

THE MILITANT

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Printers' View: Won Strike But Could Have Got More



Militant photo by Jack Arnold

LISTENING TO PRO AND CON. Members of New York Typographical Union at Madison Square Garden meeting listen to debate before voting on contract.

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, March 27 — As we go to press it is reported that the members of the Photo-Engravers Union have just rejected the pact proposed by Mayor Wagner and the newspaper shutdown continues.

NEW YORK, March 26 — The printers have ratified the terms of the Wagner-inspired contract. The striking and locked-out members of International Typographical Union Local 6, in their majority, feel that they have won the strike but have been cheated in the settlement. At a Madison Square Garden meeting March 24 the members of Big Six voted 2,562 to 1,763 to accept the terms of a new contract recommended by Mayor Robert F. Wagner and agreed to by ITU International President Elmer Brown. The Local had turned down the same settlement a week earlier by a vote of 1,621 to 1,557.

All observers agree that a majority of the 2,700 newspaper printers actually on strike or locked out voted again this time against accepting the mayor's terms. The local's entire membership, however, is eligible to vote — including some 6,000 who work in job shops. At the previous meeting, most of the job-shoppers withheld their votes. This time enough of them were persuaded to vote for the contract to outnumber the strikers.

This was accomplished by unprecedented interference in the union's internal affairs by government officials. Mayor Robert F. Wagner publicly arranged for the meeting to be held in Madison Square Garden because the regular hall was too crowded. He also arranged for the use of the city's voting machines. At the meeting, plainclothes police and Garden guards, not ITU members, were charged with checking union books and keeping order. As one printer put it: "It was Wagner's

contract, Wagner's hall, and Wagner's meeting."

In spite of that, the "No" vote was larger than at the previous meeting. It did not really reflect widespread sentiment for continuing the strike under the given circumstances, however. The "No" vote was simply a way to demonstrate independence, to protest the meager terms of the settlement, and to express resentment at outside interference. The money value of the settlement package is estimated at \$12.63 compared to the employers' last pre-strike offer of about \$10.27 — not much money to show for a three-and-a-half-month strike.

Despite the settlement shortcomings, however, the strike resulted in important gains for the union. For one, the pattern of

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New Soviet Revelations on Stalin's Purge of Army Chiefs

By William F. Warde

Bit by bit the colossal structure of falsehoods which Stalin fashioned to slander and get rid of his political opponents in the mass purges of 1936-38 is being torn to pieces by his successors.

On March 23 the Soviet press revealed that Stalin personally ordered the execution of the Red Army's high command and their families on the basis of a Nazi trick.

According to an article in the weekly *Ogonek*, Hitler, taking advantage of the vast scope of Stalin's blood-purges, decided to create further havoc in the Soviet defense establishment. The Gestapo, acting on his instructions, planted a forged intelligence report which was transmitted by President Benes of Czechoslovakia to Moscow. This purported to show that the Red Army chiefs were plotting to overthrow Stalin.

Stalin utilized this provocation

for his own ends. On June 11, 1937 Marshal Tukhachevsky, guiding genius of the general staff, and seven other ranking generals were tried in secret court martial, summarily declared guilty, and shot. Another general, Yan Gamarnik, the army political chief, committed suicide to cheat the firing squad.

Digging into hitherto secret archives, the author of the *Ogonek* article, a veteran novelist Lev Nikulin, found that Stalin had instructed the special court, made up of the country's most prominent generals and marshals, to pronounce the death sentence. Later he had six of these nine military judges shot.

According to Nikulin, Stalin also demanded "the physical elimination" of Tukhachevsky's mother, sister and two brothers. His wife, three other sisters and daughter were given long terms in concentration camps where they presumably died.

Winston Churchill and Benes had previously published accounts of Stalin's entrapment by Hitler in this case. The present regime has since posthumously "rehabilitated" Tukhachevsky and the other top military men, presumably upon the demand of the present Soviet generals. Some of these had themselves been imprisoned by Stalin, like Marshals Rokosovsky and Bagramyan. But this is the first Soviet confirmation of longstanding reports that the Red Army general staff had been decimated on trumped-up charges. Trotsky, the creator of the Red Army, had proclaimed this to the world at the time of their execution.

The gruesome irony of all this is that Tukhachevsky and his fellow commanders, along with other victims of the Moscow Trials, were accused by Stalin of acting as "agents of Hitlerite fascism." It is now verified that Stalin himself was the tool of the Gestapo in carrying out Hitler's scheme of

weakening the Red Army at its top. The real servants of fascism in disrupting the defense of the Soviet Union in face of the Nazi threat were in the Kremlin.

The Soviet press recently has also given the first official hints that not only the trial of the Red Army leaders but all the trials conducted by prosecutor Vishinsky at Stalin's bidding were frameups. From 1936 to 1938 three major trials were staged in Moscow: the trial of the 16, including Zinoviev and Kamenev, in 1936; the trial of the 17 in 1937; and the trial of the 21 headed by Bukharin and Rykov in 1938. The defendants confessed under pressure to charges of conspiring with Trotsky to commit monstrous crimes of treason and sabotage in behalf of Hitler and the Mikado.

An article in the Soviet publication *Izvestia* does not go so far as to exculpate the victims. It approaches this super-sensitive mat-

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Looking for the Straight Facts On Le Monde's Controversial Castro Article?

— See Special Story on Page 2 —

French Mine Strikers Spur Revival of Labor Militancy

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS, March 23 — The coal miners' strike that began three weeks ago triggered a struggle that has now brought some 2,000,000 workers into action. In comparing it with previous movements, the press is beginning to make allusions to the general strike of 1953. Among the workers one hears references to 1948,

a year of bitter action, and to 1936, a year of upheaval in France.

Be that as it may, the French workers have resumed the class struggle in magnificent style. From warning demonstrations, the movement swept through the coal fields, turning within a few days into an industry-wide battle. The feeling of solidarity among the

rank and file proved so powerful that it brought rival unions into a strong united front.

The chain reaction flashed throughout France. Sympathy demonstrations by other unions flared into parallel strikes that have periodically halted or slowed down such key public services as the railways and the Paris subway system, electricity and gas on a nation-wide scale.

The popularity of the strikers is extremely high, not only among all sectors of the working class but among the middle class. Even newly elected figures in de Gaulle's own party have felt the pressure.

A small incident will illustrate the prevailing mood. Late in the evening of March 15, railway union officials answered a stalling government move by calling a 24-hour strike to begin the following morning. At dawn an engineer on a suburban line, not having read a newspaper or turned on a radio, was getting ready to pull the first suburban train out of the Versailles station. The passengers went up to the head of the train and told him he was on strike. He climbed out of the cab and that was that; the 5:29 stayed in the station. Not a wheel moved out of Paris and the strike was from 80 per cent to 95 per cent effective throughout the rest of France.

The strikes still remain centered on the economic demands with which the movement began. But the right to strike, a political question, at once became a key issue and the political overtones have grown stronger.

Thus the central issue is the demand to bring the pay scale in the nationalized sector of industry up to the level in private industry. It is not that workers in private industry have made big gains. They have just done better in maintaining wage levels in the face of inflation. Farthest behind in the rat race with advancing prices are the miners. They need

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Help Block Extradition Of Mae Mallory!

CLEVELAND, March 25 — "Gov. James A. Rhodes is the one man who now has the power to stop the extradition of Mae Mallory to North Carolina," Monroe Defense Committee Chairman Clarence H. Seniors told *The Militant* today. "We urge friends of justice everywhere to wire or write the governor asking that he withdraw the extradition order issued by former Gov. DiSalle and grant Mrs. Mallory permanent asylum in Ohio."

Mr. Seniors said there is growing support for a mass demonstration planned for next Saturday outside the County Jail, where Mrs. Mallory is again imprisoned after a brief week's release that ended March 22. The demonstration, which will start at Public Square, has been initiated by local groups such as the Afro-American Institute, the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Eastside Federation of Ordinary People, the Black Brotherhood, and the Monroe Defense Committee, Mr. Seniors said. But the list of co-sponsors is not complete since additional support is expected.

Mrs. Mallory, an effective speaker and dedicated fighter for justice for Afro-Americans, has been combatting extradition to North Carolina since she was picked up by the FBI in Cleve-

land Oct. 12, 1961. She had fled Klan violence and police brutality in Monroe, N.C. and later read that she had been indicted together with four others on a trumped up charge of kidnapping.

After being free on bail for over five months without missing a court hearing, Mrs. Mallory was returned to County Jail without bond at the request of the county prosecutor. For more than a year she remained incarcerated while attorneys filed motions in her behalf in state and federal courts.

The wheels of justice moved slowly until the Ohio Supreme Court decided March 7 that Mrs. Mallory could be freed on \$15,000 bond. She was finally released March 14. Then the legal machinery went into high gear. On Tuesday, March 19, it was announced that the U.S. Supreme Court had refused to review Mrs. Mallory's case.

Then the Ohio Supreme Court denied motions by Mrs. Mallory's attorney, Walter S. Haffner, to hold up the extradition order and continue the \$15,000 bond pending federal court decision on a writ of habeas corpus.

On Thursday, U. S. District Judge James C. Connell denied a writ of habeas corpus and dismissed the contention of Mr. Haffner.

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The UPI Twists a Story

What Claude Julien Really Wrote in Le Monde on Castro

By George Lavan

On March 22 and 23 *Le Monde*, the most respected daily newspaper in France, published two articles by Claude Julien, its assistant foreign editor, describing seven consecutive hours he had spent in the company of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and directly quoting much of the conversation that had taken place.

Julien, an expert on Cuba, recently published a book on the Cuban Revolution. That book, his articles over the past years in various newspapers and magazines and his lectures have gained him a reputation as one of France's leading defenders of Cuba.

His two recent articles in *Le Monde* are remarkable not only for the picture they give of Castro conversing the whole night through with friends but because facts about the October missile crisis, hitherto unknown to the public, are there revealed for the first time.

But even before *Le Monde* could print the second article, the U.S. press, blinded with anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet bias and always ready to sacrifice accuracy to sensationalism, had created an international scandal with its report of Julien's first article.

Here was how the *United Press International* dispatch began: "Cuban Premier Castro said in an interview published here Thursday that if Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had come to Cuba after his missile withdrawal last fall, I should have boxed his ears."

UPI simply ignored the fact that *Le Monde* and Julien had carefully refrained from labelling the articles an interview but had described them as an account of seven hours spent with Castro in an exceptionally long, informal conversation at various times during which other people present joined in. But *UPI*'s worst act of yellow journalism was to tear from context a phrase spoken by Castro in jest and present it as a seriously meant statement.

On the basis of this crude distortion, U.S. papers carried such sensational headlines above the *UPI* dispatch as "Nikita Deserves 'Ear Boxing,' Castro Asserts" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*); "Would Have Boxed K's Ears," Castro Says" (*Washington Post*); "Castro Tells Paper of Impulse to Box Khrushchev's Ears" (West Coast edition of the *New York Times*).

