

# China's Point-by-Point Reply To Its Soviet-Bloc Opponents

— The Text Begins on Page 4 —



Photo by Alex Pusar

**SOLIDARITY.** Section of the mass turnout of New York unionists Jan. 15 in Times Square demonstration supporting striking printers.

## Bosses in 3-Pronged Move To Crack N.Y. Typo Strike

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, Jan. 23 — The great newspaper strike, now going into its eighth week, has reached a dangerous impasse. Desperate publishers, unable to crack the militant and determined ranks of the printers, are seeking to smash the strike with a three-pronged attack. This is their strategy:

- 1) Sow disunity, thus breaking the solidarity of the ten crafts in the newspaper field.
- 2) Use government boards to hit the union.
- 3) Turn public opinion against the strike.

In an effort to isolate the printers, the publishers last week broke off negotiations with them. They then issued an ultimatum that they would not meet with the printers' negotiators again till the union lowered its demands.

Then the publishers began negotiations with several of the non-striking crafts. Reportedly they have offered these crafts terms more favorable than those offered to the strikers.

### A Warning

Bertram Powers, president of N.Y. Typographical Union No. 6, warned that any union, signing a contract before the printers, would either have to cross picket lines or sign for less than the printers would get at the conclusion of the strike.

This is clear notice to other crafts not to take the "Guild position." The New York Newspaper Guild, having signed an inferior contract last Nov. 8 — against the wishes of all the other crafts — is now in the position of not being able to gain anything from the outcome of the present struggle. All the other unions — not having signed contracts yet — stand to gain from any breakthrough made by the printers.

The crafts so far continue to stand firm and united behind the printers. A meeting of the officers of the ten unions yesterday reaffirmed this stand in a strong telegram to the publishers and mediators. Also a Guild mass meeting at Manhattan Center Jan. 21, de-

spite all pressures, gave qualified support to the striking printers.

Since the report by Judge Medina's self-styled board of public accountability failed to smash the strike, the publishers have now gone a step higher and got a White House spokesman to propose still another committee to "study" the newspaper strike.

Presidential Press Secretary Pierre Salinger lent himself to this maneuver with a proposal for an "impartial citizens' committee" to make a study and report its conclusions. Salinger says it is "intolerable" for New York City to be without newspapers.

But the printers did not cause this city's newspaper blackout. They limited the strike to four of the nine papers — a fact which Salinger omits mentioning. Printers are as thoroughly wise to the type and purpose of the committee being proposed by Salinger as

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## Boston Negroes Blast Police For Not Providing Protection

One thousand furious residents of Roxbury, Mass. jeered and booed Police Commissioner Edmund L. McNamara on Jan. 8 at a meeting in the auditorium of Jeremiah Burke High School.

This was the second mass meeting held within two days to protest the murder of a 16-year-old girl in an alley near her home a few days earlier.

McNamara was on the stage for nearly two hours facing an angry audience who fired questions at him. The audience was predominantly Negro. The president-elect of the Boston Branch, NAACP, Kenneth I. Guscott, who suggested a vigilante committee which, unlike the Peace Corps, would consist of unpaid volunteers, said: "We in Roxbury have segregated schools, segregated housing and discrimination in em-

## New Agreement Brings End of Dockers Strike

By William Bundy

As the East-Coast longshoremen go back to work after a month-long strike they have temporarily staved off an employer offensive against the size of their work gangs and won a 24-cents-an hour wage increase — 15 cents in the first year of a two-year pact. But on the basic problem of job security no progress was made. This is an acute problem because there are more longshoremen than jobs — a situation which is steadily getting worse.

No one really expected that there would be any progress on this question since the corrupt leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association offered no serious program to meet it.

The strike began over demands by the New York Shipping Association, representing firms from Maine to Virginia, for a reduction of work gangs from 20 to 17 men and other work-rule changes connected with machines replacing men.

Under the weak "seniority" system prevailing on the East Coast and with the already adverse man-job ratio in the industry, such changes would cut off thousands of longshoremen from a livelihood and tend to impoverish others.

### Curry Favor

The ILA leaders' way of preparing for the showdown with the bosses was to increase their obscene attempts to curry favor with the Kennedy administration. They wrapped their naked gangsterism in the flag and organized a boycott against cargoes to revolutionary Cuba.

The strike began in October, but after four days was postponed for 80 days by Kennedy's Taft-Hartley injunction. The ranks began preparing for the resumption of the strike as the 80 days ran out. It was clear they would not work unless the work-gang reduction issue was eliminated, and the ILA resumed the strike Dec. 23.

The employers held out, counting on government intervention. Congressmen mounted a campaign

(Continued on Page 3)

ployment. But with all these ills, we have, before this meeting, failed to arouse ourselves to demand what we deserve."

He cited the Jackie Washington police-brutality case currently before the Police Review Board as an example of this.

Jackie Washington, a 24-year-old folk singer, charged that he was beaten by two policemen who stopped him on the street at 2 a.m. last Dec. 3. According to the *Boston Globe*, the charges are that he suffered a multiple nose fracture, stomach abrasions and a dislocated ankle.

In spite of this, Mr. Washington was found guilty of assault and battery on a police officer in Municipal Court. He has appealed to the Superior Court.

Numerous complaints of police

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# THE MILITANT

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## Castro to Latin America: Revolution Today's Task

By Fred Halstead

JAN. 23 — In one of the most important speeches of the revolution, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro Jan. 16 made a clear call for revolutions in Latin America. The speech was delivered to the Congress of American Women in Havana on the same day that Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev

In our next issue we will begin publication of the text of Fidel Castro's Jan. 16 speech to the Congress of American Women.

spoke before the East German Communist Party congress in Berlin. The U.S. press generally interpreted Castro's speech as a declaration of sympathy for the Chinese position in the Moscow-Peking dispute.

Castro's speech began with a call for the end of discrimination against women. He told his audience — mostly women from Latin American countries, with observers from Europe and Asia — that due to their double exploitation, women have a double reason to help lead Latin American revolutions today. "The art of the revolutionary," he said, "is the art of leading the masses into the fight."

"There have been some trite theoreticians who have asserted that in Cuba there took place a peaceful change from capitalism to socialism," Castro said. He referred to the battle against the Batista dictatorship, which cost 20,000 rebel lives, and declared: "This was not any peaceful change. It was a change brought about by combat, without which there would not have been any transformation in our country." He continued:

### "Historic Truths"

"Those are historical truths and we believe that at least about our historical truths we have a right to speak and we are not going to permit that certain theoreticians from a distance . . . tell us what happened here . . . such false interpretations of history tend to create that conformism which suits imperialism so well . . . tend to create resignation . . . tend to create reformism . . ."

"Such false interpretations of history do not square with the existing situations in the great majority of Latin American countries where objective conditions [favor revolution] — and the imperialists have seen all too clearly that these objective conditions exist — but where what is lacking



Fidel Castro

are subjective conditions. And those subjective conditions are created with historical truth and not by falsifying history."

Castro said he was not opposed to the peaceful elimination of exploitation but that history showed no example where it had taken place. He also said the Cubans had no intention of throwing "fuel on the fire" in differences "within the socialist camp," because "this fight needs all the united force of the socialist camp."

### East German Congress

The Jan. 20 *Washington Post* carries a report that at the Communist congress in East Berlin "a top Soviet ideologist this week met delegates from Latin America at a private Russian-organized meeting at which he defended the Soviet view that 'export of revolution' was unproductive nowadays and urged concentration on a march to power using democratic processes."

Katherine Clark of the *Washington Post* writes from Berlin Jan. 21 that "last minute speeches were made by delegates from Japan, Chile, Spain and Algeria. The Chilean delegate said he spoke for all Latin American parties with the exception of Cuba. The Chilean then declared that in the name of Latin America, he endorsed Khrushchev's 'victory' at the time of the Cuban crisis."

"This highlighted what is considered one of several unsolved problems for Khrushchev. Many Latin American delegates suspect there has been a deal between President Kennedy and Khrushchev, with Khrushchev agreeing to stay out of Latin America as an American sphere."



# Pickets at Inaugural Ball Hit Calif. Governor on Jim Crow

By Harold Verb

SACRAMENTO — Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, inaugurated for another term here Jan. 7 as Governor of California, was greeted by a spirited picket line of the Negro Community Protest Committee — once during the day and twice in the evening — protesting his "failure to lead this state in the development and implementation of programs vitally needed in the field of civil rights."

The picket signs read: "Full Representation in Government at All Levels!"; "Negroes Support Democrats — Do Democrats Support Negroes?"; "We Demand More

Than Just Token Representation!" and "Democracy Not Hypocrisy!"

The demonstrators numbered about 25 during the afternoon ceremony, when pickets marched on the steps of the Capitol, and grew to about 75 in the evening when they paraded in front of the Inaugural Ball at the Memorial Auditorium and then at the Hotel El Dorado where the dancing continued. The night's festivity — a mink and lace and black tie and tuxedo affair — was marked by the appearance of Hollywood stars who put on a show. One woman, who had come all the way from Burbank to see Brown inaugurated refused to cross the picket line and joined the pickets. She was wearing a long evening gown prepared especially for the inauguration ball.

The Negro Community Protest Committee was formed by Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, publisher of the *San Francisco Sun Reporter*. The protest stemmed specifically from disappointment at Brown's failure to appoint a Negro to one of three new San Francisco municipal judgeships created in 1961. A last minute appointment by Gov. Brown of two Negroes to state positions — just after Goodlett's call to picket — failed to allay the displeasure of the Negro community or to quell the determination to march.

