor, whose rights have been trampled on, yes, what can imperialism offer them? How can these people, ignored so long, be made to believe in any benefit to come from such bloodstained hands?

Entire tribes which live unclothed; others which are supposed to be cannibalistic; others whose members die like flies upon their first contact with the conquering civilization; others which are banished, that is, thrown off their lands, pushed to the point of locating in the jungles, mountains or most distant reaches of the prairies where not even the smallest particle of culture, light, bread, nor anything penetrates.

In what "alliance" — other than one for their own more rapid extermination — are these native races going to believe, these races who have been flogged for centuries, shot so their lands could be taken, beaten to death by the thousands for not working faster in their exploited labor for imperialism?

"Alliance" for Negroes?

And to the Negro? What "alliance" can the system of lynching and brutal exclusion of the Negro offer to the 15 million Negroes and 14 million mulattoes of Latin America, who know with horror and rage that their brothers in the North cannot ride in the same vehicles as their white compatriots, nor attend the same schools, nor even die in the same hospitals?

How are these disinherited racial groups going to believe in this imperialism, in its benefits or in any "alliance" with it (which is not for lynching and exploiting them as slaves)? Those masses who have not been permitted even modestly to enjoy any cultural, social or professional benefits, who — even when they are in the majority or number millions — are mistreated by the imperialists in Ku Klux Klan costumes, are penned in the most insanitary neighborhoods, in the least comfortable tenements built expressly for them, are shoved into the most menial occupations, the hardest labor and the least lucrative professions. They cannot presume to reach the universities, advanced academies and private schools.

What Alliance for Progress can serve as encouragement to those 107 million men and women of our America, the backbone of labor in the cities and fields, whose dark skin — black, mestizo, mulatto, Indian — inspires scorn in the new colonialists? How are they — who with bitter impotence have seen how in Panama there is one wage-scale for Yankees and another for Panamanians, who are regarded as an inferior race — going to put any trust in the supposed Alliance?

What can the workers hope for, with their starvation wages, the hardest jobs, the most miserable conditions, lack of nutrition, illness and all the evils which foster misery?

What words can be said, what benefits can the imperialists offer to the copper, tin, iron, coal miners who cough up their lungs for the

profits of merciless foreign masters, and to the fathers and sons of the lumberjacks and rubber-plantation workers, to the harvesters of the fruit plantations, to the workers in the coffee and sugar mills, to the peons on the pampas and plains who with their health and lives amass the fortunes of the exploiters?

What can those vast masses — who produce the wealth, who create the values, who aid in bringing forth a new world in all places — expect? What can they expect from imperialism, that greedy mouth, that greedy hand, with no other vista than misery, the most absolute destitution and death, cold and unrecorded in the end?

What can this class, which has changed the course of history, expect, which in other places has revolutionized the world, which is the vanguard of all the humble and exploited, what can it expect from imperialism, its most irreconcilable enemy?

And to teachers, professors, professionals, intellectuals, poets and artists, what can imperialism offer? What kind of benefits, what chance for a better and more equitable life, what purpose, what inducement, what desire to excel, to gain mastery beyond the first simple steps, can it offer to those who devotedly care for the generations of children and young people on whom imperialism will later gorge itself? What can it offer to these people who live on degrading wages in most countries, who almost everywhere suffer restrictions on their right of political and social expression, whose economic future doesn't exceed the bare limits of their shaky resources and compensation, who are buried in a gray life without prospects which ends on a pension not even meeting half the cost of living? What "benefits" or "alliances" can imperialism offer them save those which redound to its total advantage?

Culture Under Imperialism

If imperialism provides sources of aid to the professions, arts and publications, it is always well understood that their products must reflect its interests, aims and "nothingness." The novels which attempt to reflect the reality of the world of imperialism's rapacious deeds; the poems aspiring to translate protests against its enslavement, its interference in life, in thought, in the very bodies of nations and peoples; and the militant arts which in their expression try to capture the forms and content of imperialism's aggression and the constant pressure on every progressive living and breathing thing and on all that is revolutionary, which teaches, which — full of light and conscience, of clarity and beauty — tries to guide men and peoples to better destinies, to the highest summits of life and justice — all these meet imperialism's severest censure. They run into obstacles, condemnation and McCarthyite persecution. Their presses are closed to them; their names are barred from its columns of print and a campaign of the most atrocious silence is imposed against them — which is another contradiction of imperialism. For it is then that the writer, poet, painter, sculptor, the creator in any material, the scientist, begins truly to live in the tongue of the people, in the heart of millions of men throughout the world. Imperialism puts everything backwards, deforms it, diverts it into its own channels for profit, to multiply its dollars; buying words or paintings or stutters or turning into silence the expression of revolutionists, of progressive men, of those who struggle for the people and their needs.

We cannot forget, in this sad picture, the underprivileged children, the neglected, the futureless

children of America.