Since interviews granted by heads of states are usually care-

fully thought out — the questions often being submitted in advance and the answers written — and since strong personal statements by one chief of state against another, especially when their coun-



Fidel Castro

tries are allies, can have serious diplomatic repercussions, it was appropriate that the Cuban government issued the following statement:

"The Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Comandante Fidel Castro, on being interviewed by a reporter of *Prensa Latina*, made the following statements:

"A Paris newspaper, according to a cable of the North American agency *UPI*, today published the version of a supposed interview granted by me to a correspondent of *Le Monde*. I wish to deny categorically the tenor of said supposed interview. I did not grant any news interview to any correspondent of *Le Monde*.

"On the occasion of a personal visit to the home of the editor of the newspaper *Revolución* at the end of January, I met several persons visiting the same place, among them the journalist Claude Julien. There I conversed in an informal manner on a number of topics. It is absolutely false that in any instance I have expressed myself in an unfriendly manner toward Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev.

"Perhaps this casual encounter with the journalist has served as a pretext for the elaboration of this intrigue on the part of reactionary and pro-imperialist elements interested in damaging the indestructible friendship which exists and will always exist between Cuba and the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the journalist Julien, whom we consider a friend of Cuba, could express falsehoods such as some of the assertions which the *UPI* attributes to him.

"Respect and Friendship"

"I wish to take advantage of this occasion to reiterate once again the profound respect and friendship which all the Cuban revolutionaries feel toward the Soviet Union, toward its Communist Party, and toward its leader, Nikita Khrushchev."

Along with the second installment the next day (March 23) *Le Monde* carried a box explaining the serious distortion which U.S. papers had made of Julien's first article: "In suppressing the phrase 'he added laughingly,' these newspapers have taken seriously a simple jest . . . Moreover, the version released in Spain by the *United Press* speaks merely of the 'slap' that Mr. Castro would have wanted to give Mr. Khrushchev . . . "This change of the text and its meaning are all the less permissible in that the agency and the American newspapers made no mention of the passage in which Mr. Fidel Castro tells of his admiration for Mr. Khrushchev and

the Soviet people, expresses his gratitude for the help which they are giving Cuba and affirms that he is and will remain a Marxist-Leninist."

Here is the section containing the now celebrated phrase: "By yielding to imperialism," Castro added, "you encourage it to act more aggressively. Certain persons here pressed me to accept the on-site inspection that Kennedy was demanding. But why should we submit to control by Americans? We are the sole judges of what arms we should have to assure our own defense. I told that to Mikoyan when Khrushchev sent him to me. I already knew Mikoyan, he's likeable. Had Khrushchev come himself," he added laughingly, "I would have punched him . . ." (*UPI* translated it "boxed his ears").

Here are other statements about the missile crisis made by Castro to Julien:

"We could not agree with Khrushchev," Castro said, "he should not have withdrawn his missiles without consulting us. Cuba does not wish to be a pawn on the international chessboard. Cuban sovereignty is a reality, that is what we fought for. I cannot agree with Khrushchev's promising Kennedy to withdraw the missiles without the slightest regard for the indispensability of agreement by the Cuban government. Of course, it was a matter of Soviet missiles which did not come under our direct control. But it was on Cuban territory and nothing should have been decided without consulting us. We are not a satellite. Obviously the USSR has world responsibilities which we do not. Khrushchev wants peace, and we, too, want peace. Well, he has avoided war but he has not won peace. No one has the right to dispose of Cuban sovereignty. That is why we proposed a five-point program, which alone can guarantee peace in the Caribbean . . ."

Public Sentiment

Julien asked whether in publicly expressing his disagreement with Moscow, he didn't fear to weaken the position of the socialist camp.

"Before making a decision," Castro replied, "I sounded out the people's reactions, I went to the university and walked in the street in order to ask the students and passers-by their opinions. I found a unanimous feeling: it was necessary to keep the missiles, not to give in to threats and some even wanted, if necessary, to prevent by force the withdrawal of the missiles. Kennedy was engaged in blackmail to which it wasn't necessary to give in, and he would have retreated had he run into a firm attitude. The Cuban people were very hostile to Khrushchev's decision. Its fury was quite natural, and I understood that I would appease the popular anger by publicly expressing what everybody was thinking. I said that we would settle our difference with Moscow through government-to-government and party-to-party discussions. For we are and shall remain Marxist-Leninists . . ."

"Among ourselves we had thought of the possibility of asking the USSR to supply us with some missiles. But we had not arrived at any decision when Moscow proposed it to us. They explained that in accepting them we would be strengthening the socialist camp on a world scale. And, because we get important aid from the socialist camp we felt we could not refuse. That is why we accepted them. It was not to assure our own defense, but primarily to strengthen socialism on the international scale. That is the truth even though other explanations are given elsewhere."

But why then did Khrushchev

want to put the missiles in Cuba when he pulled them out so fast in the face of the American threat which he must have foreseen?

"That is a mystery. Perhaps the historians will be able to clarify it in 20 or 30 years. I don't know . . ."

The discussion turned to the anti-Cuban campaign in the U.S. and whether Kennedy could be re-elected in 1964 if he had not satisfied an inflamed public opinion which demanded the elimination of "Fidelismo."

"We expect to be attacked," said Castro, "but you have seen our militias, the armed people, our military equipment. As long as Kennedy doesn't employ weapons capable of destroying the country, the struggle will be very long. There will doubtlessly be many dead here, but also many on the other side. War in our mountains will go on for years. We are ready to die in defense of our revolution. And the whole of Latin America will be prey to a violent crisis against which imperialism, despite all its power, will be able to do nothing."

Can the Cubans count upon help from the outside?

"Probably. But we are counting in the first place on ourselves. We made our revolution ourselves and we must defend it ourselves."

And the Chinese?

"The Chinese are right when they say you shouldn't give way before imperialism. But we here are well located to know that imperialism isn't a paper tiger."

Julien mentions that when Mikoyan came to Havana last October, he had to wait eight days before he was received by Castro.

"What support did we receive during the October blockade when we were at the brink of a major conflict?" Castro asked. "Where were large mass demonstrations called on our behalf? What did the 'revolutionaries' of Europe and of Latin America do? Only the Venezuelans reacted at that time.

But the big parties that call themselves revolutionary didn't budge. These aren't revolutionists — they're bureaucrats. They're satellites. Everytime that Moscow makes a decision, no matter what it is, the satellites throughout the world applaud . . . Khrushchev withdraws his missiles from Cuba without consulting us and all the satellites shout, 'Khrushchev has served the cause of peace well.' And when Khrushchev, at Moscow's Manège [an exhibition hall], criticizes abstract painting, the satellites here ask me to prohibit abstract painting. And I tell them that our enemies are capitalism and imperialism, not abstract painters . . ."

The conversation takes place in the home of a friend who occupies an eminent position in the revolutionary structure, an old comrade-in-arms of Mr. Fidel Castro, one of the most important figures in the "26th of July Movement." He would not be there, smiling and relaxed, if Anibal Escalante and his accomplices had succeeded in seizing power. He points to non-representational pictures hanging on his walls, particularly a tormented canvas by Wilfredo Lam, and says quietly:

"Fidel, if you want to prohibit them, you will have to come and take them off the walls yourself . . ."

"We fought to gain liberty, and even if I am alone I shall fight for liberty," answers Castro . . .

"It is by guerrilla warfare that we took power. Do you know any country that had a peaceful revolution and transition to socialism? I don't say that it is impossible; otherwise I would be the dogmatist that I accuse others of being. But it is by armed struggle that we became a socialist country. And I say that there exist in Latin America revolutionary situations that the bureaucratic parties do not know how to exploit."

Hoffa at Mine-Mill Convention Urges Labor March on Capital

DENVER, Colo. — A standing ovation was given James R. Hoffa when he called for labor unity and a march on Washington before the 250 delegates attending the opening session of the 70th Anniversary Convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers which convened here March 18.

Hoffa warned the convention that "we are living in a police state." He cited as evidence of his charge the new anti-labor legislation pending in Congress and the creation within the office of United States Attorney-General Robert Kennedy of an extensive organization devoted exclusively to the continued harassment of labor.

Hoffa reserved his strongest opinions for the Feb. 23 decision of the Labor Relations Board interpreting the Landrum-Griffin Act as it applied to picket lines. "Under this unanimous ruling," said Mr. Hoffa, "it would be illegal for us to honor any picket line except those set up against our own employers; would make illegal any picket line not voted by the majority of all workers involved in a struck plant; and forbid a long list of picket lines set up for other causes, such as scab products, which have been recognized as legitimate by the courts up till this time."

Other reasons given for the present condition of organized labor, Hoffa pointed out, are the do-nothing policies of the AFL-CIO and the continued suppression of freedom of speech on the subject

of labor's interests. He pointed out that House Resolution 247 would, if passed, enable radio and TV stations to refuse to grant equal time to all candidates in an election.

Opposed to the massive anti-labor forces within and without government, said Hoffa, are such unions as Mine-Mill, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, United Electrical Workers, Teamsters, and certain other independent unions. "On these unions rests the hope of the American labor movement," he concluded. It was then that he made his plea for labor to make its presence felt directly in Washington, with union members coming from all over America "six to a car."

If nothing is done to prevent the continued harassment of unions, Hoffa declared, American labor would one day face the situation of the French workers today, where 300,000 have been forced to the most extreme forms of demonstrations in order to protest arbitrary government control of their livelihoods and the well-being of their families.

In introducing Hoffa, President John Clark of Mine-Mill expressed the union's profound thanks for the moral and financial assistance of the Teamsters during the 1959 copper strike. At the conclusion of the hour-long address, the convention went on record as unanimously calling for an end to the government's persecution and harassment of the general president of the Teamster's Union.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

CUBA — 1963. A talk with slides by V. T. Lee, nat'l director, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who visited Cuba this year. Stephen H. Fritchman, chairman. Fri., April 5, 8 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. FPCC.

NEW YORK

RUSS NIXON, General Manager, The National Guardian, speaks on The Kennedy Administration and the 88th Congress. Fri., April 5, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place, Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Herman Benson, of Union Democracy in Action, and William Worthy, Afro-American correspondent, discuss Decline of Labor's Power in the Fifties. Part of forum series on Labor as a Force for Progress. Tues., April 2, 8:30 p.m. Central Plaza Annex, 40 East 7th St. A usp. Labor Action for Peace. CO 7-4882.

SAN FRANCISCO

The Offensive Against Labor. Speaker, Paul Montauk, candidate for Oakland City Council. Fri., April 12, 8 p.m. 1488 Fulton St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PRELUDE TO A REIGN OF TERROR

Why Coup in Iraq Succeeded

By A. Said

For anyone who has carefully followed political developments in the Arab world, the Feb. 8 events in Iraq were not in the least surprising. Political observers foresaw an overturn. Everyone sensed the weakness of the tottering Kassem regime — which had lost the support of the masses a year after the Revolution of July 14, 1958.

The Revolution of July 14, 1958 was a completely popular uprising based on all the anti-imperialist forces and all the anti-feudal forces. These forces were divided into the workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. There was universal support for the revolution.

At the beginning of its course, the Kassem regime undertook to carry out basic social changes, the most important element of which was agrarian reform. In order to keep the support of the masses of the people, the new government had to give them broad democratic reforms.

The workers and peasants began to organize themselves and to struggle for their demands. They even united with the intellectuals — journalists, writers, lawyers and students, etc. Out of this developed an armed people's militia supporting the interests of the broad masses.