### "A Better Tomorrow"

Addressing those who had come to picket and others pausing on their way up the steps of the Capitol, Dr. Goodlett appealed to Governor Brown "not to carry racial minorities as a burden." He predicted: "There will be a better tomorrow — because we will be the architects of the future."

Another speaker, Frederika Teer, West Coast Regional Director of CORE, read from the Emancipation Proclamation and recalled the words of the great Negro Abolitionist leader, Frederick Douglass, who said: "Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will."

Percy Moore, a welfare director for International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union, told the assemblage: "The black worker in California stands on the threshold of desperation — a desperation all too often hidden behind the facade of a chromed and polished automobile, a wood-stucco and aluminum-with-glass row house . . . We are here to impress California and the administration with the urgency of the needs of those living now in silent desperation behind the ghetto wall . . . We walk today for a place at the table."

# Poverty Mounts Among Masses In Philippines

By Ed Beecher

The Philippine Islands have not been in the news for a long time, but a recent article in the Jan. 3 *Christian Science Monitor* throws light on the terrible conditions in which an overwhelming majority of the people there live — or rather, barely exist.

According to government statistics there are 1,000,000 unemployed and 3,000,000 underemployed; 5,000,000 earn from \$48 to \$50 a year and 20,000,000 earn from \$75 to \$250 a year. The Philippine Secretary of Finance, Rodrigo Perez, said that out of a population of 29,000,000 "these statistics mean that 25,000,000 are worrying where their next meal will come from."

The government has prepared a plan to help solve this horrible problem. One step is almost unheard of in this day and age — the use of men to replace machines. President Macapagal's emergency-employment program proposes to "demechanize construction and maintenance operations of the government as much as possible by utilizing manpower and draft-animal power instead of labor-saving machines whenever possible."

The heart of the program is a work-relief plan under which 60,000 men will rotate work for three-month periods at \$1 per day plus maintenance. One economic commentator noted that "even if the 240,000 jobs to be created are allocated to the 100 congressional districts, this would only give each district a quota of 2,400 jobs a year or 600 jobs every three months."

On launching the program, the Good Samaritan in charge, exhorting the newly hired workers to hard work and sacrifice said: "The old order passeth — we are the apostles of the new order . . . If you want to get rich, get into business, industry and commerce; do not do it in the government." How anyone could get rich on \$1 per day is a mystery which was not explained since "government economists admitted that the daily wage of \$1 would not buy even the bare essentials for a family, considering the rising prices of consumer goods."

What conditions are in the Philippines can be imagined when it is reported that these jobs "have attracted jobless lawyers, dentists, accountants, commerce graduates, and engineers."

He who will introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity, will revolutionize the world.

—Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard*, 1734.

# L.A. SWP Raps Pacifica Probe



Eastland

Senate witch hunters, headed by Eastland of Mississippi, on Jan. 9 staged a star chamber hearing on the Pacifica Foundation, operator of non-profit radio station WBAI (New York), KPFA (Berkeley), and KPFFK (Los Angeles). The five persons subpoenaed — Pacifica President Trevor Thomas, Vice President Jerome Shore, board member Dr. Peter Odegard of the University of California, WBAI station manager Joseph Binns, and KPFFK commentator Dorothy Healy — sought in vain to have the hearings opened to the public.

Among protests against the hearings was one from the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party, submitted as a statement to the Senate committee. It declared: "The harassment to which you have subjected the Pacifica Foundation and its radio stations through your investigations, allegations and star-chamber hearings is a clear violation of the guarantees of free speech contained in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

## Weekly Calendar

### DETROIT

Issues in the China-India Border Dispute — Speaker, John Austin, Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

CAMD party. Meet conference delegates. Truman Nelson will autograph copies of his new booklet on Monroe case, "People With Courage." Sat., Jan. 26, 9 p.m. at the Weissmans, 325 East 17th St. Contrib. 99c. (students' 50c.). A usp. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

Celebrate 5th Anniversary of Young Socialist. Buffet dinner, Sat., Feb. 2. Refreshments at 5 p.m. Dinner at 7. Guest speaker, civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn. Entertainment and party. Contrib. \$1.50. At 116 University Place.

There will not be a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum on Feb. 1.

# ... Boston Negroes Protest

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indifference and harsh and unfair treatment were shouted at Police Commissioner McNamara by the audience.

At one point in the meeting, about 150 people walked out. This was when McNamara started to say, "One of my best friends in police work was . . ." At this point "there was an outburst of catcalls and foot-stamping." The *Boston Globe* reporter continues:

"They assumed he was using the phrase, 'One of my best friends is a Negro.' McNamara, in fact, was referring to the late Capt. Frank Wilson, who was a Negro."

The Public Works Commissioner was also at the meeting to answer complaints about inadequate lighting of streets in the district.

Police Commissioner McNamara said he was very disturbed by the complaints. He agreed to meet weekly with citizens' groups. The

meeting schedule will be arranged by the NAACP.

CINCINNATI — The NAACP branch here has called for the discharge of Safety Director Oris Hamilton who last May commended cops who used police dogs against Negro citizens.

Eight persons, one of whom had to be hospitalized, were attacked and bitten by trained police dogs, after an argument started between a policeman and two Negro women. A group collected and some 20 to 30 cops watched while a dog attacked them.

William F. Bowen, NAACP president, said the crowd was not violent or hostile. He described a policeman with a dog in one hand and his revolver in the other racing up and down the street in a fit of anger. The police were subsequently whitewashed by a mayor's investigating committee.



The Philadelphia Transportation Company rejected a mediators' proposal for a six-month study of the major issue in dispute in the Philadelphia bus, subway and streetcar strike which began Jan. 15. The PTC, a privately-owned firm, insists on removing immediately the no-layoff clause in the old contract.

The clause required the company to provide other work for men whose jobs were replaced by machines. Transport Workers Union President Michael J. Quill and David Reick, president of striking TWU Local 234 challenged Philadelphia Mayor James H. J. Tate to a TV joint appearance Jan. 20 to discuss the strike. In a telegram to the mayor they said the offer was made "despite your failure to share with us the free radio and television time you are devoting to your strikebreaking."

The mayor filed suit Jan. 18 to have PTC placed under a "receivership" whereby the workers would be required to return to work while negotiations proceeded. The mayor has accused Quill and the PTC of favoring a fare increase.

United Rubber Workers members at four Kentile plants struck Jan. 11 and 12 over a new contract with the firm which manufactures floor tiles. The plants in Brooklyn, N.Y., South Plainfield, N.J. and Chicago, Ill., were shut down by a strike authorized by the international union. The membership at the Torrance, Calif. plant didn't get authorization but struck anyway. The union is asking for an immediate 25-cent-an-hour raise with a wage re-opener in one year. The company has offered a three-year contract with a five-cent raise each year.

Rhode Island state AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Edwin C. Brown declared this month that it was a good thing that labor had caused the defeat of the Democratic candidate for governor in last November's election. The state AFL-CIO made history by refusing to support the Democratic Party incumbent governor, John A. Notte Jr., who lost the election by only 398 votes. Rhode Island labor didn't support the Republican, either, but said Brown: "Things can't get any worse. The only way we can move is toward improvement." Brown said there had been a "zero per cent" record on the enactment of labor's major bills under the Democratic Party administration.

Railroad stocks have become very popular recently among well-heeled investors. Since last Oct. 1 the Dow Jones rail stock average has risen 31 per cent while industrial stocks have gone up only 17 per cent in the same period. A main reason, reports the Jan. 16 *Wall Street Journal*, is the

expectation of a "favorable" settlement of the work-rules dispute between the railroads and the rail unions. A federal fact-finding board last year recommended changes in rules which railroads say could save them \$600 million a year and which union officials say could cost over 100,000 jobs in the long run. Five railroad operating unions have tied the dispute up in court temporarily.

W. H. Kendall, president of the Louisville and Nashville railroad said early this month that he expects a final settlement — allowing the companies to proceed with much of their plan for work-rule changes — "within six months."

Signs of an inventory build-up by steel users in preparation for a possible strike by the United Steelworkers of America in 1963 have begun to appear. April 30 is the date of a wage re-opener in the basic steel contract which recognizes the right to strike 90 days later.

Cleveland newspaper unions began publishing a paper Jan. 21. Called the *Cleveland Record*, it will appear daily, except on Sundays and Thursdays, for the duration of the strike which has closed the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and *Press and News*. John Blair, editor of the new paper, said its press run will be 120,000 copies, to be sold on newsstands. The paper is being published by the Newspaper Guild and the Teamsters Union delivery local, which are on strike, as well as by the other seven newspaper unions which are respecting the picket lines.

A census bureau report published last month reports that during the decade between 1950 and 1960, farm, mining, rail and textile jobs declined drastically while white-collar jobs increased rapidly. The number of coal miners dropped 56 per cent; farm workers, 37 per cent; rail and express employees 31 per cent; and textile mill employees 21 per cent.

## Art Preis Recuperating

Art Preis, our veteran labor editor, is now recuperating at home from an illness which hospitalized him for the past month.

It was that illness, of course, which explains the absence of his articles from these pages.

We are looking forward to carrying articles by him on labor, economic and other subjects as soon as he has regained strength enough to pound the typewriter with his accustomed vigor.

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# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, January 28, 1963

## Why We Print China Document

In this issue we begin publication of the editorial which appeared in the Peking People's Daily of Dec. 31. It is a very lengthy document, but it is a very important document.

Here at long last, after years of doubletalk and mystery, is a clear and understandable setting forth of the Chinese Communist Party's differences with the Soviet C.P.