America, a continent with a high birth rate, also has a high death rate. The mortality of children under a year old in eleven countries a few years ago was over 125 per thousand, and in 17 others it stood at 90 children. In 102 nations of the world, on the other hand, the rate is 51. In Latin America, then, there die, sadly neglected, 74 out of a thousand in the first year after birth. In some areas of Latin-American countries that rate reaches 300 per thousand; thousands and thousands of children up to seven years old die of incredible diseases in America: diarrheas, pneumonias, malnutrition, hunger. Thousands and thousands are sick without hospital treatment, medicines; thousands and thousands walking about, victims of endemic cretinism, malaria, trachoma, and other diseases caused by contamination, lack of water and other necessities. Diseases of this nature are a tie among those Latin-American countries where thousands and thousands of children are in agony, children of outcasts, children of the poor and of the petty bourgeoisie with a hard life and precarious means. The statistics, which would be redundant here, are blood-curdling. Any official publication of the international organizations gathers them by the hundreds.

Mass Illiteracy

Regarding education, one becomes indignant merely to think of what America lacks on the cultural level. While the United States has a level of eight or nine years of schooling for those in its population who are 15 years and older, Latin America, plundered and pauperized by the U.S., has a level of less than one year of approved schooling in the same age group.

It makes one even more indignant to know that of the children between five and 14 years only 20 per cent are enrolled in some countries, and in those of the highest level, 60 per cent. That is to say, more than half the children of Latin America do not go to school. But the pain continues to grow when we learn that enrollment in the first three grades comprises more than 80 per cent of those enrolled; and that in the sixth grade the enrollment fluctuates from a bare six to 22 pupils for each hundred who began in the first grade. Even in those countries which believe they have taken care of their children, pupil drop-outs between the first and sixth grade averages 73 per cent. In Cuba, before the revolution, it was 74 per cent. In Colombia, a "representative democracy," it is 78 per cent. And if one looks closely at the countryside only one per cent of the children reach the fifth grade in the best of cases.

When one investigates this disastrous student absenteeism, there is one cause which explains it: the economy of misery. Lack of schools, lack of teachers, lack of family resources, child labor. In the last analysis — imperialism and its product of oppression and backwardness.

The summary of this nightmare which America, from one end to the other, has lived, is that on this continent of almost 200 million human beings, two thirds are Indians, mestizos, and Negroes — the "discriminated against"; on this continent of semi-colonies about four persons per minute die of hunger, of curable illnesses or premature old age, 5,500 per day, two million per year, ten million each five years. These deaths could easily be avoided, but nevertheless they take place. Two thirds of the Latin-American population are short-lived and live under constant threat of death. A holocaust of lives, which in fifteen years has caused twice the number of deaths of World War I and continues. Meanwhile, from

The Revolution Will Triumph in America!

Latin America a continuous torrent of money flows to the United States: some \$4,000 a minute, \$5 million a day, \$2 billion a year, \$10 billion every five years. For each thousand dollars which leave us, there remains one corpse. A thousand dollars per corpse: that is the price of what is called imperialism! A thousand dollars per death, four times a minute!

But why did they meet at Punta del Este despite this American reality? Perhaps to bring a single drop of alleviation to these evils? No!

The people know that at Punta del Este the ministers, who expelled Cuba, met to renounce national sovereignty; that the government of the United States went there not only to establish the basis for aggression against Cuba, but the basis for intervention against the people's liberation movement in any American nation; that the United States is preparing a bloody drama for Latin America; that just as the exploiting oligarchies now renounce the principle of sovereignty, they will not hesitate to solicit intervention of Yankee troops against their own people, and that for this end the North-American delegation proposed a watchdog committee against subversion in the Inter-American Defense Council, with executive powers, and the adoption of collective measures. Subversion for the Yankee imperialists is the struggle of hungry people for bread, the struggle of peasants for land, the struggle of the peoples against imperialist exploitation.

Repressive Force

A watchdog committee with executive powers in the Inter-American Defense Council means a continental repressive force against the peoples at the command of the Pentagon. Collective measures means the landing of Yankee marines in any country of America.

To the accusation that Cuba wants to export its revolution, we reply: Revolutions are not exported, they are made by the people.

What Cuba can give to the people, and has already given, is its example.

And what does the Cuban revolution teach? That revolution is possible, that the people can make it, that in the contemporary world there are no forces capable of halting the liberation movement of the peoples.

Our triumph would never have been feasible if the revolution itself had not been inexorably destined to arise out of existing conditions in our socio-economic reality, a reality which exists to an even greater degree in a good number of Latin-American countries.

It inevitably occurs that in the nations where the control of the Yankee monopolies is strongest, the exploitation of the oligarchy cruelest and the situation of the laboring and peasant masses most unbearable, the political power appears most solid. The state of siege becomes habitual, every manifestation of discontent by the masses is repressed by force. The democratic path is closed completely. The brutal character of dictatorship, the form of rule adopted by the ruling classes, reveals itself more clearly than ever. It is then that the revolutionary explosion of the peoples becomes inevitable.

Although it is true that in those underdeveloped countries of America the working class generally is relatively small, there is a social class which, because of the sub-human conditions in which it lives, constitutes a potential force that, led by the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals, has a decisive importance in the struggle for national liberation: the peasants.