All of these organizations were under the leadership of the Communist Party of Iraq. The masses controlled the city streets and the countryside. A state of dual power existed. Nevertheless, the Communist Party remained true to its policy of the National Front and co-operation with the bourgeoisie. It never entered its mind to direct the struggle of the workers and other popular masses toward the conquest of power.

However, this "People's Front," which was dearer to the Stalinists than their own eyes, did not last long. The first rift occurred over the question of national unity.

The Ba'athists [members of the Socialist Party of Arab Renaissance, a petty-bourgeois nationalist party] and Nasserists, under the leadership of Abdel Salam Aref — then vice premier — demanded immediate unity with the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria). Kassem, the Stalinists and part of the bourgeoisie put up a fierce resistance against this. From this point on the CP began

to intensify its support of Kassem, helped to suppress the partisans of unity with the UAR, elevated Kassem to the level of a national hero, and gave him the title of "the only leader of the Iraqi people." And when the pro-Nasser uprising of Abdul Wahab Shawaf broke out on March 8, 1959, it was the Stalinists above all who helped Kassem and mobilized the masses to liquidate the insurgents and the Ba'athists.

After the liquidation of Shawaf's insurgents, the CP — which was the only organized force in Iraqi politics — did not launch the fight for the seizure of power but contented itself with a demand for a share in the government. Even this demand was soon put aside by the Soviet bureaucracy, which regarded it as a "left" turn.

In their fight against Nasser and the Nasserists, the Stalinists in Iraq — and in all the Arab countries — were the most important and most effective opponents of Arab unity. Instead of fighting against the undemocratic methods of achieving unity used by Nasser and exposing his great crimes to the masses (to whom the Nasser method appears to be the only possible road to unity), they opposed unity itself.

They justified this with the stupid argument about the differences of development in the emerging Arab nations — as if national unity presupposes identical development among the peoples. More than that: they began to spread the theory of the "Arab peoples" instead of one Arab people. In this way they lost their influence among the greater part of the masses, to whom the slogan of unification is one of the most important in the struggle.

After having destroyed the Nasserists and the Ba'athists, Kassem turned on the Communists. And when they showed the first signs of weakness, he threw his support to the anti-Communist camp of the right.

The Counter-revolution had begun.

Communists and other leftists were arrested and persecuted; the left press was outlawed; the people's militia was disbanded; the reactionary, paralyzing leaderships were imposed upon the trade unions and the organizations of peasants, youth, students, women and intellectuals. Every Communist source of influence was

destroyed. The agents of imperialism, who had been imprisoned by the people's courts were released. Under pressure from the feudal landlords, the administration abandoned continuation of the agrarian reform. In the factories, the union activists were removed from the management.

However, all of this did not suffice to win for Kassem's regime the trust or the confidence of the reactionaries. It gave up the support of the left, but it did not win the support of the right.

This Bonapartist police regime also alienated itself on the question of the national rights of the Kurdish people. It adopted a policy of discriminating against the Kurds in all its activities: in its program of industrialization, in the admission of Kurdish youth to the high schools, in the building of medical and cultural institutions, and in the allocation of scholarships. Because of such discrimination, the Kurdish uprising broke out.

The Kassem regime was now completely isolated. It no longer had a mass base. No political power nor social class supported it. Now it depended solely on the police and the army. Here, however, as in all the Arab countries, the army is an uncertain factor, and thus there was a big question mark written over the fate of the Kassem regime. Its days were numbered.

The Iraqi CP learned nothing from any of this. It stuck to the Khrushchev line, the line of the People's Front, of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, of maintaining the status quo of the capitalist regime, of postponing the proletarian revolution and deferring socialism to the distant future.

Instead of mobilizing the masses by means of class struggle to win the hegemony of the proletariat in the national liberation movement, the Communists demanded a "return to the path of July 14, 1958" and the "democratic-parliamentary Republic." They fooled themselves and tried to convince the masses "that the objective conditions were not ready for the replacement of the Kassem regime with a people's democratic regime," and loudly gave adherence to the Khrushchev line of "peaceful co-existence" — that if they took an independent position it would work to the advantage of the imperialists outside and the reactionary forces inside.

Instead of raising the slogans of self-determination for the Kurds and national unity for the Arabs, they asked for autonomy for the Kurds within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. Indeed they conceded that "autonomy and not the right of self-determination of the Kurdish nation, including the construction of an independent state in all of Kurdistan can take place," but they explained that this was a goal for the distant future.

They had learned nothing from the Chinese Communists' experience with Chiang Kai-shek and the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in 1927. In spite of all their experience since then they have not learned that the national bourgeoisies of the underdeveloped countries in this epoch are incapable of even bringing the bourgeois revolution to completion, and that revolutions in these countries cannot be stopped half way on the road to completion.

There can be no "national democratic revolution" as they would have it. A revolution that does not become a socialist revolution must degenerate and end in a counter-revolutionary putsch.

The completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution — including the unification of the Arab countries — which is the task facing the Arab people today, cannot be achieved under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. That can be accomplished only by the pro-



WOMEN'S BATTALION. In first year of Iraq's revolution these Popular Resistance Forces — the common people and intellectuals in arms — saved regime of Premier Kassem from 1959 counter-revolution attempted by pro-Nasser army officers and reactionaries. But Kassem stifled and witch-hunted these and other organizations of workers and peasants. When pro-Nasser officers and reactionaries staged a coup last February, Kassem paid with his life.

letarian revolution on the way to socialism.

The two essential slogans, which are mobilizing the masses in the Arab countries, are: national unity and socialism. The national bourgeoisie under the leadership of Nasser rides today on both these slogans. The Stalinists oppose one as well as the other and thereby lose contact with the masses and leave the field to the Nasserists who are winning mass support.

All the anti-Communist elements stood behind the last overturn in Iraq — Nasserists, Ba'athists, agents of British and American imperialism, supporters

of the dead Nuri es-Said [the pro-imperialist premier overthrown in the 1958 Revolution], etc. The only interests which unite them are smashing the power of the workers and liquidating the CP. Outside of that they are divided and cannot bid for mass support. Their rule thus is shaky and does not have the appearance of being able to last. The battle-tested Iraqi masses will scarcely let them live a long life. But these masses feel the need of a suitable leadership.

Will the CP, other than which no leadership exists in Iraq, be able to learn from this?

... New York Printers' Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

"Boulwareism," whereby the Publishers Association first signed with a weak union and then imposed that settlement on all other crafts, has been broken. The new contract provides a common expiration date for all crafts and the ITU now sets the pattern.

For another, the ITU has forged unity in a strike supported by all the crafts. This unity broke the common front of the publishers despite anti-union pressure and interference from powerful forces including Judge Medina, Pierre Salinger, Mayor Wagner, Gov. Rockefeller and President Kennedy. Third, the principle of bargaining over automation has been established. Most important, the publishers now have to accept Big 6 as a fighting union with a militant rank and file in the newspaper composing rooms.

Brown's Role

These are matters of principle which are important for making gains in terms of shorter hours, longer vacations, and other solid job-security gains. But the matters of principle are not bread-and-butter gains in themselves. The strikers feel cheated precisely because they feel that since they were strong enough to break the publishers' front on principle, they could have got some solid material gains as well. And they are right.

If ITU president Elmer Brown had been more sensitive to his own rank and file and less subject to pressure from the strikebreaking Kennedy administration, he'd have refused to breach the ITU's traditional opposition to third-party-recommended settlements. In that case the publishers — whose front was shattered on the eve of the lucrative pre-Easter advertising season — would have had to make their own settlement without help from Kennedy and

Wagner. The result could only have been more favorable terms for the printers.

The ITU struck four New York City dailies Dec. 8. These were: *The Times*, *Daily News*, the *Scripps-Howard World Telegram & Sun*, and the *Hearst Journal-American*. Five other dailies locked out their workers in a Publishers Association conspiracy to beat the union. These were the *Herald-Tribune*, *Mirror*, *Post*, *Long Island Star-Journal* and the *New York City* edition of the *Long Island Press*. Three weeks ago the *Post* resumed publication.

There is some bitterness and some disunity as the strike ends. The latter is exemplified by one leaflet accusing those who loudly expressed opposition to the contract at the March 17 meeting of "hoodlumism" and being "the enemy within." But the ranks have not been buffaloed, and the printers go back with a stronger union than before the strike.



Elmer Brown

Iraqi Students Here Protest Coup

Iraqi students in the United States are protesting the bloody repressions being carried on by the Aref regime in Iraq which recently overthrew the government of Premier Kassem in a military coup d'etat.

The following statement, entitled "The Tragedy in Iraq," was issued by the Iraqi Students' Society in California.

"On Feb. 8, 1963, a group of military men and retired officers together with some civilians overthrew the existing government in Iraq. They have established a dictatorship headed by the dictator Aref. From the onset the new regime began an all-out campaign to eliminate all resistance. Claiming that their aim was the elimination of communism, they have in fact tried to wipe out all forms of opposition.

"To carry out their will the group has established what they call the 'National Guard.' Consisting in the main of high-school teen-agers armed with automatic weapons, the 'Guard' is authorized to 'keep order' in Iraq.

"In the name of Arab Nationalism this group has slaughtered many of the country's intellectuals, university professors and liberals. The situation has taken on the proportions of a massacre. A wave of terror has struck the country. In Baghdad alone the number of people killed has surpassed the 1,000 mark, as of Feb. 14, 1963.

"We most strongly protest the savage, inhuman methods practiced by those whose alleged aims are 'unity, freedom and socialism.' Unity cannot be achieved by a blood bath. Freedom can never exist under despotism. Socialism cannot exist along with feudalism and imperialism.

"In the name of human rights and dignity, the Iraqi students in California appeal to you to protest this bloodthirsty regime, which operates by committing such atrocities."

The Iraqi Students' Society in California is also circulating a similar protest and appeal issued by the Iraqi Students' Society in the United Kingdom. It urges all those who support the aspirations of the Iraqi people for democracy and liberty and who believe in elementary human rights and dignity to send protests to: The Prime Minister, Baghdad, Republic of Iraq, with copies going to the United Nations, Committee for Human Rights.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 27 - No. 13



Monday, April 1, 1963

Washington Warns Brazil

Freedom of speech and assembly is under attack in Brazil. Pressure from the U.S. has led the governor of one of the states in Brazil to outlaw the planned meeting of the Brazilian section of the Cuban Solidarity Congress in Rio de Janeiro. The major international section of the congress is scheduled to take place in Sao Paulo, where it appears that there will be no government interference.

It is no accident that this action came after an intense press campaign in the U.S. fueled by statements from Congress, the State Department, and U.S. Ambassador Gordon, to the effect that "communists" had heavily infiltrated the Brazilian government.

The declaration of Gov. Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara State, in which Rio de Janeiro lies, that he would jail attempted participants in the Cuban Solidarity Congress, came in direct response to the U.S. press outcry about "Communist influence" in Brazil. Since Washington officials launched and fed this press campaign, it constitutes a case of unabashed interference in Brazil's domestic politics.

Even more important than the attempt to suppress the congress are two threats to Brazil implicit in the whole campaign. One is a threat to President Goulart to stop equivocating on Cuba and toe the Kennedy line or face reduction or complete cessation of U.S. aid at a time when Brazil is in deep economic trouble.

The second, and even more sinister, threat implicit in the sudden and savage U.S. press campaign against the Goulart administration is that Washington is weighing the desirability of the end of civilian government in Brazil and its replacement by a military dictatorship like those in Argentina and Peru.