For this reason, and as a service to American socialists and radicals, we are publishing the document in full. A thinking person can make decisions about the merits of conflicting views only by hearing all sides.

Those Communist Parties lined up behind Khrushchev, apparently have no intention of affording their members a fair exposition of the Chinese position. This was made clear by the CP statement in the Jan. 13 Worker opposing presentation of the "dangerous" Chinese views. The organized jeering and hooting during the speech of the Chinese representative at the recent CP congress in East Germany in an even cruder declaration of this policy. It is to be hoped that reports that Pravda is printing the Chinese delegate's speech betokens a change from such Stalinist thought control.

Immediately apparent in the Chinese document is the omission of any mention of Stalin or Stalinism. Indeed, in his address in East Berlin, Khrushchev seized upon this evasion to sarcastically point out that the concept of a parliamentary road to socialism, so bitterly attacked by the "Albanians," was a theoretical "contribution" of Stalin himself.

Before the great political questions already raised in this debate can be brought to a correct resolution, all pertinent issues will have to be aired — and all sides heard. This means that the question of Stalinism cannot be evaded — nor the question of Trotskyism. For these great issues — war and peace, the road to socialism, are precisely what were involved in Trotsky's fight against the revolution's degeneration.

The long-smothered debate has thus been reopened on a grand scale. Every Communist Party in the world and every socialist tendency will become involved. None will be able to duck the issues — for they are the life-and-death issues of our epoch.

## ... New York Printers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)  
they were to the Medina committee.

While the Medina committee's report hurt the union, it would have done much more damage if the printers had participated — and thus have taken moral responsibility for its procedures — in its hearings.

The text of the report by the so-called Board of Public Accountability is bald-faced in its bias against the printers' union. It blasts the union's demands as completely unrealistic, but contains not a single word critical of the publishers.

This committee of judges, which was supposed to present a report of the facts, doesn't even mention the all-important fact that only four of the nine shut-down newspapers have been struck by the union. It neglects even to mention the fact that the other five papers locked out their workers and stopped publishing, even though the International Typographers Union wanted its members to continue working at those papers.

The report simply repeats without qualification the bald-faced lie that the printers caused the shut-down of all the daily papers. The fact is that the printers did not strike five of them, are not now on strike at them, and are willing to return to work immediately at those five papers.

The newspaper publishers regard the Medina committee report as one of their best propaganda tools in the campaign to marshal public opinion against the strikers. They have mailed copies of it to every newspaper employe — including the printers, Guildsmen and other crafts.

Consequently, striking printers are puzzled and disturbed by the Guild action in reprinting this same Medina report in Frontpage,

the local's newspaper, which is mailed to every Guild member. Frontpage does not refute or comment on the report. It simply prints this piece of company propaganda as a special supplement.

One weakness of the strike from the beginning has been the lack of public knowledge of the union's side. Only recently with the mass distribution of a leaflet and a special four-page tabloid, The Record, has the union been correcting that weakness. Hundreds of thousands of copies of The Record were distributed by strikers in the past week throughout the city — to other unionists, at subway entrances and on street corners.

It is reported that one of the principal issues holding up a settlement is the contract-termination date. A common expiration date for contracts of all unions in the newspaper field is one of the main goals being sought by Powers, chief negotiator of the printers. It is said that the publishers have unofficially agreed to this principle. However, they want the date to be the anniversary of the signing of a new contract, while the printers want Oct. 31 — the date of the signing of the last Guild contract.

The ITU considers Oct. 31 when Xmas advertising begins, as most favorable strategically for union negotiations in this industry. That is why, in fact, the publishers gave it to the Guild — because they wished to impose the pattern of the Guild settlement on the other newspaper unions. It is reported that the publishers now want the question of the termination date sent to arbitration. Negotiations for the next weeks are expected to rest on this issue among others.

In the meantime, the great printers' strike holds fast.

## I. F. STONE'S VISIT TO CUBA

# "They Live in a Springtime of Mankind"

By Fred Halstead

I. F. Stone, who recently returned from a trip to Cuba, reports what he saw there and what he thinks about it in the Jan. 7, 14 and Jan. 21 issues of his newsletter, I. F. Stone's Weekly. From the standpoint of journalistic integrity Stone is probably the most widely respected reporter in the U.S. today. In addition, unlike almost all other professional U.S. journalists, he is not an ignoramus when it comes to socialist and revolutionary developments but is able to observe and report such things with skill and sensitivity — his own political conclusions notwithstanding.

It is not surprising then, that these articles make up the most honest and perceptive report on Cuba to be published in this country in many months. They are particularly valuable because Stone was in Cuba following the recent crisis and deals with the effects there of the Kennedy-Khrushchev arrangement and the Moscow-Peking dispute.

### Liberalizing Forces

The central impression given by Stone's report is that there are tremendous liberalizing, progressive and revolutionary forces developing within the Soviet bloc generally, and that Cuba — having become "unmistakably a part of the Soviet world" — is a major catalyst in these developments.

"Cuba is the one nation in the Soviet world," reports Stone, "which is still not securely either in the Russian or the Chinese camp. It is the only place in the Soviet world where the full texts of both Khrushchev and Mao are regularly and impartially published. Castro, though dependent on Russia and the Russian bloc, said not a single word of praise of Khrushchev in his January 2 speech . . ." Stone, then quotes from Castro's speech and continues: "This, in the Cuban context and atmosphere, was not just telling off Kennedy. It was also telling off Khrushchev."

Stone details some of the differences between Havana and Moscow and how these are spoken of in Cuba — by Cubans as well as by persons from other parts of

the Soviet bloc. He reports "one shrewd Soviet-bloc observer" as saying:

"A new and inspiring wind blows out of Cuba, and Fidel and Cuba are immensely popular everywhere in the bloc. For Khrushchev, China is a foreign policy



**JUAN ALMEIDA, top Cuban military leader. Reports I. F. Stone: "The sense of full racial equality and ease is one of the most pleasant experiences for the guilt-burdened white American in Castro's Cuba."**

matter. But Cuba is in a curious way a domestic matter."

"In some ways," says Stone, "Cuba is Trotskyist without knowing it — here the revolution is permanent, the foreign policy revolutionary rather than collaborationist but the domestic policy in the arts and thought freer."

With all this, Stone reports that industrial supplies from the Soviet Union appear to be arriving in ample amounts and are reportedly of good quality. As for the much advertised shortage of food and the effect of the U.S. embargo, he writes: "Food may be poor and lacking in variety, but there is enough to eat and no sign whatever of starvation; indeed one Latin American reporter, who had been all over the country in the past few months, told me he thought the poor people of Cuba

were better fed than in any other country of Latin America."

Stone's Jan. 7 article — an exceptionally fine piece of writing — deals largely with his experiences in getting to Cuba and in spending one night in a Havana jail after being arrested upon arrival at the airport. "In press relations with Western correspondents," laments Stone, "Cuba is almost Stalinist." He reports that the argument which apparently finally convinced the police to make a phone call, verify his identity, and okay his release was: "Didn't Fidel himself in a recent speech attack *bureaucracy* and isn't this an example of *bureaucracy* at work?"

### High Morale

His Jan. 14 issue deals largely with the effect of Cuba on the thinking of other Soviet-bloc citizens and contains important statements on Cuba by the Soviet poet Yevtushenko. The Jan. 21 article analyzes the recent crisis as seen from Cuba and compares the Moscow, Peking and Havana statements on the developments. It also reports the high morale of the Fidelistas.

"For them," says Stone, "the experience is like love. They live in a springtime of mankind when words which have grown overblown and empty elsewhere become meaningful — love of country, devotion, selflessness, readiness to sacrifice one's life for others, the joy of struggling to end misery and to build a better society. How speak of these things to the jaded intellectuals of Washington? Elsewhere the youth has turned beatnik in the shadow of the mushroom cloud. In Cuba the same youth still believes."

"For years," says Stone, "we read in our press that the Russian Revolution and then the Chinese was on the verge of collapse. Everytime we are confronted with a new revolution we take to the opium pipes of our own propaganda. Those who try to be objective or friendly are dismissed as dupes, and sometimes — as the Stalin years demonstrate — they were. But events have also shown that in the long run the dupes proves less misleading than the doped."

A subscription to I. F. Stone's Weekly costs \$5 per year and, if it is requested, will begin with the three issues on Cuba. The address is 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

## ... Longshore Strike Ends

(Continued from Page 1)  
for anti-strike legislation. The most dramatic thing the ILA leadership did in the course of the strike was to refuse to allow the loading of an emergency shipment of grain for relief of starvation in Algeria, because Ben Bella was too friendly with Castro.

President Kennedy intervened in the strike Jan. 16 with the appointment of a board headed by Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.). Morse threatened to refer the situation to Congress if the strike was not settled on the terms he recommended.

The country's labor leaders were frightened by this, knowing full well that Congress would only legislate against the right to strike. Their sole hope of avoiding more anti-labor legislation is to keep the issue out of Congress.

The irony is that the net result of labor's support to Democratic Party candidates and the resounding victory of the Democrats in the last Congressional elections, is a Congress from which only bad labor legislation can be expected.

The precedent established by the Morse board means that from now on, Kennedy can be expected to appoint such boards and use the threat of Congressional action as pressure on unions to accept their recommendations.

The Morse board's recommendation was accepted by the union and the employers in the dock strike. It provides for a total package of 35 cents an hour, spread

over two years. The employers had been offering 22 cents. The settlement refers the job-cut issue to a Labor Department study and a board to be appointed by the union and the companies to recommend a solution.

In effect, the showdown on this issue is postponed for another two years.