In our countries are met the circumstances of an underdeveloped industry with an agrarian regime of feudal character. That is why, that with all the hardships of the conditions of life of the urban workers, the rural population lives in even more horrible conditions of oppression and exploitation; but it is also, with exceptions, the absolute majority sector, at times exceeding 70 per cent of the Latin-American population.

Discounting the landlords, who often reside in the cities, the rest of that great mass gains its liveli-



Carl Marx

hood working as peons on the haciendas for the most miserable wages, or work the land under conditions of exploitation which in no manner put the Middle Ages to shame. These circumstances are those which determine that in Latin America the poor rural population constitutes a tremendous potential revolutionary force.

The armies, built and equipped for conventional war, which are the force on which the power of the exploiting classes rest, become absolutely impotent when they have to confront the irregular struggle of the peasants on their own terrain. They lose ten men for each revolutionary fighter who falls and demoralization spreads rapidly among them from having to face an invisible and invincible enemy who does not offer them the opportunity of showing off their academy tactics and their braggadocio which they use so much in military displays to curb the city workers and the students.

The initial struggle by small combat units, is incessantly fed by new forces, the mass movement begins to loosen its bonds, the old order, little by little begins to break into a thousand pieces, and that is the moment when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

What is it that from the beginning of the struggle of those first nuclei, makes them invincible, regardless of the numbers, power, and resources of their enemies? The aid of the people, and they will be able to count on that help of the people on an ever growing scale.

But the peasantry is a class which, because of the uncultured state in which it is kept and the isolation in which it lives, needs the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, for without them it would not by itself be able to plunge into the struggle and achieve victory.

In the actual historic conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience shows that in our nations that class, even when its interests are in contradiction to those of Yankee imperialism, has been incapable of confronting it, for it is paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the cry of the exploited masses.

Facing the dilemma of imperialism or revolution, only its most progressive layers will be with the people.

The actual world correlation of forces and the universal movement for the liberation of the

colonial and dependent peoples points out to the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals of Latin America their true role, which is to place themselves resolutely in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

Imperialism, utilizing the great movie monopolies, its cablegraphic agencies, its periodicals, books and reactionary newspapers, resorts to the most subtle lies to sow divisionism and inculcate among the most ignorant people fear and superstition against revolutionary ideas which can and should frighten only the powerful exploiters with their worldly interests and privileges.

Divisionism, a product of all kinds of prejudices, false ideas and lies; sectarianism, dogmatism, a lack of broadness in analyzing the role of each social layer, its parties, organizations and leaders, make difficult the necessary unity of action of the democratic and progressive forces of our peoples. They are defects of growth, infantile sickness of the revolutionary movement which must be left behind. In the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle it is possible to push the majority of the people resolutely behind goals of liberation which unite the spirit of the working class, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive layers of the national bourgeoisie. These sectors comprise the immense majority of the population and join together great social forces capable of sweeping out the imperialist and reactionary feudal rule. In that broad movement they can and must struggle together for the good of our nations, for the good of our peoples, and for the good of America, from the old militant Marxist, right to the sincere Catholic who has nothing to do with the Yankee monopolists and the feudal lords of the land.

Primary Task

That movement would pull along with itself the most progressive elements of the armed forces, also humiliated by the Yankee military missions, the betrayal of national interests by the feudal oligarchies and the sacrifice of the national sovereignty to Washington's dictates.

Where the roads for the peoples are closed, where the repression of workers and peasants is fierce, where the rule of the Yankee monopolists is strongest, the first and most important task is to understand that it is neither honorable nor correct to beguile people with the fallacious and convenient illusion of uprooting — by legal means which don't exist and won't exist — ruling classes who are entrenched in all the state positions, monopolizing education, owning all media of information, possessing infinite financial resources — a power which the monopolies and oligarchies will defend with blood and fire and with the might of their police and armies.

It is the duty of every revolutionist to make the revolution. It is known that the revolution will triumph in America and throughout the world, but it is not for revolutionists to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by. The role of Job doesn't suit a revolutionist. Each year that the liberation of America is speeded up will mean the lives of millions of children saved, millions of intellectuals saved for culture, an infinite quantity of pain spared the people. Even if the Yankee imperialists prepare a bloody drama for America, they will not succeed in crushing the peoples' struggles, they will only arouse universal hatred against themselves. And such a drama will also mark the death of their greedy and carnivorous system.

No nation in Latin America is

weak — because each forms part of a family of 200 million brothers, who suffer the same miseries, who harbor the same sentiments, who have the same enemy, who dream about the same better future and who count upon the solidarity of all honest men and women throughout the world.

Great as was the epic of Latin-American independence, heroic as was that struggle, today's generation of Latin Americans is called upon to engage in an epic which is even greater and more decisive for humanity. For that struggle was for liberation from Spanish colonial power, from a decadent Spain invaded by the armies of Napoleon. Today the call for struggle is for liberation from the most powerful world imperialist center, from the strongest force of world imperialism and to render humanity a greater service than that rendered by our predecessors.