Wasn't Rhee Enough?

Three years ago student demonstrators brought down U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee's dictatorship in South Korea. Now, popular demonstrations are shaking the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of General Park Chung-hee.

The present ruling military junta came to power in a coup in 1961. Since that time a reign of police terror has kept down protests until the last few weeks when mass demonstrations against the regime occurred in Seoul, Pusan, and at least three other cities. Police broke up these demonstrations and arrested hundreds.

The United States, under the cloak of the United Nations, kept the hated Rhee in power during and after the Korean civil war. Washington has pumped over five million dollars in military and economic aid into building up the huge military machine in South Korea. The Rhee regime owed its existence to U.S. military and economic support.

The South Korean people toppled Rhee by their own direct action, only to have another military dictatorship, which rules by grace of U.S. support, imposed upon them. Now the Korean people are again fighting for their freedom against the military machine — which is still under UN command.

No military regime in South Korea can survive without the U.S. support necessary to maintain the huge military apparatus. The Korean people have suffered enough from the Korean war which was supposed to safeguard "democracy" — a "democracy" they have yet to see. The oppression of South Korea must be stopped. The U.S. should immediately remove its troops from Korea and stop all military and economic aid to the military regime there.

The Right Not To Be Lied to

The owners of the mass news media are blasting the Kennedy administration for its handling of news during the Cuba crisis. Publishers, editors and newscasters voiced their opposition to the policy laid down by Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, before a House committee investigating administration news policies.

Sylvester had declared that the White House has the right to lie to the public during times of crisis. "Manipulation and control of the news must not be tolerated in time of peace or in time of crisis — and deliberate falsehoods should not be tolerated at any time," was the answer of Howard W. Bell, vice president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

We wholeheartedly agree with the newsmen that the government must level with the people especially during a crisis when millions of American lives may be at stake. Without the truth, the people have even less basis for judging important events and determining what they want done.

But the spokesmen for this country's big-business-dominated news media do not themselves have clean hands. The whole war hysteria against Cuba was induced by a press, radio and TV campaign of the most outrageous falsehoods — as well as by the administration's "managing of the news" during the crisis.

It is that concerted effort — despite some mutual recrimination as at present — which continues to deprive the American public of the truth about Cuba and Kennedy's foreign policy.

LONDON LETTER

Tory Woes: Fall of Pound; Rise of Labor

LONDON — Seen from this tarnished, former capital of world capitalism, three things stand out in a week of crowded events.

1) The pound sterling's temporary slide — narrowly averting rockfall proportions — is significant mainly for the light it casts on the long-term decline of the British economy and, beyond that, its vortex-like effect on the whole economic structure of the "free world."

2) Another cold-shower treatment was administered by Dean Acheson, Wall Street-Washington's unfettered, unofficial spokesman to rouse another of the European partners to the realities of the "free world" strategy, worked out by the Pentagon generals and their commanding officers in the skyscrapers of downtown Manhattan. On the receiving end this time was General de Gaulle's France. But it produced an equally sober reaction in the ruling circles here who had been the first to undergo Acheson's shock treatment.

3) The continued and growing volume of grumbling and thumping by the British working class was last week augmented by the French in a typical Gallic display of fireworks around their miners' strike which is spreading to other industries. The rest of West European labor seems to have been drawn into expressions of solidarity. Even the long unheard-from Soviet proletariat appears to have found its voice in this concord of struggle.

Of these three developments the last seems by far the most pregnant and portentous in its implications.

The fall in the pound sterling was precipitated by the build-up of bad omens not only within the strictly British economy but in the entire Commonwealth economy which comes within the "sterling area." These omens were: falling prices for primary products in the Far East, the uncertainty of Near East oil values partly due to political unrest there and to Soviet-bloc competition, the precarious mineral position in the Congo, South Africa and throughout the African continent — on top of the difficulties with steel and property trading in Britain proper reported in a previous letter.

The pound's slide was quickly halted by the concerted efforts of the big banks and their international organizations, using exceptional measures, which had previously been agreed on to back the currency. But, in the opinion of the financial experts these alone probably would not have sufficed as more than the merest temporary expedients.

What really brought the pound back into line again was the simple fact that the currency speculators, and the following they command among capitalists everywhere, simply had no stronger currency to take flight to. The dollar is not in a much stronger position, as was explained to a British reporter by one Geneva banker. And as for the deutschmark and the franc, they are not in a much more brilliant situation. (Contrary to all the propaganda about the old German "miracle" and the new French "miracle," the economies of all the Common Market countries have recently been discovered to be hardly less stagnant than those of Britain and America.)

The postwar boom seems to be over everywhere this time. If sterling is to fall or be devalued — many Keynesian economists here regard this as indispensable to lift Britain out of the economic doldrums — it may well be merely the first followed by all the other Western currencies, including the dollar. For the time being, the bankers have succeeded in holding this prospect at arm's length. But insofar as the crisis of the



DE GAULLE. To striking French miners he's "Big Charlie." For more on that see page 1 story from Paris.

whole capitalist market is concerned, this is no more than sticking in a finger to plug a leaky dike.

The shaky economic position of the capitalist West makes it all the more frantically urgent to overcome the disorder in its NATO alliance, which is on the point of disruption. Hence Dean Acheson's vitriolic, if pointed, homilies delivered on either coast of the U.S.A. but shafted across the Atlantic. The latest one rakes none other than the formidable General de Gaulle over the coals, if an embarrassing allusion is permissible.

Acheson simply reminds the French rulers, like the British, that without the American prop (military, certainly, and economic to the degree that both are in the same fix and cannot know where the avalanche might start) there is nothing that can really hold them up in the showdown.

"So far so good," says the March 14 *London Times*. "The case for the Atlantic Community and against a Gaullist Europe is overwhelming." All the same it sees some point in the General's case: "Two half-contradictory fears are expressed. One is that the United States will make a deal with Russia at the expense of Europe. The other that the United States is so deeply imprisoned in an ideological view of the Cold War that Europe must free herself in order to make a deal alone." This dilemma, the paper points out, is hardly tackled by Acheson and those he speaks for. Stationing more

troops on the borders of the Soviet bloc is hardly a brilliant solution, nor any more satisfactory than the assurances that Washington will not make a deal at European capitalism's expense.

Lord Home, the British Foreign Secretary, apparently assuming that the common slight from across the Atlantic should make the French at least somewhat less hostile — if not sympathetic now to their cross-channel bed-fellows — went to Paris the other day to see if he could not resume some sort of common talk, if not a Common Market. But his French opposite number would not bite at the luncheon offered by Macmillan's foreign minister. He does not like Trojan-Horse meat, no matter how piquant the sauce, it seems.

General de Gaulle's cabinet is occupied, besides, by more serious matters. The miners, defying his requisition orders, have been out on strike for more than two weeks and now are joined by railwaymen, post office workers, etc. "Money, Charlot," they shout disrespectfully at the grandiose figure who has seemingly subdued all other social forces in France, including the obstreperous army.

The British workers — holding the Ford Motor company at bay, forcing the huge Dunlop concern to take back two fired shop stewards, with the teachers militantly preparing for strike along with busmen, with the miners and railwaymen approaching struggle — understand their French brothers very well. They see that de Gaulle, like their own Macmillan, is "a proper Charlie," as their slang goes. The feet of clay are showing on all the ruling idols.

There is an inspiring report from the other side of Europe. Dispatches in the *Guardian* here, some quoting British *United Press*, make it clear that Soviet dockers in Baltic ports refused to load coal on ships bound for strike-bound France, bringing in turn from the Kremlin a ban on all such shipments.

From this vantage point it looks as if the whole gigantic labor movement of the West, particularly Western Europe in its decisive areas, is stirring to a new life. "A Europe stretching to the Volga?" Perhaps de Gaulle's imaginative phrase is not so fantastic. An Atlantic Community taking in all Europe and America? Perhaps Acheson's vision is not all that shaky. But it does seem that both may be fulfilled in unexpected ways — and joined together by an awakening working class that may yet confound all its detractors.

—T. J. Peters

... Stalin's Purge of Red Army

(Continued from Page 1)
ter indirectly by publishing a review by a French Communist, André Wurmser, of a history of the Soviet Union just written by the well-known French Communist author Louis Aragon. Wurmser quotes his colleague's remark that in the first great purge trial of Kamenev and Zinoviev: "Not one document permits establishing the degree of falsity which took place in the testimony of the accused at the trial. But this trial served as the basis for an entire series of others."

This delicate demolition of the foundation of Stalin's frameups is the first open suggestion in the Soviet press that Lenin's incriminated associates were innocent. Rumors have come out of Moscow this past year that Bukharin and some others of the executed Old Bolsheviks have been quietly relieved of guilt, although they are still condemned for being wrong politically.

Despite demands from many quarters, the Kremlin has not yet dared breathe a word about clearing Trotsky of the false charges, although he was the principal target of the frameup trials. Khrushchev moves very cautiously in divulging the truth about his patron's rule. Information about Stalin's crimes are leaked drop by drop to reduce the shock to the Soviet public and protect the regime against the revulsion of the inquisitive and outraged younger generation.

"In those parts of the world where learning and science has prevailed, miracles have ceased; but in those parts of it as barbarous and ignorant, miracles are still in vogue." — Ethan Allen (1737-1789), American officer in Revolutionary War.

THE MOSCOW-PEKING DEBATE

Root Causes of Sino-Soviet Rift

By William F. Warde

It is easier to grasp the ideological issues in the forefront of the Sino-Soviet dispute than to get at the complex and hidden causes underlying the growing conflict. The divergent interpretations of Marxism-Leninism and the opposing conclusions drawn from the joint Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 themselves indicate that the two sides are being driven apart by something deeper than mere doctrinal differences. These compelling reasons are to be found in the very different national and international situations of the two workers' states which give rise to conflicting interests, aims and policies of their ruling strata.

It would require a long probe into the past relations of the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaderships to uncover the beginnings of their antagonism. The seeds of mistrust were sown as far back as the Yen'an period before the Second World War. Suspicion that Moscow did not care about the requirements of the struggle in China was reinforced by Stalin's advice to maintain a postwar coalition with Chiang Kai-Shek which the Maoists tried to secure but had to discard. It was fed by the Soviet dismantling of plants in China's Manchurian industrial base and Russian occupation of Port Arthur, Dairen and other ports. At the time of Stalin's death, relations had become so strained that Khrushchev flew to Peking in 1954 to reassure the Chinese that improvements would be promptly forthcoming.

Independent Leaders

As organizers and directors of a victorious revolution, Mao and his colleagues cannot highly esteem the present helmsmen in Moscow who inherited their powers instead of conquering them in battle. As heads of a powerful nation of 700 millions they feel on a par with the Soviet leaders, are able to act independently of them, and even, if necessary, in defiance of their wishes. They have relied upon Soviet economic, military and diplomatic aid without being straitjacketed by it.

In the first decade of the triumphant Chinese Revolution the points of friction between the foremost members of the Soviet bloc were submerged by their mutual interests. What has intervened since then to drive a wedge between them so deep and sharp as to override the need for a common front against imperialism and place them on opposite sides of the battlefield in the India border clash?