## N.Y. Unionists Seek Aid for Ky. Miners

NEW YORK, Jan. 23. — A committee to provide emergency help to several thousand striking coal miners in the area of Hazard, Ky. has been established in New York City. It is collecting clothing, money, blankets, canned and dried foods and books for distribution to the distressed miners and their families.

The committee is sponsoring a rally to organize emergency aid to the miners tomorrow at Manhattan's Community Church. Bertram Gibson, a leader of the strikers, and folk-singer Pete Seeger will appear. Chairman of the New York Trade Union Solidarity Committee for Hazard Miners is Walter Linder, local chairman of Lodge 783 of the Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers. Further information can be obtained by writing the N.Y.T.U. Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 1050, G.P.O. Brooklyn 1, N. Y., or calling HY 3-2307

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# Chinese Communists Reply to Opponents

[The following is the first installment of the translation of the complete text of the editorial, "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," which appeared in the Dec. 31, 1962 issue of the Peking People's Daily. The remainder of the complete document will be published in the next two issues of The Militant. For our comment see editorial on page 3.]

The Communist Party of Italy has a glorious history of struggle in the ranks of the international Communist movement. In their valiant struggles both during the dark years of Mussolini's rule and during the difficult years of World War II and after, the Italian Communists and the Italian proletariat have had admirable achievements to their credit. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always held the comrades of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian people in high esteem.

In accordance with the Chinese Communist Party's consistent stand of strengthening friendship with fraternal parties, its representative attended the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, which was held early in December, at the latter's invitation. We had hoped this congress would help to strengthen not only the common struggle against imperialism and in defense of world peace, but also the unity of the international Communist movement.

## "Rudely Attacked"

But at this congress, to our regret and against our hopes, Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the CPI rudely attacked the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal parties on a series of important questions of principle. They did so in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and in disregard of the interests of the united struggle of the international Communist movement against the enemy.

The representative of the Chinese Communist Party at the congress was thus compelled to declare solemnly in his address that we disagreed with the attacks and slanders leveled at the Chinese Communist Party by Togliatti and other leaders of the CPI. Nevertheless, Togliatti and other leaders of the CPI "very firmly rejected" the views put forward by the representative of the CCP, continued their attacks upon the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal parties, and persisted in conducting "the debate in public."

Thus, the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party became an outstanding part of the adverse current which has recently emerged, which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, and which is disrupting the unity of the international Communist movement.

In such circumstances, we can-

not remain silent but must publicly answer the attacks on us by Comrade Togliatti and other comrades, nor can we remain silent about the views they expressed in contravention of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement but must publicly comment on these views.

We wish to say frankly that on a number of fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism there exist differences of principle between Comrade Togliatti and other CPI leaders on the one hand and ourselves on the other.

After reading Togliatti's general report and concluding speech at



Khrushchev

the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party and the theses of the congress, one cannot help feeling that he and certain other CPI leaders are departing further and further from Marxism-Leninism. Although Comrade Togliatti and certain others have, as usual, covered up their real views by using obscure, ambiguous, and scarcely intelligible language, the essence of their views becomes clear once this flimsy veil is removed.

They cherish the greatest illusions about imperialism. They deny the fundamental antagonism between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism and the fundamental antagonism between the oppressor and the oppressed nations, and in place of international class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle they advocate international class collaboration among countries with different social systems and the establishment of a "new international order."

They have profound illusions about the monopoly capitalists at home, they confuse the two very different kinds of class dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, and preach bourgeois reformism, or "structural reform" as they call it as a substitute for proletarian revolution.

They allege that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become "outmoded" and they tamper with the Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism, of war and peace, of the state and revolution, and of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They discard the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, they repudiate the universal laws of proletarian revolution or, in other words, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, and they describe the "Italian road" which is the abandonment of revolution, as a "line common to the whole international Communist movement."

In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other CPI leaders boils down to this — the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolu-

tions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism. Actually, all this suits exactly the needs of the imperialists and the reactionaries.

In this article we do not propose to discuss all our differences with Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades of the Italian Communist Party. Here we shall set forth our views on only a few of the important questions at issue.

Comrade Togliatti and the other comrades differ with us, first of all, on the question of war and peace. In his general report to the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, Togliatti declared: "This problem was widely discussed at the conference of the Communist and the Workers Parties held in Moscow in the autumn of 1960. The Chinese comrades put forward some views, which were rejected by the meeting." He spoke in deliberately vague terms and did not specify the views put forward by the Chinese comrades, but he went on to speak of the inevitability of war as the source of the disputes, which made it apparent that he was accusing the Chinese Communists of having no faith in the possibility of averting a new world war, and of being "warlike."

This accusation leveled against the Communist Party of China by Comrade Togliatti and the other comrades is completely groundless and trumped up.

The Communist Party of China has consistently taken the stand of opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war, and of defending world peace. We have always held that as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

## War Danger

The danger that imperialism may start a world war still exists. However, because of the new changes that have taken place in the international balance of class forces, it is possible for the peace forces of the world to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war provided they stand together, form a united front against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists, headed by the United States, and wage resolute struggles.

Should imperialism dare to take the risk of imposing a new world war on the peoples of the world, such a war would inevitably end in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism. We stated these views at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. The two Moscow meetings included these views of ours in the joint documents which were adopted and did not reject them as Togliatti alleged.

Since Togliatti and the other comrades know very well where the Chinese Communist Party stands on the problem of war and peace, why do they keep on distorting and attacking this stand? What are the real differences between them and us?

They are manifested mainly in the following three questions:

1) — The Chinese Communist Party holds that the source of modern war is imperialism. The chief force for war and aggression is U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of all the peoples of the world. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war unceasingly and thoroughly, and call on the people of the world to maintain a high degree of vigilance.

The fact that the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of people's revolution, and of world peace have surpassed the forces of imperialism and war has not changed the aggressive nature of imperialism and cannot possibly change it. The imperialist bloc,

headed by the United States, is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations and is menacing world peace. Those who attack the Chinese Communist Party slanderously allege that our unremitting exposures of imperialism, and especially of the policies of aggression and war of U.S. im-



Mao Tse-tung

perialism, show disbelief in the possibility of averting a world war; actually what these people oppose is the exposure of imperialism.

On many occasions they have publicly opposed the exposure of imperialism. Although they admit in words that the nature of imperialism has not changed in fact, they prettify U.S. imperialism in a hundred and one ways and spread illusions about imperialism and especially about U.S. imperialism, among the masses of the people.

It will be recalled that three years ago, following the "Camp David talks," some persons in the international Communist movement made propaganda in a big way about Eisenhower's sincere desire for peace, saying that this ringleader of U.S. imperialism was just as concerned about peace as we.

It will also be recalled that when Eisenhower arrived in Italy on his European tour in December, 1959, certain comrades of the Italian Communist Party went so far as to put up posters, distribute leaflets and organize a gala welcome, urging all of the Italian political parties and the people from all walks of life to "salute" him.

One of the welcoming slogans had these words: "The Communists of Rome salute Dwight Eisenhower and, in the name of 250,000 electors in the capital of the Italian Republic, express our confidence and our wish that the great expectations for peace which were aroused in the hearts of all peoples, expectation created by the meeting between the President of the United States of America and the prime minister of the Soviet Union, may not end in disappointment."

Now we hear some people saying that Kennedy is even more concerned about world peace than Eisenhower was and that Kennedy showed his concern for the maintenance of peace during the Caribbean crisis.

One would like to ask: Is this way of embellishing U.S. imperialism the correct policy for defending world peace? The intrusion into the Soviet Union of spy planes sent by the Eisenhower administration, the aggression against Cuba by the Kennedy administration, the hundred and one others acts of aggression around the world by U.S. imperialism, and its threat to world peace — have these not repeatedly confirmed the truth that the ringleaders of U.S. imperialism are not angels of peace but monsters of war and are not those people who try time and time again to prettify

imperialism deliberately deceiving the people of the world?

It is crystal clear that if one went by what these people say, U.S. imperialism would have ceased to be the enemy of world peace, and therefore, there would be no need to fight against its policies of aggression and war. This erroneous view, which openly runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, can only mislead the peace-loving people of the world, damage the fight for world peace, and assist U.S. imperialism in carrying out its policies of aggression and war.

2) — The Chinese Communist Party holds that world peace can only be securely safeguarded in the resolute struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, constantly strengthening the Socialist camp, and by constantly strengthening the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries, and the movement to defend world peace. To achieve world peace it is necessary to rely mainly on the strength of the masses of the people of the world and on their struggles.

## Need to Negotiate

In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the Government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise, and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people.

However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone. And in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses.

Those who attack the Chinese Communist Party misrepresent this correct viewpoint of ours as showing lack of faith in the possibility of averting a world war. As a matter of fact, they themselves have no faith in the possibility of preventing world war by relying on the strength of the masses and their struggles, and they are opposed to relying on the masses and their struggles. They want the people of the world to believe in the "senselessness," the "assurances," and the "good intentions" of imperialism and to place their hopes for world peace on "mutual conciliation," "mutual concessions," "mutual accommodation," and "sensible compromises" with imperialism.

These persons do not scruple to beg imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the peoples of various countries and at the expense of revolutionary principles, and they even demand that others, too, sacrifice revolutionary principles.

Innumerable historical facts prove that genuine peace can never be attained by begging imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people and at the expense of revolutionary principles. On the contrary, this can only help to inflate the arrogance of the imperialist aggressors.

Comrade Fidel Castro has rightly said that "the way to peace is not the way of sacrifice of, or infringement upon the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war."