But this struggle, to a greater extent than the earlier, will be waged by the masses, will be carried out by the people: the people are going to play a much more important role now than then, the leaders are less important and will be less important in this struggle than in the one before.

Masses Make History

This epic before us is going to be written by the hungry Indian masses, the peasants without land, the exploited workers. It is going to be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals, who so greatly abound in our suffering Latin-American countries. Struggles of masses and ideas. An epic which will be carried forward by our people, despised and maltreated by imperialism, our people, unreckoned with till today, who are now beginning to shake off their slumber. Imperialism considered us a weak and submissive flock; and now it begins to be terrified of that flock; a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin Americans in whom Yankee monopoly capitalism now sees its gravediggers.

This toiling humanity, these inhumanly exploited, these paupers, controlled by the system of whip and overseer, have not been reckoned with or have been little reckoned with. From the dawn of independence their fate has been the same: Indians, gauchos, mestizos, zambos, quadroons, whites without property or income, all this human mass which formed the ranks of the "nation," which never reaped any benefits, which fell by the millions, which was cut into bits, which won independence from the mother country for the bourgeoisie, which was shut out from its share of the rewards, which continued to occupy the lowest step on the ladder of social benefits, continued to die of hunger, curable diseases and neglect, because for them there were never enough life-giving goods — ordinary bread, a hospital bed, the medicine which cures, the hand which aids.

But now from one end of the

continent to the other they are signaling with clarity that the hour has come — the hour of their redemption. Now this anonymous mass, this America of color, somber, taciturn America, which all over the continent sings with the same sadness and disillusionment, now this mass is beginning to enter conclusively into its own history, is beginning to write it with its own blood, is beginning to suffer and die for it.

Wave of Anger

Because now in the fields and mountains of America, on its slopes and prairies and in its jungles, in the wilderness or in the traffic of cities, this world is beginning with full cause to erupt. Anxious hands are stretched forth, ready to die for what is theirs, to win those rights which were laughed at by one and all for 500 years. Yes, now history will have to take the poor of America into account, the exploited and spurned of Latin America, who have decided to begin writing history for themselves for all time. Already they can be seen on the roads, on foot, day after day, in endless march of hundreds of kilometers to the governmental "eminences," there to obtain their rights.

Already they can be seen armed with stones, sticks, machetes, in one direction and another, each day, occupying lands, sinking hooks into the land which belongs to them and defending it with their lives. They can be seen carrying signs, slogans, flags; letting them flap in the mountain or prairie winds. And the wave of anger, of demands for justice, of claims for rights, which is beginning to sweep the lands of Latin America, will not stop. That wave will swell with every passing day. For that wave is composed of the greatest number, the majorities in every respect, those whose labor amasses the wealth and turns the wheels of history. Now they are awakening from the long, brutalizing sleep to which they had submitted.

For this great mass of humanity has said, "enough!" and has begun to march. And their giant march will not be halted until they conquer true independence — for which they have vainly died more than once. Today, however, those who die will die like the Cubans at Playa Giron. They will die for their own, true and never-to-be-surrendered independence.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

THE PEOPLE OF CUBA
Havana, Cuba
Free Territory of America
February 4, 1962

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolves that this Declaration be known as the Second Declaration of Havana, translated into the major languages and distributed throughout the world. It also resolves to urge all the friends of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America that it be widely distributed among the worker, peasant, student and intellectual masses of this continent.

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, March 5, 1962

Insanity in High Places

Two world-renowned figures, Bertrand Russell and Linus Pauling, have again underscored the need to scrap the bomb before it destroys civilization.

With unprecedented drama, Russell, who will be 90 in May, braved snow and icy wind to mount the base of the Nelson Monument in London's Trafalgar Square Feb. 25 to declare that his government was preparing "global butchery." He charged that the British government's policies demonstrated "readiness and willingness to incinerate millions" in the interest of an illusory "security." He branded them guilty of a "morality which made Buchenwald possible."

Turning his wrath on the rulers of the United States, the distinguished philosopher bluntly declared: "Men considered sane by the American government would not be considered so in a less hysterical atmosphere."

He buttressed the point by citing warmongering rantings of U.S. brass hats: Admiral Arthur Radford — "Total victory over the Communist system, not stalemate"; General Nathan Twining — "I would settle the war in one afternoon by bombing Soviet Russia"; General Orville Anderson — "I would be happy to bomb Russia; just give me the order to do it."

In a message to the London ban-the-bomb rally, scientist Linus Pauling assailed both his own government and the Soviet government on the bomb-test issue. Citing scientific data, he charged there would be four million victims of the Soviet tests. And, he added, "My government and the British government will now resume tests. This is premeditated murder of millions of people."

Clearly, the people must act to save themselves.

U. S. Planners at Work

The following news story is quoted in its entirety from the *New York Times*:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 — Several United States government agencies have discovered that the embargo on imports from Cuba has deprived them of Cuban newspapers used to analyze events there.