The Chinese now assign the origin of the disagreements to the eve of the Camp David talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev in September 1959. Washington and Moscow found a common language, they say, at the very time that Khrushchev contravened in word and deed the main theses of the 1957 Moscow statement.

Other analysts trace the birth of the present schism to Khrushchev's enunciation of revisionist theses and denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet C.P. in 1956. This made it necessary to convene a meeting of all the Communist parties the following year. The Chinese were offended, not simply by the smashing of the idolatry of Stalin, but because they were not notified in advance of this abrupt turn-about. They are very sensitive to manifestations of arrogant or high-handed behavior on the part of the Soviet "elder brother." They have just censured the Thorez leadership of the French CP for reversing its positions on Cuba, Tito, Algeria and China at Moscow's command and they praise the Albanians (though not the Yugoslavs) for refusing to grovel when the Russians "brandish the baton."

More important than Soviet disregard for interparty consultations and transgressions of equal relations between fraternal parties have been the frictions generated by the disparity in the economic levels of the two countries. Communist China had to start modernizing and industrializing its economy after 1949 on a more primitive foundation than the

one people, a third of mankind, must live on 15 cents a day while the other is being lifted to Western standards? If the economic resources and conditions of the two nations cannot be immediately equalized, as they cannot, then the Chinese would at least like to see Soviet foreign aid reallocated with a greater percentage going to them and the revolutionary forces in the colonial areas than to the neutralist bourgeois regimes.

The Khrushchev faction cannot meet the requests of the Chinese Communists for many reasons. It is bound by the policy of building "communism in a single country" at the fastest pace. More substantially, the Soviet Union does not possess the capacities to increase its production, raise the living conditions of its people, sustain the expensive nuclear arms race, go to the moon, implement its diplomatic objectives in the "third world" — and take care in addition of the immense and pressing requirements of 700 million Chinese. The Chinese come last in the priorities of the Kremlin's planners.

China's poverty and underdevelopment as well as Russia's inadequacies have been inherited from their pre-socialist pasts. Even if the two countries were led by men of the calibre of Lenin and Trotsky, the objective difficulties created by the disparities in their development would present excruciating problems not susceptible of easy solutions.

The truth is that the unevenness between the two countries and the frictions these engender cannot be finally eliminated except through the extension of the socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Mutual aid and planned co-operation could then place the necessary productive forces of the wealthier lands at the disposal of the poorer ones and narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots in the shortest possible time.

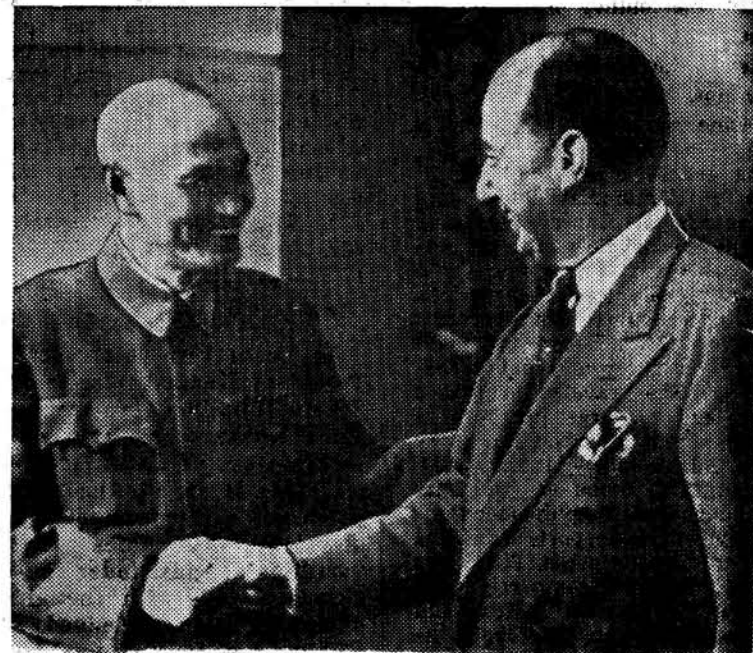
Paramount Task

Ironing out the vast disproportions between the two sectors of humanity is the paramount task of the entire transitional period from capitalism to socialism. A genuine Marxist leadership would at least acknowledge the existence of this problem and honestly explain its gravity to the working-class public, as Lenin's Bolsheviks did. But the false orientation of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies have kept them from even mentioning this fundamental issue. It smacks too much of the "heresy" of Trotskyism.

Khrushchev's line of building "communism in a single country" — and devil take the hindmost — plays a large part in the breach between Moscow and Peking. In complaints about their economic mistreatment at the hands of the Kremlin, the Chinese expose some of the consequences of this Stalinist policy. But they have not delved into its root causes.

The dissimilarities in the international positions of the two nations are as estranging as the disparity in their economic situations. The Soviet rulers are far more privileged, conservative and contented with the status quo than the Chinese. As one of the two Great Powers, they participate in parleys at the summit and in the UN which decide the destinies of nations from Laos through the Congo to Cuba.

Communist China is the outcast of world politics among the workers' states. It is diplomatically and economically isolated and militarily encircled. The U.S. stations its forces in South Korea, sustains Chiang in Formosa, and has its Seventh Fleet in adjacent waters. The Pentagon supervises anti-guerrilla operations in South Vietnam, intervenes against China and



ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIES. Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to UN, and Chiang Kai-shek, U.S.-supported dictator of Formosa. Stevenson leads fight in UN to block admission of China while Chiang is maintained on Formosa to provide base for possible future attack on China. Chinese leaders fear a U.S.-Soviet deal that would deepen their isolation.

its allies in Laos and neighboring countries and rushes arms to India. Today China is not only excluded from the councils of the major powers and cut off from American trade but also from Soviet aid.

In response to these conditions the Soviets and China have developed divergent foreign policies and asserted different attitudes toward U.S. imperialism and Western capitalism. Despite the rebuffs encountered along the way, the Kremlin has persistently sought to reach a *modus vivendi* with Washington since the 1955 Geneva summit conference. Meanwhile, it wants to confine any changes in international relations within the compass of its special aims and interests.

Peking, on the other hand, has to break through the blockade imposed by a hostile U.S. Neither the neo-colonial bourgeois governments nor the Soviet Union, it has found, will help it enough to serve that purpose. To disrupt the Pentagon's strategy and beat back its enemies, China has no recourse but to turn towards the colonial revolutions, above all in Southeast Asia. The expansion of the anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial lands is today a life-and-death matter for Communist China.

The Chinese Revolution bears the same relation to Asia as the Cuban Revolution to Latin America. Both must spread in order to survive and counter the aggressions of U.S. imperialism which wants to stop any imitation of their example.

The Kremlin is caught in the crossfire of this combat between revolution and counter-revolution. While it is busy placating Washington, neither Peking nor Havana have any faith in the Kennedy administration's benevolence or peaceful intentions. They are on guard not only against Washington but against Moscow's diplommatizing. The Chinese have seen Khrushchev negotiate before without concern for matters most important to them (admission to the UN, return of Formosa, etc.) Now the unilateral action on UN inspection of Cuba and other impermissible concessions he made in the Caribbean crisis convinces them that Khrushchev would sacrifice vital interests of the other workers' states to "peaceful co-existence" with Washington. That is why they speak so bitterly of "appeasement."

The attitude adopted toward the colonial bourgeoisie is decisive in colonial politics. Here the Chinese

have sharp differences with the Russians. They have extorted a grudging admission from Moscow that it supports "just wars of colonial liberation." But they are aware that the Soviet leaders are more intent upon lining up uncommitted governments behind their diplomatic objectives than encouraging forces and movements which aspire to go beyond the neo-colonial status of the national bourgeoisies and take the socialist road to liberation.

As Cuba indicates, the Kremlin will ally itself with victorious revolutions and use them insofar as they can be fitted into its overall diplomacy. But it casts a cold eye on uncontrollable revolutionary movements and regimes from which it can derive no immediate advantages and which hinder its course of conciliation with Washington. The Soviet bureaucracy has shown that it values bourgeois India as an ally more than its solidarity with the Chinese workers' state.

Since the erosion of the agreements reached at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Peking has looked upon most of the neo-colonialist bourgeois regimes as actual or prospective tools of Western imperialism. Nehru's conduct in the border dispute has fortified this view. The spread and strengthening of the worker-peasant movements in Asia offers Peking the most effective means of "neutralizing" governments inclined to play imperialism's anti-China game.

Their possession of the H-bomb and the means of delivering them give the U.S. and the USSR an equal stake in maintaining the present "balance of terror" as part of their condominium over the rest of the world. So long as universal disarmament is not enforced, the Chinese believe they have as much right and need as any other power to atomic bombs.

However, the Soviet chiefs are even less disposed to help China acquire nuclear weapons than Washington is to let the West German Republic have them. Communist China is unmanageable enough as it is.

The Soviet removal of its missiles from Cuba under Kennedy's threat has intensified Chinese resentment against the Russian resistance to its independent nuclear development. They feel that Khrushchev covers before the imperialist "paper tiger" and in the showdown yields too readily and too much to its blackmail. While

(Continued on Page 6)

CP Ducks Chinese Criticism

The Communist Party of the U.S. announced March 19 that it has no present intention to discuss the Chinese criticism of its pro-Kennedy line. The statement did not indicate that the Chinese viewpoint would be made available to party members here. Meanwhile the Chinese have published the texts of attacks on them by the Italian, French and East German Communist parties and plan to publish the statements of all the other parties lined up with Moscow in the current dispute.

Soviet Union in the 1920s. Its more rapid rate of development in the early 1950s has been interrupted and set back by the failures of the Great Leap Forward and the widespread distress caused by the natural disasters since 1959. Today the Chinese have living standards far lower than the Russians.

At the 22nd Congress in 1961, while China was suffering from hunger and its economy was in a critical slowdown, Khrushchev announced that in 20 years the Soviet Union, having already achieved socialism, would approach communism. The Soviet people were promised the highest living standards in the world.

Imagine the Chinese reactions as the Soviet leaders go ahead with this perspective, callously disregarding China's massive material needs and its somber difficulties! Hit by poor harvests and plagued by mounting millions of mouths to feed, Peking has had to spend scarce foreign exchange to import grain from Canada, Australia and elsewhere. The Soviet Union has none to spare for China. Moreover, it has given more aid in the past decade to such neutralist nations as India, Egypt and Indonesia. Now the Peking *People's Daily* has revealed that, after the Bucharest Conference of 1960, Moscow broke hundreds of economic contracts with China and cut its trade to a minimum. It has also insisted on repayment of the Korean War debt and for the goods provided in recent years.

What a mockery of socialism and fraternity it is to say that

By Leon Trotsky

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A LOOK REPORTER VISITS CUBA

Finds 'Tropical Marxism' Is Still Beguiling

When a mass circulation magazine in this country prints a story about Cuba which doesn't mangle the truth, that's news. But, believe it or not, that's just what *Look* magazine has done in its April 9 issue.

The article is entitled "My 28 Days in Communist Cuba" and its author is Laura Bergquist. Though the article's internal evidence shows that she shares the standard prejudices of American journalists against Marxism and Castroism, Miss Bergquist is obviously an observant and honest reporter. She traveled around a lot, talked to large numbers of Cubans, then described how they lived and quoted what they said. She and I.F. Stone are the only U.S. journalists to publish extensive eyewitness reports on Cuba since the missile crisis. While her article cannot compare with Stone's for political insight and analysis, it is an excellent, informative report which stands in sharp contrast to the phony horror stories about Cuba which are being fed daily to the American people.