3) — The Chinese Communist Party holds that the struggle for the defense of world peace supports, is supported by, and indeed is inseparable from the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. The national liberation movements and the people's

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# Are Marxist Principles on War Outdated?

revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people develop, the better for the defense of world peace. The Socialist countries, the Communists of all countries, and all peace-loving people of the world must resolutely support the national liberation movements and all the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, and must resolutely support wars of national liberation and people's revolutionary wars.

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike," those who attack the Chinese Communist Party are, in fact, placing the struggle in defense of world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation, the people's revolutionary struggle, and in opposition to wars of national liberation and people's revolutionary wars. According to them, all that the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples can do is to receive what is "bestowed" by imperialism and the reactionaries, and they should not wage struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries, or they would be disturbing world peace.

### "Erroneous View"

These persons assert that if oppressed nations and oppressed peoples were to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war when confronting armed suppression by imperialism and the reactionaries this would have "irreparable consequences." This erroneous view of theirs can only mean that they are opposed to revolution by oppressed nations and peoples, and demand that these nations and peoples should abandon their revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars and forever submit to the dark rule and enslavement of imperialism and reaction.

Facts have shown that every victory for the national liberation movement and for the revolutionary struggle of the people hits at and weakens the imperialist forces of war and strengthens and increases the peace forces of the world. To take the stand of fearing revolution, of opposing revolution, results in setbacks and defeats for the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary cause, and this will only damage the peace forces and heighten the danger that the imperialists will start a world war.

To sum up, on the question of how to avert a world war and safeguard world peace, the Chinese Communist Party has consistently stood for the resolute exposure of imperialism, for strengthening the socialist camp, for firm support of the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles, for the broadest alliance of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, and at the same time, for taking full advantage of the contradiction among our enemies, and for utilizing the method

of negotiation as well as other forms of struggle.

The aim of this stand is precisely the effective prevention of a world war and the preservation of world peace. This stand fully conforms with Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is the correct policy for preventing world war and defending world peace. We persist in this correct policy precisely because we are deeply convinced that it is possible to prevent a world war by relying on the combined struggle of all the forces mentioned above.

How then can this stand be described as lacking faith in the possibility of averting a world war



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How can it be called "war-like"? It would simply result in a phony peace or bring about an actual war for the people of the whole world if you prettify imperialism, pin your hopes of peace on imperialism, take a passive or negative attitude toward the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles, and bow down and surrender to imperialism, as advocated by those who attack the Chinese Communist Party.

This policy is wrong and all Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionary people, all peace-loving people must resolutely oppose it.

On the question of war and peace, the differences which Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us find striking expression in our respective attitudes to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently held that nuclear weapons have unprecedented destructive power and that it would be an unprecedented calamity for mankind if nuclear war should break out. It is precisely for this reason that we have always called for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, that is, a total ban on the testing, manufacture, stockpiling, and use of nuclear weapons. Time and again the Chinese Government has proposed the establishment of an area free from atomic weapons embracing all the countries of the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States.

Besides, we have always actively supported all the just struggles waged by the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world for the outlawing of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war. The allegations that the Chinese Communist Party underestimates the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and wants to drag the world into a nuclear war are absurd slanders.

On the question of weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Chinese Communist Party is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out-of-date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Togliatti and certain others believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons "has changed the nature of war" and that "one should add other considerations to the definition of the just character

of a war." Actually they believe that war is no longer the continuation of politics, and that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. Thus they completely deny the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory on war and peace.

We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory with regard to war and peace. In reality, the numerous wars that have broken out since the appearance of nuclear weapons have all been the continuation of politics, and we still have just and unjust wars.

In practice, those who hold there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust war either oppose just wars or refuse to support them, and they have lapsed into the position of bourgeois pacifism which is opposed to all wars.

### Nuclear Weapons

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the second difference between us and those who attack the Chinese Communist Party is — whether one should view the future of mankind with pessimism or with revolutionary optimism.

Togliatti and certain others talk volubly about "the suicide of mankind" and the "total destruction" of mankind. They believe that "it is in vain even to discuss what could be the orientation of these fragments of survivals regarding social order."

We are firmly opposed to such pessimistic and despairing tunes. We believe that it is possible to attain a complete ban on nuclear weapons in the following circumstances: The Socialist camp has a great nuclear superiority: The people's struggles in various countries against nuclear weapons and nuclear war become broader and deeper; having further forfeited their nuclear superiority, the imperialists are compelled to realize that their policy of nuclear blackmail is no longer effective and that their launching of a nuclear war would only accelerate their own extinction. There are precedents for the outlawing of highly destructive weapons. One such precedent is the Geneva protocol concluded by various nations in 1925, for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and of bacteriological methods of warfare.

### Moscow Statement

If, after we have done everything possible to prevent a nuclear war, imperialism should nevertheless unleash nuclear war, without regard to any of the consequences, it would result in the extinction of imperialism and definitely not in the extinction of mankind. The Moscow Statement points out that "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it." All Marxist-Leninists firmly believe that the course of history necessarily leads to the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind, and will definitely not lead to the destruction of mankind by nuclear weapons.

The theorists of the "total destruction" of mankind contradict the thesis contained in the common documents of the international Communist movements which only serves to show that they have lost all faith in the future of mankind and in the great ideal of communism and have fallen into the quagmire of defeatism.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the third difference between us and those who attack the Chinese Communist Party concerns the policy to be adopted in order successfully to reach the goal of outlawing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

Togliatti and certain others

zealously advertise the dreadful nature of nuclear weapons and blatantly declare that "it is justified" to "tremble" in the face of the nuclear blackmail, when U.S. imperialism parades it. Togliatti has also said that "war must be avoided at any cost." According to



Togliatti

what he and certain others say, should not the only way of dealing with the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threats and blackmail be unconditional surrender and complete abandonment of all revolutionary ideals and all revolutionary principles? Is this the kind of stand a Communist should take? Can a nuclear war really be prevented in this way?

It is unthinkable that "trembling" with fear will move U.S. imperialism to become so benevolent that it will abandon its policies of aggression and war and its policy of nuclear blackmail. Reality proves the opposite. The more one "trembles" with fear, the more unbridled and greedier U.S. imperialism becomes and the more it persists in using threats of nuclear warfare and raising ever greater demands. Have there not been enough object-lessons of this kind?

### Inform the Masses

We hold that in order to mobilize the masses of the people against nuclear war and nuclear weapons it is necessary to inform them of the enormous destructiveness of these weapons. It would be patently wrong to underestimate this destructiveness. However, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to disseminate dread of nuclear weapons in pursuit of its policy of nuclear blackmail. In these circumstances, while Communists should point out the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, they should counter the U.S. imperialist propaganda of nuclear terror by stressing the possibility of outlawing them and preventing nuclear war, by transmuting the people's desire for peace into righteous indignation at the imperialist policy of nuclear threats and by leading the people to struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In no circumstances must Communists act as voluntary propagandists for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail.

We hold that the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail must be thoroughly exposed and that all peace-loving countries and people must be mobilized on the most extensive scale to wage an unrelenting fight against every move by the U.S. imperialists in their plans for aggression and war. We are deeply convinced that, by relying on the united struggle of all the forces for peace, it is possible to frustrate the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. This is the correct and effective policy for achieving a ban on nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

We would like to advise those who attack the Chinese Communist Party to discard their falla-

cious pessimistic arguments, to have confidence in the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to pull themselves together and take an active part in the great struggle of the masses against the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and for the defense of world peace.

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have strongly opposed the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." In his report to the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Togliatti said that it "is wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulders." Then there are other persons who assert that today imperialism has nuclear teeth, so how can it be called a paper tiger?

### Ignorant?

Prejudice is further from the truth than ignorance. In the case of Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades, if they are not ignorant, then they are deliberately distorting this proposition of the Chinese Communist Party.

In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries with paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the problem as a whole and from a long-term point of view and are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August, 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent, Anna Louise Strong. That was a difficult time for the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionaries, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism and enjoying immense superiority in men and equipment, had unleashed a nationwide civil war. In the face of the frenzied enemy attacks and the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism, the most important question for the Chinese revolution and the fate of the Chinese people was whether we would dare to make a revolution, dare to seize victory.

### "Crucial Moment"

It was at this crucial moment that Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." With great lucidity he said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

"Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries are all paper tigers, too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the strength of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength."

In his speech at the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and workers parties of Socialist countries in Moscow in November, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expounded the same proposition. He said:

"All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers . . . For the struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole

(Continued on Page 6)

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# Peaceful Co-Existence and Class Struggle

(Continued from Page 5)

we should despise the enemy, but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If, with regard to the whole, we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in these early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously."

This scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung was confirmed long ago by the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution; and it has inspired all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples engaged in revolutionary struggles. Let us ask Comrade Togliatti and those who have attacked this proposition, on what particular point is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proposition wrong?

## Lenin In 1919

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of imperialism and all reactionaries is completely in accord with Lenin's analysis. In 1919 Lenin compared the "universally mighty" Anglo-French imperialism to a "colossus with feet of clay." He said:

"It seemed at that time that world imperialism was such a tremendous and invincible force that it was stupid for the workers of a backward country to attempt an uprising against it. Now . . . we see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay . . . That all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten."

Is not the reasoning of Lenin in his description of the "colossus with feet of clay" the same as that of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his reference to the "paper tiger"? We ask, what is wrong with Lenin's proposition? Is this proposition of Lenin's "outmoded"?