"Prior to the embargo earlier this month, daily flights from Havana brought copies of various publications, official and otherwise. Most of them went to the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency.

"On Feb. 8 customs agents in Miami began to impound the newspapers and after five days the Cubans stopped sending them. Now the Treasury Department says copies of publications needed by United States government agencies will no longer be impounded. The problem is to persuade Havana to send them again."

The Latest Dominican 'Plot'

On Feb. 21 the State-Department-approved Dominican Council of State decreed a "state of emergency," began arresting leftist leaders and ordered the deportation of "politically undesirable elements."

Pretense for the reestablishment of martial law was a trumped-up claim which reeks of the police mentality: supporters of the late dictator Trujillo had joined hands with Communists in "unleashing a wave of terrorism."

The "wave of terrorism" was apparently carefully concealed from public view since none of the newsmen stationed there seemed aware of it. The *UPI* reported: "The decree came as a surprise and was the first outward sign of internal political upheaval since January . . ."

Sole "evidence" offered by the ruling junta of the "plot" which justified restoration of direct military rule was some fires it said had broken out in sugar-cane fields. The same *UPI* dispatch cautiously referred to these fires as of "apparently incendiary origin."

Perhaps the only novel aspect of the "plot" charge was the claimed involvement of ex-Trujillo men. This comes with poor grace from a Council of State headed by Rafael Bonnelly who served as Minister of the Interior and Minister of Police under Trujillo.

This is particularly so since Bonnelly has stoutly resisted a compelling popular demand that known informers and torturers of the Trujillo tyranny be arrested and tried. Instead, these scum have been given haven in the U.S. embassy and safe passage to the U.S.

As of this writing, it is six days since the Bonnelly junta wiped out any pretext of democratic rule and not a single mumbly word of protest has come from the U.S. State Department which was so concerned with preserving "democracy" a few months ago that it sent gunboats steaming into Dominican waters. Of course, at that point it did look like the mass of the Dominican people might establish a genuinely popular government.

Perhaps the most revealing of the junta's claimed reasons for the new crackdown is that the opposition sought to block the general elections promised for a year from now. A tested principle of capitalist politics is to charge your opponents with the very crime you're planning to commit.

Interview with Travis Britt

A Man Is Killed in Cold Blood

By Fred Halstead

[This is the conclusion of an interview with Travis Britt, who participated in a voters-registration drive sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee last fall in the area around McComb, Mississippi. The first part appeared in last week's issue.]

You say Mr. Herbert Lee, the farmer who had helped out on the registration drive, was murdered? How did that happen?

"The white businessmen had a list of Negroes they wanted to intimidate, and Lee was put on it and his credit was cut off. Lee owed \$500 to a white man, Eugene Hurst, who was a state representative in the Mississippi legislature. The day or two before he was killed, Lee had been around trying to borrow \$500 fast, because he had been told he had better pay up right away.

"Lee owed the money in the first place because in that area land is more expensive to Negroes than to whites. Hurst had bought a piece of land for Lee, saving Lee money, and Lee owed him the \$500 as a 'tip' for the service.

"I remember Lee attended a meeting where I spoke the day before he was killed. He was very enthusiastic after the meeting. He was determined he was not going to let any white person push him around. He was just through with that kind of life and he was going to demand his rights as an American citizen.

"On Sept. 25 he drove his truck into Liberty with a bale of cotton to be ginned. Hurst followed him and when the truck stopped, Hurst got out of his car, with a 38 in his hand, and started an argument with Lee, who had not been able to raise all the money yet. He shot Mr. Lee in the head.

"Then Hurst went to the manager of the cotton gin. They had coffee, then they went to the sheriff's office. Mr. Hurst and the sheriff, who were relatives, were seen riding around town together after that.

"All the Negroes in Liberty got out of town as fast as possible. Mr. Lee lay there in the sun for about two hours in a pool of blood, and even Mr. Lee's relatives wouldn't cover him up during that time. This is the kind of fear existing in certain parts of Mississippi."

What happened at the trial?

"There wasn't any trial. Mr. Hurst was never even arrested or booked or anything. They just had a coroner's inquest and Hurst was cleared and that's all there was to it as far as the law was concerned. The fear was terrible, and we couldn't get people to go down to the registrar's office in Liberty after that."

Didn't the Negroes do anything about it?

"Well, not right away. After a while they had a meeting and collected money for Mr. Lee's family. But in McComb, the high-school students were all heated up about this. It just so happened that school had just opened after the summer vacation, and Brenda Travis — the girl who had been arrested in August in the sit-in in the bus station in McComb — got out of jail about this time. The school principal wouldn't let her and the kids arrested with her back in school. That was the last straw.

"On Oct. 4, 110 students at Burgland High School, the Negro school in McComb, walked out of classes. They marched down to the Masonic Temple where we had our voters-registration classes. We made up signs for them, and they made up a statement to the city officials, and we told them if they wanted to demonstrate we'd back them up.



TENSE MOMENT. Negroes in Mississippi face an all-white voters registration board.