Here are some of the things Miss Bergquist says in her article: "Havana food is dull, rationed, but people eat — starchily. We have scarcities, but nobody is starving," Cubans insist. Milk goes to the children . . .

"Cuba is a zoo full of foreigners. I met beguiled Greek and French leftist moviemakers. I was more surprised to run across a batch of apolitical Irish mechanical engineers, who were building a sugar-bag factory in Santa Clara — a city that they told me was overrun by 'hundreds' of 'foreign' technicians. The Irish felt cool about the Czechs and Poles, who wouldn't work overtime, but praised the zealous, unskilled Cubans, including ex-bellboys, who broke their necks to get the plant up in record time . . . I actually saw fewer Russians in Havana than on my 1960 trip. The biggest anti-American tirades I heard came from Canadians, tourists and technical experts alike . . .

"I saw fewer civilians toting guns than on my last visit . . . I heard, nevertheless, that during the Missile Crisis there were no mass arrests — à la the Bay of Pigs alarm. Dissenters today seem either apathetic or 'more ready

to swim to Miami' than to take to the hills . . .

"An amazing thing has happened: This little island has become the crossroads of world communism. 'We are the *niña adorada* (the youngest, spoiled child) of the socialist system,' say Fidelistas, and they are right. Russians, Chinese, Bulgarians, Albanians, even Outer Mongolians are here, cramming their Caribbean 'showcase'

The Book Burners

In Costa Rica last month President Kennedy declared, "We will build a wall around Cuba" to keep revolutionary writings out of Latin America. This is an admission of a fear of a free competition of ideas with Cuba. The "wall" is already under construction and, with the aid and supervision of Kennedy's CIA, part of it is manned by the Mexican government.

This is testified to by Look's Laura Bergquist who reported: "At the Mexico City airport, point of no return, Mexican police take photographic mug shots. Land at Mexico City on the way back, and they confiscate every scrap of Fidelista literature. (I swore to burn my five-foot shelf of Castro speeches after use.)"

with goodies, technical, military, ideological. All, however, is not socialist harmony. Nowhere in the world are the fractures in the Communist bloc so obvious . . . Young Russians, particularly, like recent visitor poet Evgenii Evtushenko, are fascinated by youthful, vocal, zealous, revolutionary Cuba . . .

"Frankly, I prefer Americans to the Russians, who are very 'heavy' and don't mingle with us," said a boy one night at the Havana *Papel y Tinta* (Paper and Ink) mass fiesta given by Fidel's personal organ, the daily *Revolución*. Some 70,000 proletarians swarmed the square facing the National Capitol and the marbled Centro Gallego, once an exclusive Spanish club. (The regime is lavish with free dances, sports training

low-cost vacations at new resorts.) But then my friend added, 'I don't care much for your United Fruit Company, which stole all our riches.' . . .

"The Bergquist poll findings: Cubans who've reached adulthood since the Revolution are Fidelistas. Doubters are 25 and up . . .

"Tropical Marxism seems at times downright surrealist. Quotation from Fidel, in an English class at Havana's Ciudad Libertad, Batista's old military headquarters, now turned into a vast school for scholarship students: Learn to speak English, he advised, so you can 'read valuable technical literature and someday converse with North American revolutionaries.' . . .

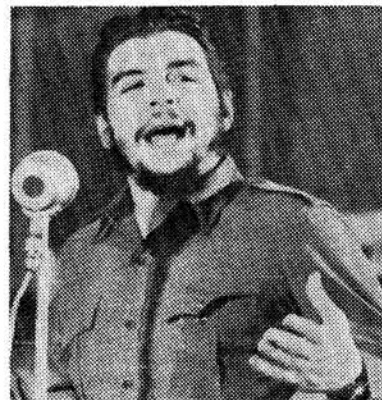
"Never underestimate the talents of a man who can get so many big powers over a barrel. Americans who lightly dismiss Castro as a 'kook' should read his speeches . . .

"Ricardo Porro, 36, is a brilliant architect who studied at the University of Havana in Castro's day and returned from years abroad after the Revolution. 'The doctors, lawyers, engineers left,' he says, 'but the artists stayed. There is something Homeric about a revolution that appeals to artists; but I realize it is very hard to live in times when change is so brusque, especially for older people.' . . .

"One fascinating night, from 8 p.m. until 3 a.m., I visited a half-dozen meetings of the 'Committees of Defense,' civilians in charge of defending each city block against counter-revolution. Originally, their job was 'vigilance.' Now, these defenders — mostly middle-aged housewives — shoulder 14 duties in all for the regime. Issuing ration books is just a starter. They also see that children on the block are vaccinated; that everyone learns to read and write; that the local butcher does

out meat fairly; that 'culture' is encouraged, and that neighbors are indoctrinated with good revolutionary principles . . .

"At 2 a.m., I faced 45 Cubans in a garage, and debated U.S.-Cuban policy. Why wouldn't we let them live in peace under their own system? they asked. No use arguing that Castro seemed to be



"Che" Guevara

non-peaceably exporting his revolution to democratic Venezuela. No use arguing about Russian imperialism — the Russians had come to their aid. Wasn't Cuba a Soviet Satellite? No! Fidel proved his independence of Khrushchev and Kennedy when he refused to permit on-site inspection of missile bases. My 45 Cubans saw only two alternatives: Big Bad Exploiting Capitalism and Glorious Communism . . . They shushed the neighborhood crank, who extolled Stalin, and gave me warm *abrazos* (embraces) when I left. . .

"In 1960 I had interviewed seven Cubans in depth. On this trip, I tried to find out what had happened to them and what they thought about Fidelismo now. One, a Jesuit priest, had been deported to Spain; the American *coman-*

dante, William Morgan, had been shot as a 'counter-revolutionary.' But the other five were still loyal *Fidelistas*. After talking with them, and also with anti-*Fidelistas*, I concluded that the raging U.S. debates about whether the Bay of Pigs invasion could have succeeded with the air cover were fantasy. They had nothing to do with Cuban reality. Even a burning anti-Castroite, who loathed a regime that had made a *Comunista* of his 18-year-old son and who ached to swim to Miami, told me that he himself had joined Castro's militia when he saw who the invaders were — 'too many sons of the *criollos* (the privileged), even known *Batistiano* torturers, but almost no *Negroes*. Did you Americans think,' he asked, 'that we wanted those back as our new government?'

"Fidel, propped up by such support, is still everywhere: Popping up in the Havana Libre to ask a pretty girl, 'Do you feel like a captive Cuban?'

"You remember what Cuban women used to be like — always dedicated to the house or flirting?" asked a lawyer in the Ministry of Industries. 'I never thought I'd see this explosion in four years — of ladies everywhere, in factories, in the militia, even running fishing boats! My own secretary pointed out my worst faults at the office 'critical' meeting last week.' . . .

Bergquist also includes an interview she had with Che Guevara. She quotes his brief and candid replies on a variety of subjects including the Betancourt regime, Cuba's differences with the Soviet leaders, industrial development and bureaucracy.

The photographs by Rene Burri accompanying the article convey the impact and beauty of the Cuban Revolution's youthful, shining face.

... Fight to Bar Mae Mallory Extradition

(Continued from Page 1)

ner that the extradition order issued by former Gov. Michael V. DiSalle on Feb. 6, 1962 was illegal.

Common Pleas Judge John V. Corrigan then issued a bench warrant for the arrest of Mrs. Mallory. Haffner contacted Sheriff James J. McGettrick and informed him Mrs. Mallory would return to County Jail at 3 p.m.

According to attorney Haffner, McGettrick advised him that the bench warrant would be withdrawn. However, when Haffner and Mr. Seniors arrived with Mrs. Mallory at the appointed time, Sgt. John Ungvary appeared and snatched Mrs. Mallory from between Haffner and Seniors right at the County Jail steps.

Mr. Seniors reports that when he and Haffner vigorously protested Ungvary's action in preventing Mrs. Mallory from giving herself up as requested by the court, Ungvary claimed he had the warrant for her arrest and threatened to book the two men.

Ungvary then took Mrs. Mallory to his office for questioning and fingerprinting, a procedure she had been subjected to when she was first jailed.

When the sergeant was through with Mrs. Mallory, he called two uniformed policemen to take her to jail. Five minutes later she was taken to court. Prosecutor Corrigan was there to read charges and recommend the judge commit her, which he did.

Meanwhile Monroe, N. C. authorities reportedly were on their way to Cleveland to take Mrs. Mallory back to that Southern state immediately.

When they arrived on Saturday, however, they were stopped by a stay of execution of the extradition order, granted the night of March 22 by a judge of the Sixth District Court of Appeals, which

gives Attorney Haffner thirty days in which to file an appeal. A motion has also been filed in the Court of Appeals for extension of Mrs. Mallory's bond.

The stay of execution affords time, Mr. Seniors says, for a massive appeal to Gov. Rhodes, recently-elected Republican governor, who can cut through all the legalistic maneuvers of the North Carolina authorities and their allies in Ohio with a single stroke of his pen. He can withdraw the extradition order of former Gov. Di Salle, a Democrat.

Very recent proof of this is afforded by the action of Gov. Rhodes just last Feb. 28, when he refused to order the return to Alabama of Roosevelt McReynolds of Cincinnati, who was charged by that state with escaping from legal custody more than thirty years ago.

Letters and telegrams to Gov. Rhodes should be addressed to the Office of the Governor, State of Ohio, Columbus 15, Ohio.

Copies of such communications or requests for information should be addressed to Mr. Clarence H. Seniors, Monroe Defense Committee, 10517 Superior Ave., Cleveland 6, Ohio.

NEW YORK — The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has urged that letters or wires be sent from throughout the country to Ohio Governor Rhodes asking that Mae Mallory be granted asylum. In addition, the committee urges letters and wires to Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina urging him to quash the indictments of Mae Mallory and her co-defendants in the framed-up Monroe kidnap case.

... Behind Sino-Soviet Rift

(Continued from Page 5)

China insists upon acquiring nuclear arms as indispensable for checking further imperialist aggressions and altering the balance of forces in its favor, the Soviet statesmen and generals see its candidacy for the "nuclear club" as a profoundly disturbing factor threatening the established big power setup.

Finally, the two sides are divided over de-Stalinization. The Khrushchev tendency is committed to doling out concessions to the masses which are carefully regulated to keep intact the pillars of its rulership.

Pressed by the imperialist blockade and by the sullen mood of hungry masses at home, Mao and his colleagues hesitate to relax the strict controls of their regime over the party and people. They fear that criticism of their policies would be even more vigorous than in 1957.

They are antagonistic toward Yugoslavia, not simply for its ideological deviations and excessive adaptation to capitalism, but because its decentralized administration, experiments in workers' control of enterprises, and flexibility of agrarian policy stand in such contrast with their own supercentralization and monolithism.

Both protagonists have agreed upon a high-level meeting to compose their differences as a preliminary to another international conference of all Communist parties. It remains to be seen on what basis it will be held.