## "Paper Tigers"

In history there have been countless instances proving that imperialism and reactionaries are all paper tigers. In 1917, before the February and October revolutions the opportunists said that because the Czar and the bourgeois government were so formidable it would be sheer madness for the people to take up arms. But Lenin and the other Bolsheviks resolutely combated this opportunist view and firmly led the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to overthrow the Czar and the bourgeois government. History proved that the Czar and the bourgeois government were nothing but paper tigers. On the eve of and during World War II, the adherents of the Policy of Appeasement and capitulation said that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese imperialists were invincible. But the people of various countries resolutely combated appeasement and capitulation and in the end they won the war against fascism. Again, history proved that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese imperialists were nothing but paper tigers.

We hold that the question of whether one treats imperialism and all reactionaries strategically as the paper tigers they really are, is of great importance for the question of how the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction are to be appraised; is of great importance for the question of whether the revolutionary people will dare to wage struggle, dare to make revolution, dare to seize victory; and is of great importance for the question of what will be the future of the worldwide struggle



**CHINESE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI poses for press with Polish Premier Gomulka during visit to Warsaw several years ago. At current East German Communist Party conference Gomulka assailed Chinese polemics against Soviet leadership as 'irresponsible.'**

gles of the people and what will be the course of history.

Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries should never be afraid of imperialism and the reactionaries. Now the days are gone forever when imperialism could ride roughshod over the world, and it is imperialism and the reactionaries who should be afraid of the forces of revolution and not the other way around.

Every oppressed nation and every oppressed people should above all have the revolutionary confidence, the revolutionary courage, and the revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, otherwise there will be no hope for any revolution.

## Must Educate the Masses

The only way to win victory in revolution is for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries to combat resolutely every trace of weakness and capitulation, and to educate the masses of the people in the concept that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," thereby destroying the arrogance of the enemy and enhancing the spirit of the great masses of the people so that they will have revolutionary determination and confidence, revolutionary vision, and staunchness.

The possession of nuclear weapons by imperialism has not changed by one iota the nature of imperialism, which is rotten to the core and declining, inwardly weak through outwardly strong; nor has it changed by one iota the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses of the people are the decisive factor in the development of history. When in his talk with Anna Louise Strong Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward the proposition that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the imperialists already had nuclear weapons. In this talk Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it is not. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two types of weapons."

History has proved that even when imperialism is armed with nuclear weapons it cannot frighten into submission a revolutionary people who dare to fight.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the great victories of the peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, Cuba, Algeria, and other countries in their revolutionary struggles, were all won at a time when U.S. imperialism possessed nuclear weapons. Imperialism has always been armed to the teeth and has always been out for the blood of the people. No matter what kind of teeth imperialism may have, whether guns, tanks, rocket teeth, nuclear teeth, or any other kind of teeth that modern science and technology may provide, its rotten,

decadent and paper-tiger nature cannot change.

In the final analysis, neither nuclear teeth nor any other kind of teeth can save imperialism from its fate of inevitable extinction. In the end the nuclear teeth of imperialism, and whatever other teeth it may have, will be consigned by the people of the world to the museum of history, together with imperialism itself.

Those who are attacking the proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" have obviously lost every quality a revolutionary ought to have and instead have become as short-sighted and timid as mice. Our advice to these people is, better not tie your fate to that of the imperialists!

The differences Comrade Togliatti and certain comrades have with us are also manifest on the question of peaceful coexistence.

## The Five Principles

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have always stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. China was an initiator of the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence. On the basis of those principles, China has established friendly relations with many countries, concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Ghana, and achieved a satisfactory settlement of boundary questions with Burma, Nepal, and other countries. No one can deny these facts.

Yet there are persons in the international Communist movement who vilify and attack China as being opposed to peaceful coexistence. The reason they do this is to cover up their own erroneous and anti-Marxist-Leninist views on this question.

On the question of peaceful coexistence, our differences with those who attack us are the following: We believe that Socialist countries should strive to establish normal international relations with countries having different social systems on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

So far as the Socialist countries are concerned, this presents no difficulties whatsoever. The obstacles come from imperialism and from the reactionaries of various countries. It is inconceivable that peaceful coexistence can be achieved without struggle. It is still less conceivable that the establishment of peaceful coexistence can eliminate class struggles in the world arena and can abolish the antagonism between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, and the antagonism between op-

pressed nations and oppressor nations.

The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out: "Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism." But Comrade Togliatti and those who attack China hold that through "peaceful coexistence" it is possible to "renew the structure of the whole world" and to establish "a new international order," to build throughout the world "an economic and social regime capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples to freedom, well-being, independence, all-around development of a fully respected human personality, and peaceful cooperation of all states" and "a world without war."

## Class Struggle

This means that it is possible through "peaceful coexistence" to change a "world structure" in which there exists antagonism between systems of socialism and capitalism and between oppressed and oppressor nations; and that it is possible to eliminate all wars and to realize "a world without war" while imperialism and reactionaries still exist.

In taking this stand, Comrade Togliatti and other comrades have completely revised Lenin's principles for peaceful coexistence and discarded the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class struggle; in reality they are substituting class collaboration for class struggle on a world scale, advocating a fusion of the Socialist and Capitalist systems.

U.S. imperialism is now making a lot of noise about establishing a "world community of free nations," and vainly hopes to absorb the Socialist countries into the "Free World" through "peaceful evolution." The Tito clique is helping U.S. imperialism by beating the drums for "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world. Should not those who advocate "renewing the structure of the whole world" in peaceful coexistence draw a line of demarcation between themselves and U.S. imperialism? Should not they draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Tito clique?

## Present Situation

Even more absurd is the allegation that "a world without war" can be achieved through peaceful coexistence. In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, if all the peace-loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars.

Imperialism and the reactionaries are the source of war. In conditions where imperialism and reactionaries still exist, the history of the 17 postwar years shows that local wars of one kind or another have never ceased. Oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to rise in revolution. When imperialism and the reactionaries employ armed force to suppress revolution, it is inevitable that civil wars and national liberation wars will occur. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that only after the imperialist system has been overthrown and only after all systems of oppression of man by man and of exploitation of man by man have been abolished, and not before, will it be possible to eliminate all wars and to reach "a world without war."

On peaceful coexistence we have another difference with those who are attacking us. We hold that the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and

the question of revolution by oppressed nations or by oppressed classes are two different kinds of questions, and not questions of the same kind.

The principle of peaceful coexistence can apply only to relations between countries with different social systems, not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, nor to relations between oppressed and oppressing classes. For an oppressed nation or people the question is one of waging a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries; it is not, and cannot be a question of peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the reactionaries.

## Colonial People

But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of "peaceful coexistence" to cover relations between the colonial and semicolonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other. They say, "the problem of starvation which still afflicts a billion people," and "the problem of developing the productive forces and democracy in the underdeveloped areas must be solved through negotiations, seeking reasonable solutions and avoiding actions which might worsen the situation and cause irreparable consequences."

They do not like sparks of revolution among the oppressed nations and peoples. They say that a tiny spark may lead to a world war. Such a way of speaking is really asking the oppressed nations to "co-exist peacefully" with their colonial rulers, and asking them to tolerate colonial rule rather than to resist or wage struggles for independence, much less to fight wars of national liberation.

## Vietnamese People

Does not this kind of talk mean that the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Algerian people, and the people of other countries who rose in revolution have all violated the principle of "peaceful coexistence" and done wrong? It is very difficult for us to see any real difference between such talk and the preachings of the imperialists and colonialists.

Even more astounding is the fact that Togliatti and certain other people extend their idea of class collaboration in the international arena to cover "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas. They have said that "states of diverse social structure" can through mutual co-operation "jointly intervene" to bring about progress in the underdeveloped areas. To talk like this is obviously to spread illusions in the interests of neo-colonialism. The policy of imperialism toward the underdeveloped areas, whatever its form or pattern, is bound to be a policy of colonialist plunder, and can never be a policy concerned for the progress of the underdeveloped areas.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

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# Letters From Our Readers

## Democracy and the Congo

New York, N.Y.  
In connection with the troubles of Adoula, the new minion of the State in Congo, *Time* magazine (Jan. 11) writes as follows:

"For no apparent reason other than to embarrass Adoula, the Deputies last month voted unanimously to free Communist Sympathizer Antoine Gizenga from his island prison at the mouth of the Congo River. Adoula sensibly ignored the resolution, last week announced the Parliament was

adjourning, bought tickets home for the legislators, and sent them out of town for at least two months. Though they grumbled his action was 'not polite,' the Deputies went away quietly."

So the next time some naive fellow or a "State Department socialist" tries to persuade you that the ruling circles of the USA are fighting communism on the world arena for freedom and democracy, be sensible enough to remember the above words of *Time*, proponent of the "American Century."

A. R.

## This Is Kid Stuff?

New York, N.Y.  
Who says today's younger generation has lost the spirit of revolt that made this land great and drove our forefathers to kick off the crown and make their way across plain, mountain and desert to the Gold Coast?

Haven't you heard about the enterprising young Midwest students who, in defiance of all the laws of Madison Ave., started putting out a hair oil trade-marked "Greasy Kid Stuff"? And it's been a real bonanza. Caught on like wild fire — 20,000 bottles sold in Chicago alone.

With a spirit like that among the youth, the New Frontier will not be the last Frontier by far, as the prophets of doom and gloom try to make out.

Patent Leather Kid

## Those Jobless Figures

Schurz, Nevada  
I read with interest Art Preis' article Dec. 17 on "Economic Soothsayers Sure of One Thing — More Jobless." Also in the Jan. 7 issue, "Industry Expert Blasts 4 Myths on Automation."