"All of us, the 110 students and about eight SNCC people, marched through town to the city hall. We marched back and forth, through the white neighborhood and the Negro neighborhood, from one side of town to the other. We wanted to let everyone know about the protest because the paper had something of a blackout on what we were doing.

"We had one white fellow with us in the march, Bob Zellner, a SNCC member, and he was marching right up in front. This made the blood of the white people in that area boil. Later at the city hall, Zellner was held by a policeman while some of the whites beat him.

"At the city hall steps, 118 were arrested. Most of the kids who were under 18 were released in their parents' custody. Brenda Travis was held without bail on charges of breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors, though she was only 16 herself. The rest were also arrested on the same charge.

"After this, the school board decided that all the students could go back to school if they would sign some forms saying they wouldn't participate in any more anti-segregation demonstrations.

"This even made the parents angry. At this time we got support from adults, even those who wouldn't come around before. As a matter of fact, some adult leaders approached us about doing something about the Lee killing at this time."

What did they want to do?

"Well, first of all, they wanted to even things up about Mr. Lee."

They wanted to kill somebody?

"Sure, they wanted to kill Mr. Hurst. They felt that every time a Negro there was killed or lynched that the 'guilty party' should be killed by the Negroes. But we were teaching non-violence and that's what we were practicing. The federal law enforcement agencies were supposed to be on our side, and if we did something like that they would be against us."

Did the federal law enforcement agencies, the FBI, help you?

"Not much. The Justice Department got us an injunction. But they explained that they couldn't do anything about the violence against us beforehand, only after something had happened. They would investigate, but we didn't trust the FBI. They were white Mississippians like the others, and they couldn't seem to get anywhere."

Then what did the adults do?

"They wanted to form some kind of adult violent organization. We did not advise that. We said, 'If you do that, it's your business,

but you will not have our support. We are here for voters registration, and for that we need the co-operation of the federal government.' Then they went away. But the fact that the students had really done something seemed to make the adults much friendlier to us."

What finally happened to the students?

"All but about 80 of them signed the statements and went back to school. The rest refused, and they started attending classes at the voters-registration school we had set up. We would teach them whatever we knew, and this was very good. The students seemed to like this very much, having people around their own age or just a bit older instructing them. But they weren't getting any credits and they wouldn't be able to go to college or get diplomas.

"Dion Diamond and Bob Moses and Charles McDew took over the classes and the rest of the SNCC people went to Atlanta to do some co-ordinating with other organizations. It was finally arranged that the expelled students would be taken in at a preparatory school in Jackson. But Brenda Travis, because of her second arrest on the city hall steps, was sent to a reform school for a year. She is still there."

What happened with the voters-registration drive?

"Well, it was neglected, at first, after that. But there is a movement in McComb now. Even the kids who are in school in Jackson will be coming back in the summer and after they get out of school.

"I feel that if you could clean up that rat's nest in the Delta area of Mississippi, around Amite and Walthall and Pike county, you could do a lot for the whole United States. The Delta area needs more concentration, but things are started. The people there got a taste of the movement. It will never be the same again."

Price Cut to 50c

Negroes on the March

by Daniel Guerin

One of the best books ever written on the nature, problems and prospects of the Negro struggle for equality.

192 pages, paper cover (hard cover \$1.50)

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MOVIE REVIEW

'My Anger Is Here to Do Some Work'

Since the Cuban revolution it appears that many who were called or called themselves "beatnik" have emerged (at least in spirit) from their pits of blinder-wearing discontent, and have peered with hope at (and often joined) the picket lines; perhaps to walk one day on the road toward the barricades. Their dreams seem less to lie smashed in the coffee shops, swaying erotically to beat jazz, but instead on the road to the Escambrays with the young men and women who took Havana.

If Jonas Mekas' new film, *Guns of the Trees*, is further indication of this change, then we can rejoice even more at the speed and direction. Being an avant garde film by a Greenwich Village writer, with the poetry of Allen Ginsberg and an assortment of "village" talent on display, we might expect a steady message of doom and gloom, perhaps candied with aimless gaiety.

But here is a film that contradicts that concept of beatnik thinking. The experimentalism, poetry, symbolism and freshness are there, not merely to shock or to cloak lack of meaning, but to effectively present the broadest of social problems — problems often made banal by well-intentioned message films.

Mekas, in a written introduction to *Guns*, says that he offers no solutions; but however unconscious his accomplishment may be, his film screams for action as a companion to words. He says, "... my anger is here to do some work... every poet wants to change the status quo of man's spirit, to wake up his consciousness, even if, in order to achieve it, he has to overthrow the government..."

An anti-war film, *Guns of the Trees*, does not display the bulging eye sockets and torn flesh of a ruined, mushroom-cloud-shrouded humanity, merely to sing "Down by the Riverside" and ring down the curtain. Instead, it pits the rich potential of life against the horrendous possibility of a society laid to waste, not only literally, by the bomb, but subtly, by empty, conformist waste. The film seeks answers to the dilemma.