According to the February issue *Marxist Review*, published in Prague, China has created "difficulties" in the Communist international labor unions, youth and women's organizations, and in the peace movements and called for the "removal" of Soviet party leaders. Peking is also demanding that Albania be accepted as an equal, that the Yugoslavs be branded as "traitors," and that "revisionism," not "sectarianism," be acknowledged as the "main danger" facing the Communist movement today.

Reconciliation on such terms is highly unlikely. They would give Peking the paramount ideological role in the Sino-Soviet alliance, a veto-power over Soviet foreign policy, and even over its leadership. Nor would another compromise like those of 1957 and 1960 remove the economic, political and military sources of dissension which have produced the present cleavage.

Next week: Conclusion — the essential significance of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

Local Directory

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

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

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

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa

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

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum. Temporarily c/o Oakland-Berkeley (see above).

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday. Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum. Meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. Phone WE 1-9967.

Letters From Our Readers

Cuban Carnival

Cleveland, Ohio

The "1963 Socialist Carnival" was held in Havana Saturday night, the ninth of March and the music rang loud and clear throughout the streets of the city.

Thousands of people lined the parade route and crowded the roof-tops while beautiful girls in brightly colored costumes were carried on their partners shoulders or on large decorated floats.

Thirty-five dance groups competed for first prize. Twenty-seven of the dance groups were sponsored by different trade unions. The Construction Workers Union dance group was finally awarded first prize after much debate.

The Queen of the Socialist Carnival and her lovely eight maids of honor viewed the entire parade from a balcony especially built for them high over the street.

The "captive people" of Cuba that President J. F. Kennedy has so often referred to had themselves off to a gay time parading, dancing and singing into the early hours of the morning.

The Cuban Revolution is truly and rightfully for the humble and the Cuban Government has tied the tin cans to the corrupt and

greedy rich and gave them the boot they so much deserved. Forward, Fidel!

G.C.

Thought-Control Laws

Detroit, Mich.

I would like to see more articles fighting the fascist Smith and McCarran laws. They are terroristic laws aimed at all free men and pro-peace, non-conformists — and not only against communists. Explain the complexities of these laws to the average American who sees them only as laws against "subversion."

A.M.

The Exiles of '76

New York, N.Y.

Secretary of State Rusk says that "several hundred thousand Cubans want to leave the Island," presumably because they are disgusted with the Castro Revolution. This seems to me a rather small amount of disaffection which is the perfectly normal phenomena of all revolutions as they develop, and should give little satisfaction to those who think they see in it evidence of the imminent collapse of the Castro regime.

It is, in fact, only about five per cent of the total Cuban population of six million — a much lower proportion of opposition than that which existed in our own Revolution. John Adams, in 1776, wrote that one-third of all the people in the 13 rebellious colonies were Loyalists, as the anti-revolutionists were called during our War of Independence.

The 100,000 Cubans who have thus far fled their country and are now refugees in other lands constitute just about the same ratio to Cuba's total population as did the 65,000 Loyalists who escaped from the American colonies where the population during the 1770s was slightly under four million. Our own Loyalists went mostly to Canada, the West Indies and to England and were like their Cuban counterparts today, largely from the professional class — lawyers, doctors, teachers, soldiers, — with a goodly number of bankers, businessmen and big landowners and their tenants.

Their hope of successful counter-revolution died hard. Thirty-one years after the surrender of Cornwallis, many of them enlisted in the British armed forces to invade their former homeland in the war of 1812. There is in Canada today, I believe, an organization of "Empire Loyalists" whose members are the great-great-grandsons and daughters of our 18th Century fellow-countrymen who left their homes and friends rather than join a revolution they despised.

Taylor Adams

Union Hand Makes Good

New York, N.Y.

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has been meeting in Miami — spending a few days in that sunny place at union expense, working and suffering for a better ILGWU. From this meeting comes the announcement that a new office has been created in the ILGWU — "assistant president." It is to be filled by Gus Tyler. Perhaps this is part of the reward to Tyler for his most recent task: answering the charges of the NAACP that the ILGWU officials discriminate

against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. What Tyler's answer amounts to is that some of the ILGWU bureaucrats' best friends are Negroes.

Many years ago, James P. Cannon had occasion to characterize Gus Tyler, and having had occasion to know both these men, I have never forgotten Cannon's most appropriate words. They appear on page 225 of *The History of American Trotskyism*, where Cannon is describing some of the members of the Socialist Party of the 1930's. Cannon said:

"There was Gus Tyler, a very smart young chap whose only trouble was the he had no character. He could stand up and debate the war question from the standpoint of Lenin with one of the Stalinist leaders — and state the Leninist position quite correctly — and then go to work for the Needle Trades fakers, doing 'educational work' for their program, including their war program, and then wonder why anybody should be surprised or indignant about it. People without character are like people without intelligence. They don't understand why anybody should think it strange."

Garment Worker

Land, Law and Revolution

Oxford, Pa.

Pierre Frank's article on Algeria leaves out a legal point that the *Monthly Review* tells about. Some 800,000 French residents had fled from Algeria, leaving their farms and factories vacant. The scarcity of food that resulted caused the organization of peasant committees to take over and work these properties. The socialists plan to make this abandoned property publicly owned, and they have a

precedent in French law. During the French revolution many aristocrats fled and abandoned their estates, and these become public property by law. The emigrés never got them back.

There is only one practical way to get rid of great estates and that is to confiscate them. Trying to buy them out only puts the people into bondage to the previous owners who are just as much the ruling class as before.

Castro had an out, because the law under Batista permitted the owners to make their own assessments for tax purposes, and Castro thereby could legally buy them out at their own price, which was extremely low. The British owners, being more honest, fared better than the Americans. But most revolutionaries have to make their own laws after they have gained control of the state and can apply the "Ancient rule, the simple plan, that he may take who has the power, and he may keep who can." All land titles are established that way.

A. Craig

Canada and A-Weapons

Toronto, Canada

The present political crisis in Canada illustrates two facts: One is the corruption and bankruptcy of the major political parties. The other that placard-carrying demonstrators can have an impact far beyond their sometimes small numbers.

The question of war is becoming of more concern to a greater number of people, especially workers. These newly awakened workers are looking to the traditional leaders to solve, or at least show a

desire to solve, the nuclear threat. But, whether it is in Canada or the U.S., the same duplicity is quite often openly displayed to their awakening eyes.

In Canada, this same Diefenbaker who is now crying against American interference (forcing nuclear arms on Canada) was responsible for bringing into Canada the American Bomarc missiles which are useless without nuclear warheads. How can any worker or student concerned about survival not be somewhat confused?

When, therefore, this worker sees a demonstration passing by she doesn't join, but inquires: when she sees a placard-carrying crowd on her TV set her sympathies are aroused; when she reads about vigils and treks reported in the newspapers, again a response. The next time she hears of such a demonstration she may even join in. And then she begins to find that the leaders she had previously looked to are actually the ones she is demonstrating against — that they are the instigators of war.

It is for this reason, I think, that we recently saw the witch hunt in the U.S. against the Women Strike for Peace. It is for this same reason that Diefenbaker, demagogue that he is, cynically uses the issue of nuclear arms to win another election. He knows how great the sentiment against war is and wants to exploit it to win. After all, he did sneak the Bomarc into Canada. Why not later, the nuclear devices?

It will be the job of labor's New Democratic Party to prevent this.

N.W.S.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee just before he took office as Republican Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles gave clear expression to Wall Street's haunting fear of the colonial people enslaved by American imperialism in its own backyard:

"I have a feeling that the conditions in South America, Latin America, are somewhat comparable as to the conditions as they were in China in the mid-'30s when the Communist movement was getting started; they were beginning to develop the hatred of the American and the Britisher, but we didn't do anything adequate about it. It went on and on, and then finally came to a climax in 1949.

"Well," Dulles continued, 'If we don't look out, we will wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in '49 . . .'" — March 30, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Some columnists in the capitalist press — and in the Negro papers too, it must be admitted — delight in quoting figures to show how much 'progress' the Negro has made since the Emancipation Proclamation. But so far as lynching and voting goes, the Negro is on the same old merry-go-round, with most of the progress necessary for equal rights still to come

"What is the purpose of all the talk we hear about 'progress'? It is intended to make the Negroes think that gradually, as time goes by, things will get better and better, even if the Negro struggle for equality is discontinued or suspended. But this is a lie, and a mighty dangerous one. If Negroes were to fall for it, all progress — real or imaginary — would come to an abrupt halt. What Negroes need now is not fairy tales, or admonitions to believe these fairy tales, but fighting organizations and a fighting program to achieve equality now. Pie in the sky is no substitute for a square meal." — March 27, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

Tall-Story Dep't — Drew Pearson reported March 20 that Haitian dictator Duvalier "has imposed a reign of terror featured by cold-blooded shootings in the streets and the mysterious disappearance of his enemies." Although U.S. Marines trained Duvalier's cops, Washington has recently cooled toward the dictator and sticks with him only because it doesn't see an alternative, says Pearson. "Furthermore," he adds without a blush, "it is still against U.S. treaty obligations to intervene in Latin countries."

"Pin Money" — Katherine Meader, daughter of Michigan Congressman George Meader, draws \$167.54 a month of taxpayers' money as a member of his staff even though she is studying at the University of Florida. She told newsmen her job is to send out form "baby" letters to new parents in her father's district. Father said her monthly salary "is just pin money."

Ultimate in Exploitation — Oil billionaire J. Paul Getty complains: "Of all the classes I've known, millionaires are the hardest working. They work long hours."

Irrational? — The brokerage firm of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith is against coupon clipping. It isn't against the interest collected by mailing in the coupons, only against the time and

motion lost clipping them. A company bulletin says: "The total effort in merely cutting these coupons is equivalent to 542 years of manpower." It favors substituting registered bonds and automatic mailing of interest.

"Free-World" Shock Troops — "A small contingent of 'soldiers of fortune' are reported to be enlisting themselves in the cause of freeing Cuba from Fidel Castro — at a price of course. These men — former United States military service personnel — are reported training Cuban refugee personnel at one or more of the small keys or islands off Florida . . . This training operation, however, is not a Central Intelligence Agency venture, as was the hiring of 'soldiers of fortune' pilots some months before the Bay of Pigs invasion . . . This new training operation is being paid for by wealthy Cuban refugees." — The March 13 *Christian Science Monitor*.

How to Succeed — The Nation-

al Observer reported that in view of Brazil's refusal to join the anti-Cuba pack, Herbert May of the State Department was sent to Brazil to talk to Dr. San Tiago Dantas who is slated to present the Brazilian request for financial aid in Washington. The *Observer* said May went to Brazil for two reasons: "(1) To find out what Dr. Dantas intends to say in the United States, and (2) to indicate what he ought to say to be successful."

Endangering National Security — Two weeks after a strike was called by Swedish deliverymen who service the state-operated liquor stores the shelves were bone dry. Stores were besieged by nervous customers who feared a drought would develop. There is strong pressure on the government to mediate the strike.

Note to N.Y. Straphangers — The City of New York is trying to sell 4,000 World War I army helmets used briefly by the civilian defense corps.