I would like to discuss some of the statistics in these articles. Before doing so I want to make clear that I have no criticism of *The Militant* for using exact quotes from capitalist economists, government agencies, etc. On the contrary, I give the paper credit for extreme veracity in reporting these things.

My beef is that there aren't enough articles or editorials exposing the sham of capitalist statistics. We need articles that will reveal what these statistics conceal.

Let's take a look at the statistics quoted in Art Preis' article: "Unemployment last month was 3,801,000, a rise of about 500,000 over October." And, again, "Seymour L. Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, said that if the 5.8 per cent rate of unemployment continues, the number of jobless will reach 4,000,000 this month. . ."

Unemployment statistics are taken from the unemployment insurance rolls, that is, those presently drawing insurance. When a worker draws his last jobless check he drops off the rolls and ceases to even be a statistic. And again, how many workers were there who didn't make enough in the base period to qualify for insurance? How many were disqualified on technicalities? How many workers aren't even covered by unemployment?

Now I know that by raising a number of embarrassing questions I haven't answered Mr. Wolfbein, but have merely posed the method of investigation whereby he could be answered. I live in a little village where information is hard to get — no library, no daily paper, etc., but common sense and experience tell me that Mr. Wolf-

bein's figures could be doubled and would be nearer to accurate than they are now.

The article on automation is couched in rather cautious terms. Mechanization, automation and speed-up are bound to pyramid. There is a crying need for articles or editorials that depict the actual situation of the unemployed. The workers who don't appear in the statistics are those who are suffering the worst misery. Their condition transcends mathematical expression.

Jobless Worker

## Farewell to a Pioneer

New York, N.Y.  
Riding in the subway I glanced at a fellow passenger's newspaper. It was one of those little papers that seem to have sprung up all around town since the printers' strike. The headline that caught my eye was bold and bad: "Requiem in Jazz As Dixieland Dad Goes to His Grave." As a New Orleans jazz fan, my reaction was one of anger at the flippancy of the headline and, at the same time, a deep feeling of sorrow. Classical, or traditional jazz, is slowly dying in this country and so are the few remaining artists who helped create it.

If someone has to go, I thought, I hope it's one of the real old-timers — someone in his seventies or eighties. If it were one of the younger ones it means the music fades away that much faster.

I got off at the next station and picked up the tabloid at a newsstand. John Casimer had died in his native New Orleans. He was one of the young ones, most likely in his late fifties.

He was given an old-fashioned

New Orleans marching-band funeral and, as the obituary stated: "Jazzland funerals are becoming a rare event here, simply because there are fewer musicians of John Casimer's era left to die; which is perhaps the saddest thing of all."

I guess I'm luckier than most. I heard Casimer in New Orleans with others of his generation. His wailing clarinet was an extension of his face and there was a blue tonality in everything he played.

I've got a lot of grievances against capitalism and not the least of them is the way it has stifled such cultural achievements as jazz. When I was in New Orleans people like Casimer couldn't get work on the Bourbon Street they had made world famous. The honky-tonk tourist traps and ersatz "Dixieland" bands had taken over. If young people ever heard of John Casimer they no doubt think of him as a "Dixieland Daddy."

Traditional New Orleans jazz is America's unique contribution to world culture. Yet it's been driven out of America and what remains of it has taken refuge in the Old World where it's heard a lot more often than here. To me, that's a real shame.

W. C.

## Aggression Defined

Cleveland, Ohio  
The capitalists talk about "freedom from aggression." But the capitalist system is based upon competition and thus, by the very nature of things, is itself aggressive.

Freedom from aggression can only be attained by the co-operation of all countries. If this is to

be done the capitalist system of competition and aggression cannot be retained.

Joseph Manlet

## Takes Issue on Hungary

Fond du Lac, Wis.  
I like "Letters From Our Readers" because it gives the opportunity to get the readers' point of view on the different articles.

In the Dec. 31 *Militant*, D.G. wrote a letter disagreeing with the USSR putting down the rebellion in Hungary. I believe that the rebellion was instigated by the CIA and dressed up by the voice of monopoly capitalism, the commercial press.

Being for socialism and for the rebellion in Hungary, D.G. is trying to ride two horses going in opposite directions.

But I do agree with *The Militant* that the workers have plenty of weeding out to do in their own ranks. It's like when a company boss gets to be head of a union local. When that happens there's something rotten in Denmark.

Charles Taplin

## Joins Militant Army

Swansea, South Wales, U.K.  
I have just finished the Nov. 12 issue of *The Militant* and fully endorse every word. I should like very much to have a regular supply of *The Militant* and will also be able to sell a number of copies to my friend (say four or five to start).

There are also a number of pamphlets which perhaps you could supply. Could you send, as advertised, "Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism"?

Jack Davies

## 10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"NEW YORK, Jan. 21 — The Bill of Rights got another kick in the teeth today as 13 leaders of the persecuted Communist Party were convicted under the thought-control Smith Act. Though the frame-up was masqueraded as a criminal proceeding, it was a political trial pure and simple. . .

"As if to underline the persecution aspect of the trial the judge refused bail to the defendants until they are sentenced next week. Exceptions were refused even though several of the prisoners are elderly and sick and there would be no question of their jumping bail.

"The trial began over nine months ago and has been marked by the prosecution's reliance on distorted quotations from political articles and books and the testimony of paid stool pigeons. . . Although membership and office-holding in the Communist Party is not supposed to be a crime, because in law the party is still legal, the convictions were fundamentally based on the mere fact of the defendants' membership and holding of office." — Jan. 26, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"The Anaconda Copper Company has, for the second time in two months, been indicted for defrauding the U.S. Army by selling it defective communication wire. . . The company has been accused by the government of installing secret equipment to enable defective communication wire to pass government tests and be shipped to the American, British and Soviet armies.

"When the first indictment was returned. . . the president of Anaconda passed the buck by blaming local plant inspectors and firing them. Under the new indictment, however, the general manager of all the Anaconda wire plants was indicted, along with the assistant manager and several local administrators and supervisors.

"This indicates that the fraud was company policy handed down from the top executives — a policy aimed at increasing profits regardless of the fact that the lives of American and Allied soldiers were endangered in the process. . .

"Besides outright fraud in producing cheap and dangerous equipment to be sold at a high price, the company made certain that the price level would be maintained by entering into a price-fixing deal with eight other wire and cable manufacturers. In October 1942 the Department of Justice indicted Anaconda for price fixing. . .

"Anaconda is typical of big business, whose interest in the war arises not from a hatred of fascism, but a desire to make and protect profits. For them, profits are more important than the lives of American soldiers." — Jan. 23, 1943.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Setback for Fidelismo** — From a Jan. 9 Nags Head, N.C., UPI dispatch: "Castro-type beards have been banned during the annual April Festival, which kicks off the vacation season on North Carolina's Outer Banks. Festival officials voted to outlaw the 'ragged type of chin adornments' favored by the Cuban premier at a meeting here Monday."

**No Place for Sleepwalkers** — Oil billionaire Paul Getty was the subject of a glowing *North American Newspaper Alliance* interview Jan. 6. Describing his 72-room London mansion, the article said: "At night three vicious Alsatian dogs sleep in front of the door to Getty's suite. Other fierce Alsatians patrol the corridors of the mansion, controlled by three former policemen who have trained them to knock down, and keep down, any prowler in the house. Guests who might want to leave their suites at night must call one of the security men as an escort to get by the snarling beasts."

**What's Good for GM** — Dade County, Fla., Sheriff Thomas J. Kelly was fired from his \$15,500-a-year job when it became known that he was driving around in a blue 1963 Pontiac provided free by General Motors. He was charged with violating a county no-gift regulation. Kelly insisted that he had been given the car by a GM zone manager with "no strings attached." As proof, he noted that the car was to be his only as long as he was in office.

**The Better to Inbribe With?** — The *Wall Street Journal* reports that a federal tax court ruled against an unnamed member of an unnamed state alcoholic beverage control board who had contended that some \$20,000 worth of liquor he had received from distillers was merely gifts and samples. The court said such a claim was "preposterous," and held the liquor was taxable income.

**Qualifications** — With a straight face, the Jan. 14 *National Observer* reported the following: "Rep. Charlotte T. Reid, a Republican first-termer from Illinois, is bucking for an appointment to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. She cites as a qualification a tour of Europe she took five years ago. 'My husband and I played golf in every country,' she says, 'and we met the people that way.'"

**Better Late Than Never** — Someone sent us a clipping from the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of last Aug. 14 which in turn quotes an undated issue of *Fortune* as follows: "Archie Woodward Speck, 80, is one of Arkansas' 2,150 justices of the peace. He tries some 200 cases a year on the strength of his seventh-grade education and a copy of the 'Arkansas Statutes,' 1947 edition. Says he: 'I don't ever remember having one that wasn't guilty. If the sheriff picks up a man for violating the law, he's guilty or he wouldn't bring him in here. And anyway, I don't get anything out of it if they aren't guilty.'"

**Capitalism, USA** — An elderly couple in the Daytona Beach, Fla., area committed suicide last month. Nearby was a stack of hospital and doctors' bills. A note explained they couldn't possibly hope to meet all the bills and feared becoming a burden on their children.

**Mark Our Words** — The Cognac region of France just enjoyed a bumper season, turning out a record quantity of good quality brandy. To justify, social-significance-wise, our reporting this item we make the flat prediction that the large supply won't bring down the price.

**New Interposition Plan** — "Representative Long (D-Md.) yesterday warned that the world population explosion may bring the time 'when you will have to get a permit to have a baby.'" — The Jan. 18 *Baltimore Sun*.