To capture intense social problems in the framework of poetry and music and symbolism seems impossible, but remember the poetry is an angry Ginsberg; the music rich folklore; the symbolism never murky. Staccato vignettes flash off and on the screen with commanding precision. The audience is subjected to an intense overview of life. Two young couples are arguing, playing, job



Clutching their attaché cases firmly, Sterling Jensen (l.) and Jewel Walker, of Decroux's Mime Theater, tread through the cabbage patch of American conformity in "Guns of the Trees."

hunting, eating, chatting, discussing life.

The love and joy of one couple, Ben and Argus, flows like hope through the beat of the film. Frances, tormented and suicidal, and her thoughtful, intellectual friend Gregory, search for answers. Punctuating these glimpses are air-raid sirens and the howls of dogs, tearing through the sunlit trees, gun-bearing figures stalking the lovers, Ginsberg's bitterly-worded poetry, taking turns with simple dialogue.

Two ridiculous and grotesque men, impeccably dressed, with suitcases and painted eyebrows, stumble through an eternal cabbage patch, and weep at the disaster of a crushed cabbage. Mankind and womankind they call themselves, mockery of trite and corrupt status seekers. Gregory stumbles down a deserted street, falling to his knees while sirens scream.

Demonstrations take a prominent chunk of the film; civil disobedience; anti-invasion of Cuba, with shots of the cops pushing the demonstrators while off-stage dogs howl — pushing the demonstrators with a fury that would be expected only against the murderers of mankind. And in the midst of those demonstrations, *The Militant* seen three times, perhaps the only action headline in print during those April days: STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA.

One by one, solutions are ex-

amined and discarded. Religion is void in the mouth of a priest who cannot answer; and who is himself desperate and confused. The impossibility of living life solely for pleasure is exposed in the cold brutality of job-hunting and Ben dreaming of taking off on a freight train while he knows it means losing Argus and the meaning of his life. Reformism is shot to hell when Stevenson is seen speaking in Washington Square but with Ginsberg's most vinegary poetry against the American Way mockingly read into his mouth.

Only action is salvaged, as Gregory tells an Ivy League type reporter that he is a Revolutionist like Fidel, as the scenes of cabbage-patch horrors and destruction are punctuated by the demonstrations like a counterpoint to despair.

A beat film might have had only Frances, suicide, the cabbage patch and gay times; a peace film only the bomb, sirens, fear; but this film, noteworthy for its excellent and unusual production, acting, camera-work, is even more noteworthy for taking the dog by the tail by mocking the answers that are no answers at all, and more, for its implication that the day of the hopeless beatnik is gone — that they can come out of hiding to join others, to make their beards not a symbol of non-conformity, but a symbol of courageous action.

Hedda Grant

Letters From Our Readers

About British Guiana

New York, N.Y.

According to the news reports, British Guiana is under martial law because of the burden of the cost of reform due to the "leftist" program of "austerity."

The real point is that it isn't the government's leftist program, but British colonial imperialism which is at the base of the unrest.

Many of the big holdings, Booker Bros. and others, in my opinion, are playing a major part in this unfortunate situation.

The white and East Indian bourgeoisie and other groups of the mercantile class, who have been trained well by their colonial masters are hard at work to keep the colony divided.

They know that their days are numbered and, with the aid of colonialism, they are using the intrigue they learned to keep the Black working class and Indian farmers apart.

Their main aim is to delay independence, which they have been successful in doing so far, and to entrench themselves more strongly.

I think that Dr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham, leaders of the two biggest parties, should be more mindful that colonialism and the ruling class within the colony do everything to show the world — as they did in the Congo — that working-class leaders in the colonies are incapable of governing themselves.

It was also reported that "racism" is a big factor in the struggle for personal power in the colony. This is true in the sense that this is a product of colonialism that has plagued the workers movement of both British Guiana and Trinidad. Because of the historical background of slavery and indentured labor, the Indian people in the colonies replaced the African slave when they refused to work the land after slavery was abolished.

I might add that the Indian people have a greater sense of confidence because they never severed their ties with their homeland. When India won its independence they were more mindful of their political rights as a people, which put them in a much better position than their African counterpart.

The strikers' return to work still leaves the situation unresolved with the workers gaining nothing but humiliation and subordination to the ruling class of the colony.

Alford Peltier

Unique Point of View

Berkeley, Calif.

Please send me the four-month trial subscription. As a student I enjoy your unique point of view in America and learn considerably from your articles. Here's hoping your light won't be extinguished.

New Reader

No More of That!

Chicago, Ill.

I am sickened when I consider that our country is controlled by murderously insane, greedy industrialists, militarists, politicians and scientists. (The latter contribute their genius, for their profit, to create weapons of destruction for the first three named.)

Because both major parties are almost identical I suddenly realized the power struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats. The lines are so finely drawn that even while Kennedy was taking the oath of office in Washington, D.C., the politicians

Thought for the Week

"Too few Americans realize that our quarrel with Cuba is as much an imperial quarrel as was England's with Egypt. England tried to invade Egypt in anger over Nasser's seizure of the privately owned Suez Canal, as we tried to invade Cuba in anger over Castro's seizure of Standard Oil and United Fruit properties." — From the Feb. 26 issue of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*.

were still recounting ballots in Illinois!