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Thought for the Week

"Since the army finds sullen villagers and doesn't know which are pro-Communist and which are merely dissatisfied with Saigon . . . it shoots anyone seen running or looking dangerous and often shoots the wrong peasants. They are always, in the records of the battle, listed as Communists. Anyone killed is automatically a Viet Cong. Word of this brutality spreads through the villages . . . and confirms the belief that the government cares nothing for the people. The use of American napalm in village battles does not help." — A dispatch from South Vietnam in the March 8 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Miss. Racist Victimization Protested at Rally in Harlem

NEW YORK, March 23 — Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, and comedian Dick Gregory appeared on the same platform here today at a Harlem street corner meeting. Several thousand people attended the rally which was called to protest the cutting off of federal relief supplies to Negro families in LeFlore County, Mississippi, because they are involved in a voter-registration campaign. Gregory has been deeply involved in aiding the victimized families and has produced a record called "My Brother's Keeper," the profits of which go to Mississippi relief.

The meeting marked the first time a prominent political office holder appeared on the same platform with a Black Muslim leader in Harlem.

Powell attuned his words to the militant mood of the audience, even criticizing the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] as not "under the control of people who think black." But he carefully avoided placing any blame for the Mississippi situation on the Kennedy administration or the Democratic Party. He listed many instances of racial injustice, but each involved some Republican.

Malcolm X, however, while calling for unity and co-operation among all Negro organizations and leaders bluntly declared: "I'm not a Democrat because I wouldn't belong to the same party as Ross

Barnett . . . Kennedy is just as much president of Mississippi as he is of any other part of the country, and he is responsible for what goes on there." The militant Muslim leader said the Republicans were no better and he accused Governor Rockefeller of religious as well as racial oppression against Muslims in the state. Saying that recently he has often been asked whether the Muslims were "going into politics," Malcolm X declared, "If we do, we'll do it right."



Photo by J.A.
Dick Gregory

... French Mine Strikers Spur Revival of Labor Militancy

(Continued from Page 1)
an 11 per cent increase. The government has offered 5.77 per cent spread out over the next year.

Typical slogans to be seen on the banners in parades, rallies and demonstrations will have a familiar ring to American workers: "Des sous, Charlot, des sous!" ("Some money, Big Charley, some money!") "40 heures payées 48!" ("40-hour week at 48-hours pay!") "Quatre semaines de congés payés!" ("Four weeks paid vacation!") "Liberté syndicale!" ("The right to strike!") "Charlot à la mine!" ("Big Charley to the mine!") "Solidarité aux mineurs!" ("Solidarity with the miners!") "Du travail pour les jeunes!" ("Jobs for the youth!") "Non à la requisition!" ("No to the requisition!")

In recent days a rise in slogans demanding the resignation of de Gaulle has been noticeable.

After the testing of a nuclear device in Algeria on March 18, a new note appeared in the slogans. "Des milliards pour la bomba atomique, rien pour les mineurs!" ("Billions for the atomic bomb, nothing for the miners!")

Not so familiar to American workers as may be those types of slogans — at least not so familiar to the present generation — are customs like frequent singing of the *Internationale* by socialists and communists along with other militant songs, marching with red flags and raising the clenched fist.

The wives of the miners have taken an active part in parades and demonstrations. Many interviews in the daily press testify to the militant spirit of the women. They are obviously an immense source of power and inspiration to the strikers.

A significant sign in many reports is the declaration by women that they voted for de Gaulle but have now changed their minds about him.

Up to now the calm attitude of the miners has given their strike an almost holiday air. Their calmness is due to the immense power they feel in their united action, to the stunning effect which it has

had on the government, to the care with which de Gaulle has kept police and troops out of sight, and to the fact that the miners have not yet exhausted their last pay which they received March 10.

However a note of irritation is becoming detectable among many of the strikers over the delay in meeting their demands. Their easy-going attitude could change swiftly. This could touch off explosive consequences.

Flying picket squads are already in action. Big parades, involving whole districts, have been staged. On March 13 about 2,000 iron miners made up a cavalcade for a "march on Paris." They organized it brilliantly, including a tow car and a first-aid car in their three-mile-long string of automobiles.

All along the roads to Paris they were hailed. Farmers in the fields stopping plowing to cheer them on. In Paris they were received like heroes and a big collection was made in the streets.

Talk is heard now of similar action on a bigger scale. August Laleine, reporting in the March 19 *Le Figaro* from the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, traditionally the most militant areas, says:

"Nothing indicates that the strike will terminate because the strikers are worn out. On the contrary. Their determination is greater than ever . . .

"Never, since the beginning of the strike, has the climate been so bad. The margin for negotiations is narrowing each day. Soon, all the barriers hastily put up, will go like straw and it will be too late to put up others.

"The risk of things turning political is likewise rising. It is sufficient to see the veritable mobilization of Communist cells in the mine basin to see this . . .

"Saturday, at Lens, the miners showed their anger at the announcement of the negative results registered in Paris. They shouted their desire to undertake a march on the capital. The idea is making its way. If nothing new happens before next Wednesday or Thursday, the worst excesses are to be

BERKELEY-OAKLAND ELECTIONS

Socialist Slate Presses Anti-Bias Drive

By Hal Winters

As the Berkeley and Oakland municipal election campaigns entered their final weeks, Socialist Workers Party candidates Rose Jersawitz and Geoffrey White of Berkeley and Paul Montauk of Oakland stressed in their speeches and statements the key issues of peace and civil rights.

At a Berkeley meeting, co-sponsored by the Parent Teachers Association and the League of Women Voters, which was addressed by all 16 candidates, some 800 heard Geoffrey White, SWP candidate for Berkeley City Council. He urged the formation of an independent party of labor to defeat the insane diplomacy of atomic-age brinkmanship.

Fair Housing

White pledged support of the Fair Housing Ordinance which Berkeley voters will vote on April 2. He called for placing enforcement of the law in the hands of a board which is predominately non-white.

The Fair Housing Ordinance — a controversial piece of legislation and one of the chief issues of the campaign — would prohibit "discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the sale, rental, lease or other transfer of housing accommodations: creating a board of intergroup relations; providing for investigation, conciliation and public hearing of complaints of

housing discrimination; and providing penalties for the violation of the provisions hereof."

The present Mayor of Berkeley, Claude Hutchison, issued a statement in opposition to the ordinance calling it a "bad law" — claiming it would "take away not only your rights, but the rights of all the people of Berkeley."

Hutchison's stand received support from the Citizens League for Individual Freedom, described by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as a front for powerful interests.

Made up of Citizens United, the Berkeley Realty Board, and other groups opposed to the fair housing law, the Citizen's League began a drive to defeat the ordinance by putting up \$15,000 for that purpose.

Rose Jersawitz, candidate for mayor of Berkeley, speaking on the same platform as White, backed up his arguments that the main issues of the campaign were those of peace and the "right to be considered a human being and treated with dignity and respect."

Commenting on the efforts of the Kennedy administration to smash the Cuban Revolution, Jersawitz said that if Cuba were crushed "the impact right here in Berkeley will be felt. The ruling class will be strengthened and be able to pass even more anti-labor legislation and civil liberties will be undermined."

In reply to a questionnaire submitted by the League of Women



ROSE JERSAWITZ, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Berkeley. She is also endorsed by Young Socialist Alliance.

Voters Jersawitz said that she was "unconditionally in favor" of the Housing Ordinance.

Paul Montauk, campaigning for Oakland City Councilman, issued a statement which said that "as socialists we have special reasons for opposing discrimination in all its forms. Racial or color discrimination is not only a moral evil but is also one of the most powerful weapons of the ruling, monied class against the workers and people whose interests we seek to advance."

Montauk Statement

In a statement prepared for Oakland voters, Montauk said:

"Railway clerks, Kentucky miners, autoworkers, the Negro community — all these and others are being asked to forget about their unions, saving their jobs and security, and meekly to accept automation and speed-up. They are being asked to be satisfied with paychecks never large enough to meet elementary needs, to postpone their demands for civil rights, schools and housing, to put all this and more aside and to march to the beat of war drums.

"The untruths and distortions in the press hammer away on and try to sell the big lie that the Cuban people are threatening us — and that to defend ourselves we must use the bomb.

"My anti-war campaign has been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and I ask for your endorsement on the ballot."

A four-page brochure, outlining the program of the three candidates for the Berkeley and Oakland offices, is available.

Copies may be obtained by writing SWP, 563 16 St., Oakland, Calif.

Negro Labor Group Plans D.C. March

NEW YORK — The executive board of the Negro American Labor Council is planning to issue a call for an Emancipation March on Washington for Jobs for black workers, it was reported. A nation-wide mobilization, the march is tentatively slated for June 13-14.

With unemployment among Negroes at least twice as great as the national average, the NALC proposes to enlist the participation of labor, civil rights, and other interested bodies to make the march a massive one.

feared. It will then be up to the unions to organize this march on Paris, demanded by the miners in anger."

The Central Committee of the strike warned management March 21 that it must pull out the office workers; otherwise the underground security crews who are manning pumps, etc., will be reduced man for man for all who show up at the offices.

The rank-and-file miners in Lorraine forced the Central Committee to bring into play another weapon — control over gas supplies from the coke ovens. "It's enough," they are reported to have said. "It's time to act."

When the committee bowed to the demands and ordered cut-offs on the gas mains to Paris, "it was hailed as a victory," reports *Le Figaro*.

Crisis for de Gaulle

For de Gaulle, the strike movement presents a grave crisis. He ordered the miners through his signed "requisition" to return to work. They refused. Thus they are striking against the government and against a government back-to-work order. They have violated the law and face stiff penalties — if the government can enforce them.

If the order is not enforced, de Gaulle faces a most serious political setback with consequent loss of prestige and authority. Even more, the whole working class will feel that a tremendous victory has been won. Fresh economic demands will come pouring in from the underpaid and the overworked. Each success will raise the self-confidence of the workers and bring them closer to sweeping political demands.

On the other hand, if de Gaulle tries to enforce the order, he must use the police and army on a big scale. Once started, the logic of this course would be an attempt to crush the unions. Can de Gaulle successfully start this now in the face of the depth and extent of the strike movement? Very likely not. The risk would be considerable that the initia-

tion of violence by the government would touch off a major class struggle with government power at stake.

The third possibility, of waiting it out, of watching for an opening to split and divide the workers, of stepping this up later into more vigorous partial actions, has not paid off up to now. In fact it has proved to be no more than an added irritant that helped bring out the railway workers in record time. Thus a long delaying action, with attempted increasing abrasion against the workers' organizations, might prove to be the worst alternative of all from de Gaulle's point of view.

The political situation in France has thus abruptly altered. No matter what de Gaulle decides to do, new perspectives have opened up for the French workers. It is clear, too, that they have the bulk of the working population behind them. With correct leadership there is not the slightest doubt about their capacity to establish a government that truly represents the interests of the working people.

This, of course, raises the key question. Will the traditional bureaucratic leaders respond to the clearly manifested will of the rank and file and permit the struggle to move forward to victory or will they, as in the past, prove to be the final support on which the capitalist government depends? While there is absolutely nothing in their record to inspire the slightest confidence, their positions would be badly shaken if they did not succeed in gaining some concessions in the face of such powerful rank-and-file pressure. As for carrying the struggle beyond that, these leaders must be rated as strictly "paper tigers" — and "toothless" ones at that.

But aside from the deeper implications of this upsurge, the immense social power which the French workers have revealed almost casually in the past three weeks has cheered workers throughout Europe and far beyond. This new fact alone, can have big consequences.