**Why Guerrillas Are Winning?** — The U.S. has 19 generals and one admiral in South Vietnam — more than the South Vietnam armed forces have — reports the UPI.

**Affluent Ohio** — An official state survey of wages in Ohio's retail industry disclosed that 9.3 per cent of women and minors are being paid less than \$1 an hour and 42.6 per cent receive less than \$1.20 an hour.

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## Negroes on the March

by Daniel Guerin

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## Thought for the Week

"If the Bible says that Jonah swallowed the whale, let's accept it and believe it's scientifically possible." — Rev. Billy Graham at a Jan. 16 Baptist rally; as reported by Dallas (Texas) *Times Herald*.



## Robena Miners End Strike At Pit Where 37 Men Died

By Constance Weissman

Miners voted Jan. 19 to return to work in the Robena mine, near Carmichaels, Pa., where 37 of their fellow workers were killed in an underground explosion on Dec. 6. Previously, they had refused to return, although the U.S. Steel Co., owner of the bituminous coals pits, had ordered them back on Jan. 2 and 5.

According to the *Pittsburgh Press*, officials of United Mine Workers Local 6321 had four votes

taken before they were satisfied a majority of the 1,000 workers were ready to go back. The union has charged that the 39 deaths (two were killed in a previous disaster in the same Frosty Run shaft) were the result of neglect. Hearings were held and W. A. Boyle, acting president of the United Mine Workers, listed seven serious dangers which existed because of hazardous method of mining, unsafe machinery, gas accumulation, and failure of the company to obey state and federal safety laws.

Even an electrical engineer from the company testified to numerous violations of the Pennsylvania mining law, "which requires that electrical equipment must be sealed to prevent it from coming into contact with explosive gases."

### Pass Buck

U.S. Steel has been carrying out experiments "re-creating conditions that may have existed at the time of the explosion" in order to prove that it was the men's own fault that safety measures were not carried out. However, Boyle specifically singled out mine superintendent Michael Wydo and general foreman Marion Misiak as the men the UMW holds most responsible for the disaster.

The State Mining Commission will issue a report of its findings around March 1st.

In an article entitled, "Only A Misdemeanor," the Jan. 16 *Pittsburgh Press* says that the "stiffest penalty for causing a coal mine disaster in this state like the one which snuffed out 37 lives last month near Carmichaels — is a \$200 fine and 90 days in jail."

"The law stops short of manslaughter charges — even if the violation results in the loss of human life."

Acting President Boyle said that the United Mine Workers will sponsor an amendment to the law that would make negligence leading to mine fatalities a criminal act.

## Mesabi Iron Range Workers Are Hard Hit by Shutdowns

DULUTH, Minn. — This Christmas was not a bright one for many iron miners on Minnesota's iron range.

The 900 inhabitants of the village of Soudan found this to be especially true as it was announced that the Soudan underground mine was being permanently closed. The Oliver Mining Division of U.S. Steel had decided that the mine, the main employer in Soudan and the surrounding area, was no longer profitable to operate. Now some 250 miners will have to look for other means to support their families.

This closing is but one in a long series of shutdowns and layoffs on Minnesota's Iron Range. Earlier in December the Oliver Iron Mining Division announced that some 1,300 men would be laid off for the winter. The company termed it one of the biggest winter shutdowns in many years. In addition, approximately 600 men were laid off in November — many permanently.

### 3 Reasons

There are three main reasons for these lay-offs and closing. First, is the general lag in steel production nationally, and the resulting lack of demand for iron ore. This was the official reason given by U.S. Steel for the December lay-offs. Second, is the depletion of the extremely high-grade iron ore.

## CORE Puts Heat On Calif. Jim-Crow Housing Developer

LOS ANGELES — Pickets and sit-inners from the Congress of Racial Equality reached scores of house-hunting Negro families Saturday, Jan. 5, at Centerview Estates, a housing tract near the Los Angeles suburbs of Gardena. The developer is conducting a drive to sell the homes to Negroes.

Negroes attracted to the site by developer Don Wilson's advertisements were informed by picket signs, leaflets and word of mouth that the development was not only Jim Crow but was scandalously overpriced.

Since July, CORE and other community organizations have been picketing Wilson's housing tracts at Dominguez Hills and Southwood, which are not open to Negroes.

Pickets suggested to those hunting homes in Wilson's Centerview tract, that they drive over to nearby Dominguez Hills to compare prices. There, comparable houses were priced \$1,000 to \$2,000 lower than at the Jim Crow development. But there the salesmen wouldn't even talk to Negro home-seekers, let alone show them around.

At noon four CORE volunteers began a sit-in at the sales office of Centerview Estates. On the sidewalks outside the model Jim Crow homes, additional pickets paced back and forth till sundown.

Trade unionists, housewives from Whittier, students from nearby cities joined the picket lines. Rev. Ashton Jones, the well-known militant of countless anti-segregation actions all over the country, participated.

According to Woodrow Coleman, chairman of Los Angeles CORE's Action Committee and a member of Local 300 of the Laborers Union, the purpose of the demonstration was to counteract Wilson's ad in the *Sentinel*, a Los Angeles newspaper with a wide circulation among Negroes.

The demonstrations against Wilson's tracts as well as a recent "dwell-in" at nearby Wilmington are part of Operation Windowshop.

This is behind many of the permanent shutdowns on the iron range. After being one of America's main suppliers of iron ore for over 50 years, through two world wars, the iron range is running out of high-grade ore. Third, is continuing automation, especially of what new development is taking place.

The exhaustion of high-grade iron ore has given rise to the investigation of the mining of taconite, a very low-grade iron ore. Some plants for taconite processing have been established. Jobs provided by them, however, come nowhere near keeping pace with the lay-offs.

Seeking to solve the iron range's dilemma, the Republicans have proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would give considerable tax concessions to companies establishing taconite plants. This is nothing more than a give-away to the industry which for years derived super-profits from Minnesota's natural resources. The Democrats, not wanting to appear so pro-big business, have proposed a 20-year law giving tax concessions to the steel industry.

The Minnesota labor movement, while proposing increased unemployment and relief benefits, has not proposed anything to solve the basic problem.



WORTHY CAUSE. New York supporters of fight to win reversal of travel-ban conviction of newsman William Worthy picket Anti-Defamation League headquarters protesting ADL "democratic legacy" award to President John F. Kennedy.

## Defenders of Worthy to Picket Banquet for Kennedy in D.C.

Supporters of the right of Negro journalist William Worthy to travel abroad without being jailed for re-entering the U.S., his native land, "without a valid passport," are preparing to demonstrate in the nation's capital Thursday, Jan. 31. They will picket the Sheraton-Park Hotel where the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is giving President Kennedy its "democratic legacy" award.

Worthy's supporters, including many prominent people as well as the Harlem Anti-Colonial League, which is sponsoring the picket-line, declare that Kennedy is not entitled to any such award. It is Kennedy's administration, with its bitterly anti-Cuba policy and its disregard of Americans' constitutional right to travel, which is responsible for the prosecution and conviction of Worthy for having returned from Cuba without a passport.

Preliminary picketing of the ADL took place simultaneously on Jan. 15 in New York, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

This picketing took on heroic dimensions in the Midwest which was in the grip of an arctic cold wave. Temperatures in Chicago, Detroit and Minneapolis were sub-zero. Nonetheless, spirited picket lines were maintained for several hours.

Among prominent individuals calling for those demonstrations and for the Washington, D.C., demonstration on Jan. 31 are: James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Dorothy Day, David Dellinger, Lorraine Hansberry, Paul Krassner, Walter and Emily Longstreth, Conrad Lynn, Linus and Ava Helen Pauling, and James Peck.

They urge "liberty-loving Americans, colored and white, Jewish and Christian, to join this demonstration." The Jan. 31 picketline will be at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, 2660 Conn. Ave. NW (near Calvert St.), Washington, D.C., from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. A chartered bus will leave mid-Manhattan for Washington at noon that day, returning around midnight. Cost is \$5 per person. For further information telephone SP 7-6346 in New York; VI 3-9631 in Philadelphia, and 669-0468 in Baltimore.

In New York, Jan. 23, pickets protesting the persecution of William Worthy paraded before the Americana Hotel here yesterday as Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addressed a luncheon of the Fund for the Republic. A picket, Mrs. Patricia Murphy Robertson, of the family which publishes the *Afro-American*, the paper for which Worthy works, offered Kennedy a pamphlet on the case. He refused it.

## L.A. Fair Play Scores Rusk on Cuba Threat

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 14 — Secretary of State Dean Rusk's statement that there is no commitment on the part of the United States not to invade Cuba is "tantamount" to an "invasion threat," the Greater Los Angeles chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee charged today.

Chairman Martin Hall wired President Kennedy as follows: "Refusal to pledge no invasion of Cuba is tantamount to invasion threat. This abrogates your promise that the U.S. would not resort to or support any military action against Cuba. In light of Secretary Rusk's statement Jan. 11, essential you immediately confirm your no invasion pledge as per press conference of Nov. 20."

In another message to Kennedy, Hall urged reconsideration of the announced campaign to block a United Nations experimental farm project in Cuba and to pressure Latin American nations to cut off their remaining trade with the revolutionary island.

The head of the Los Angeles Fair Play committee branded this policy as "inhumane" and a "return to the policy of the 'big stick'" which "causes our country to be hated throughout Latin America."

To United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, Hall wired: "We respectfully urge you to use your high office to guarantee carrying out of UN experimental farm project for Cuba. We are convinced that Your Excellency will not let political pressures ruin a much-needed humanitarian program which could do much to help restore normal and peaceful relations in the Caribbean."



Morton Sobell