As a woman voter and a most active independent politician, I vow that from this day forth I shall vote only for those candidates who openly and courageously campaign for peace. And I shall challenge every candidate to speak up for peace or shut up.

Furthermore I shall use all my time and energy to convince the women voters of the power they hold in their ballot. The argument of "the lesser evil" must never move us again. We've had it!

Anna H. Morgan

Commendation

New York, N.Y.

The Militant is truly the best socialist weekly, well-printed, illustrated and very readable. Excellent analysis of peace, civil rights and labor news. I especially enjoy the "Letters" section and *It Was Reported in the Press*.

P.L.

The Plutocrats

Cleveland, Ohio

The plutocratic classes of our nation greatly fear the current spread of revolutionary thought among the masses of the people.

Revolution, in simple terms, means a progressive change in all aspects of existence. Thus the plutocrats have a legitimate fear that any change might bring a division of their excessive holdings.

However, the poor people of our country, under the influence of revolutionary thought, are bound to get more of the good things of life.

Joseph Manlet

'Progress' in South Korea

New York, N. Y.

Several weeks ago Rep. Walter Judd (D-Minn.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, returned from a trip to South Korea with glowing reports of how much better things are there now.

The following are three excerpts from the Oct. 9, 1961, issue of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, plus one from the Nov. 6 *Militant*.

"Prof. Wagner [Edward W., assistant professor of Korean studies at Harvard] says 40 per cent of the farm families must subsist on one acre or less, that in the urban area unemployment is estimated as high as 25 per cent [the figure it reached in this country during the Great Depression]. Per capita income is under \$100 a year."

"Seventy thousand Korean residents of Japan have just underscored this by choosing repatriation to North rather than South Korea."

"Youngejeung Kim, head of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, complains in a letter to the *Washington Post* (Sept. 29) that the new military junta has just sentenced three South Korean editors to death for the 'crime' of advocating peaceful reunification of their country."

From *The Militant*: "Kim Dal Ho, chairman of the outlawed Socialist Party, was sentenced to 15 years in jail for aiding the 'communist cause' by favoring withdrawal of U.S. troops and the neutralization of South Korea as steps toward reunification of the divided country. Six other party members were given terms of six to 12 years."

This last incident happened the day after Judd had told the U.S. press of the "coming democracy" he saw in South Korea. What I want to know, Rep. Judd, is if things are better in South Korea, who are they better for?

Robert Wolf

It Was Reported in the Press

Hear, Hear! — In a letter to the Feb. 21 *Times of London*, novelist Graham Greene assailed U.S. efforts to pressure Britain and other countries to impose trade sanctions on Cuba. The author of *Our Man in Havana* wrote that criticism of U.S. policy would "be welcomed in Brazil and Argentina (I don't speak of governments), and in Europe by all those who saw something of the regime which Dr. Castro overthrew."

Getting Soft on Communism? — A headline in the financial section of the Feb. 21 *New York Times* declared: "Drop in Gold Prices Not Caused by Reds."

Contrast — "PARIS — The contrast between the procedures used by France and those used by the Algerian rebels to approve the cease-fire accords have struck many observers here... the French Parliament has had no role in the final resolution of the nation's biggest problem... In contrast, the Algerian rebels, often accused in France of totalitarian tendencies, have sought approval

by the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, which is the closest thing they have now to an assembly and comprises many persons fighting in the ranks in Algeria itself." — The Feb. 21 *New York Times*.

'Free Enterprise' Opens New Vistas — The Pfizer drug company, which racks up super-profits on antibiotics and tranquilizers, recently explained to Congressional probers that its high prices were necessary to finance new breakthroughs in the field of medicine. Now Pfizer is about to buy up and expand the operations of Watkins Products, a 50-year-old firm that peddles patent medicines door-to-door.

Brainpower at Work — Dr. Eli Ginsberg, a Columbia University economics professor, says that ten million Americans between 18 and 65 are either totally illiterate or have less than a grammar-school education. What to do about it? The professor came up with one suggestion. Deny unemployment compensation to any illiterate

person who refuses to go to school to learn to read and write.

Gov't-Financed Jim Crow — Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) charged Feb. 22 that 62 per cent of federal funds spent for dormitories and scientific research in seven Southern states went to schools which exclude Negroes. "The Supreme Court holds the federal government is prohibited by the Constitution from maintaining racially segregated educational institutions," he said. "Yet it spends public money in this manner, subsidizing the operations its Supreme Court has held to be unconstitutional."

Mixed Identities? — Rival Packing Co. held a press conference in Chicago to demonstrate a new canned food for dogs "who like to eat like people." To demonstrate, company president Joseph V. Getlin ate a plateful with apparent gusto. Then a portion was offered to a French poodle seated next to him at the table. The dog refused to have any part of it.